GERHARD VON RAD, BREVARD S. CHILDs:

TWO METHODOLOGIES

by

David Frederick Hartzfeld, B.Sc., M.Div., Th.M.

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I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance 3 (b) on 10th October, 1980 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. under Resolution of the University Senate.

The following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, is my own composition, and has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out in the University of Sheffield under the supervision of Professor John W. Rogerson.

..................................................
Signature of candidate

I certify that David Frederick Hartzfeld has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Senate and is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

Selected writings of Gerhard von Rad and nearly all of the writings of Brevard S. Childs are used to set forth the methodology of each scholar. The examination of von Rad is based primarily on the following works: *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, *Weisheit in Israel*, 'Die Levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik', and *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*. These serve to demonstrate von Rad’s use of רוח יהוה and **Charisma** in his methodology.

The assessment of Childs required that nearly all of his works be examined with *Crisis in Biblical Theology*, 'The Sensus Literalis of Scripture: An Ancient and Modern Problem', 'The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament', and *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* serving as the primary focus of the assessment. The Books of Chronicles have been used as a point of comparison in order to fairly assess and compare the methodologies of von Rad and Childs.

Criticism of Gerhard von Rad's silence concerning wisdom literature in his *Theologie des Alten Testaments* could be solved by extending the role of רוח יהוה/Charisma from *Heilsgeschichte* through the early post-exilic period to *Heilsweisheit*. Beginning with the act of remembering by the community of faith, the act of Nacherzählungen, through a process of remembering old traditions while retaining some and rejecting others, produced a new tradition for the new generation of the community of faith. During the process of Nacherzählungen a significant
element, discovered by von Rad, is the role of the וֹדֵה יְهوֹヴァ upon the ones doing the re-telling. This וֹדֵה יְهوֹヴァ appears to have had an authenticating function in Nacherzählungen. If this element existed throughout Israel's history, then the Books of Chronicles take on a different character than has been commonly accepted since Wellhausen.

In the consideration of Brevard S. Childs a possible misunderstanding of his use of 'canon' can be resolved by understanding 'canon' as normative literature. When the community of faith participated in the act of remembering, the old traditions were acquired by the new generation through Vergegenwärtigung. During the process of Vergegenwärtigung the significant element, according to Childs, was the normative character of the received tradition, i.e., the 'canon'. This normative literature was then passed on to the new generation more or less intact because of the authoritative and normative nature of the tradition.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANQ: Andover Newton Quarterly
Bib: Biblica
BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BTB: Biblical Theology Bulletin
BWANT: Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW: Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ: Catholic Biblical Quarterly
Chr/Chron: Chronicler/I and II Chronicles
CTM: Concordia Theological Monthly
Dtr: Deuteronomist
EQ: The Evangelical Quarterly
ET: English translation
FRLANT: Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen
HBT: Horizons in Biblical Theology
HTR: Harvard Theological Review
HUCA: Hebrew Union College Annual
IBS: Irish Biblical Studies
ICC: International Critical Commentary
Interp: Interpretation
JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR: Journal of Bible and Religion
JQR: Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOT/Supp: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplements
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies
JTC: Journal for Theology and the Church
JTS: Journal of Theological Studies
Les: Lešonenu
LQHR: London Quarterly and Holborn Review
LTQ: Lexington Theological Quarterly
MGWJ: Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums, Breslau
SBLDiss: Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series
SBeT: Studia Biblica et Theologica
SBT: Studies in Biblical Theology
SEA: Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok
SJT: Scottish Journal of Theology
SVT: Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TLZ: Theologische Literaturzeitung
TT: Theology Today
TZBas: Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel
USQR: Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VT: Vetus Testamentum
ZAW: Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
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I also owe a debt of thanks to Sandy and Diane Ayer who typed and read the manuscript. However, I personally take responsibility for any North American spelling or colloquialism.

Finally, I wish to dedicate this research to my wife Linda, who supported me psychologically and emotionally during the long periods of time she 'stayed by the stuff' and cared for our children.

David F. Hartzfeld
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INTRODUCTION

The present writer numbers himself among those students who have been influenced by the writings of Gerhard von Rad. I was made aware of him in seminary when his Old Testament Theology was first introduced in English. We read the two volumes through and discussed the contents at length. I returned to his works frequently as I continued further graduate studies and continued to find unique insights and clarification of Old Testament issues and further stimulation for my own understanding. When it was suggested, during my doctoral research, that I read again his Theologie, I at first thought that there would certainly be other authors from whom I could benefit. However, the task as laid out by my mentor soon proved to be a new adventure: Gerhard von Rad had not been understood thoroughly nor had pertinent questions been applied to his methodology.

It may be that the measure of influence in the past by von Rad will be matched in the future by the writings of Brevard S. Childs. Childs has succeeded in both stimulating the imagination of some while greatly perplexing the rational mind-set of others. He was modest enough to suggest in Biblical Theology in Crisis that the 'biblical theology movement' was being eroded, but in employing the word 'canon' with all its ambiguities in a new concept concerning the development of Scripture, i.e., canon process, he sprung on the scholarly community a concept with far reaching implications but little clarification as to its content and theory.

To study Gerhard von Rad and Brevard S. Childs at the same time may seem unusual in that their writings are so dissimilar. For example, von
Rad had written a biblical theology; Childs had not (until his Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context - 1985). Childs had written a 'new' type of commentary; von Rad had written one on Deuteronomy but it lacked the expected scholarly precision. Von Rad was a strong proponent of the tools of higher criticism; Childs, although he upheld their importance, has raised some questions about their ultimate benefit. Von Rad was a strong proponent of the use of tradition criticism, its application, and the resultant theme, Heilsgeschichte, in his Theologie; at the same time Childs was developing his canon process, sometimes referred to by others as canon criticism (although Childs strongly disapproved of the use of the term to describe his method). Nevertheless, it is at this point of method, tradition criticism and canon process, that von Rad and Childs can be profitably compared. Part Three will attempt to show that the two methods are extremely similar. The difference can be identified by what may be called the primary influence in the process, i.e., determinative community in von Rad and normative tradition in Childs. But first there is more to be said about these two scholars and their writings.

This study originally began out of an interest in the role which Torah played in the Books of Chronicles. The approach to such a study could have begun with a study of the Torah or a study of Chronicles. However, an in-depth study of the latter was not intended, but rather it was thought that the present inquiry should employ the Books of Chronicles as a testing point. Thus, a thorough investigation of the issues which have been raised concerning the Books of Chronicles will not be attempted, although these issues at times will be alluded to when
necessary. Also, as the initial research was undertaken, it became obvious that a study of the role of Torah in the Books of Chronicles presented certain problems which were beyond the scope of the present study. Thus it was concluded that an examination of the writings of von Rad and Childs and their handling of the Books of Chronicles would serve as a useful point of comparison.

Gerhard von Rad has had a significant impact on Old Testament research and has been the subject of a number of studies. His works have been read due to the multiplicity of translations. One might therefore conclude that the work of von Rad is well understood and does not require further investigation, but it must be noted that not much analysis of his works has been done.

For this reason the initial portion of this study will be devoted to his monumental work, Theologie des Alten Testaments. Two ideas, וַיְהֹוָה and Charisma/Intuition, recur frequently throughout the two volumes. On examination it was found that these two words function in the writings of von Rad as key ideas, assumptions, or premises for how he handled the Old Testament texts. The Books of Chronicles served as a useful testing point for understanding how von Rad used these terms. This will be noted in the section on Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes. The manner in which von Rad was using וַיְהֹוָה and Charisma/Intuition also suggested a possible resolution to the well known problem of his Theologie, i.e., the exclusion of wisdom literature. Could there be an extension of Heilsweisheit? The treatment of

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such a concept will be presented as a means to understanding the full implication of this great work by von Rad.

Many of von Rad's writings could have been consulted, but a limited number were chosen because of their use of the words צור וחיים and Charisma/Intuition, and because of the role which the Books of Chronicles plays in them. In addition to his Theologie, 'Die Levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik' (1958), Weisheit in Israel (1970), and Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes (1930) were examined in order to establish a thesis concerning the assumptions which lie behind von Rad's writings.

Brevard S. Childs is a scholar of more recent times who is Professor of Old Testament at Yale University. He first served notice of his studies by his publication of Biblical Theology in Crisis (1970). Prior to this publication, he had published among a few other writings Memory and Tradition in Israel (1962) and 'Psalm 8 in the Context of the Christian Canon' (1969). Although neither of these two works was well noticed at the time, each revealed some of the seminal ideas of Childs's future writings. After Biblical Theology in Crisis, Childs sought to set a new standard for commentaries by his publication of Exodus: A Commentary (1974). Then, beginning with 'The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament' (1977), the momentum towards his Introduction increased with the publication of 'The Sensus Literalis of Scripture: An Ancient and Modern Problem' (1977); and finally he published his Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture (1979).

Unlike von Rad, Childs did not begin his research at the peak of the enthusiasm for higher critical studies. Childs did not reject the higher critical tools, but sought to go beyond them. Out of this struggle he developed what he calls canon process. Much has been said about this new idea, with scholars being divided over its value and importance for Biblical studies. For this reason it seemed appropriate that an in-depth study should be made of Childs's writings in order to assess his canon process better. Whatever one believes about the validity of Childs's methodology, canon process is destined, at least for the next few years, to have a strong impact on biblical studies, and so it is important that his works be examined.

In my examination of Childs's works, a number of terms began to emerge which together provided a configuration which pointed toward the development of his canon process. Words such as Vergegenwärtigung, remembering, canon, and midrash appeared in significant places. These have been given special attention in the assessment of Childs's writings. Also, during the course of my research, it became clear that the Books of Chronicles may have played an important role in the development of canon process. Thus the convenience of using Chronicles as common ground in the study of both von Rad and Childs was reinforced.

It may be argued that I have stopped too soon in the examination of all of Childs's works. After 1980 he published The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction (1984) and Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context (1985). However, since Childs is basically applying his idea of canon process in these two works without altering his basic method, it was deemed unnecessary to include them in the study.
The order in which the writings of von Rad and Childs have been handled requires some explanation. The two major works of these scholars, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* and *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, were assumed to be the culmination or summit of their research. Von Rad's *Theologie*, which I read first, raised the question of his use of נבון יהוה and Charisma/Intuition. The manner in which von Rad handled the Books of Chronicles raised some questions, but it was decided that an investigation of *Weisheit in Israel* might be more productive as a second step since it too referred in a significant way to נבון יהוה and Charisma/Intuition. After that von Rad's major works on Chronicles were researched. 'Die Levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik' was considered first in order to determine whether or not von Rad had changed his views on the Chr between 1934 and 1958, or if he had developed them in any way. Then, with initial conclusions in hand, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* was examined in order to draw further conclusions about his use of نبون يهوه and Charisma/Intuition.

The method for the examination of von Rad's writings followed a somewhat inductive approach. As various concepts emerged an attempt was made to discover their origin in von Rad's earlier writings as well as the implications of those concepts if applied elsewhere, e.g., to wisdom literature.

The treatment of Brevard S. Childs followed an entirely different path. Childs, by 1979, was basically known for his *Biblical Theology in Crisis*, an odd proposal set forth in the *Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli* entitled 'The Sensus Literalis of Scripture: An Ancient and Modern Problem', and shortly thereafter a paper read at the Ninth
Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament in Göttingen entitled 'The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament'. It was necessary first to understand Childs's concern and the solutions he was proposing and then to assess the significance of his other writings. Did they have any bearing on the three treatises mentioned above? Next, his Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture was examined, and during the examination it became apparent that to assess Childs's profound claims and his innovative canon process would require not a selective assessment but rather a detailed, chronological examination of his works. Thus a careful survey of all of Childs's works prior to 1980 had to be undertaken. It will be argued in Part Two that the seeds of canon process were present in the earliest writings of Childs and that the concept grew, whether consciously or not, throughout his research until he finally applied the concept to the whole Old Testament in his Introduction.

Development and application suggest methodology, and so an attempt has been made to set forth his methodology in detail and, in particular, to see how he applies this method to the Books of Chronicles. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that an attempt has been made to understand how the Books of Chronicles function in the idea of canon process and in Childs's methodology.

Part Three is a comparison of the methodologies of von Rad and Childs. Each scholar has written a section at the end of his major work: 'Die Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments im Neuen' in Theologie des Alten Testaments in the case of von Rad, and 'The Hebrew Scripture
and the Christian Bible' in Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture in the case of Childs. The two essays provide an opportunity for comparison in that they represent the only place where von Rad and Childs addressed a similar issue. Thus, the conclusions of Parts One and Two, along with the comparison of these two 'articles' offer an opportunity to observe the methodologies of von Rad and Childs side-by-side. This comparison of methodologies reveals a tension between 'historical continuity' and 'hermeneutical judgment'. Part Three will examine the methods of von Rad and Childs in light of these two concepts.

Unfortunately, the necessarily restricted nature of this dissertation does not permit a detailed consideration of another important influence on both the life and writings of each scholar, namely, historical context. However, this factor, because of its importance, deserves at least brief mention here.

Gerhard von Rad published his first book in 1930, endured the depression years, encountered anti-Semitism in Germany, was pressed into military service in 1944 and became a prisoner of war in 1945, and continued writing until the 1960's. During those turbulent years, the idealism of the 19th century was dashed, many assumptions were re-assessed. Karl Barth issued his classic work on Romans, and neo-orthodoxy became the prominent theological emphasis through the 1960's.

On the other hand, Childs, being somewhat younger, began his studies after the Second World War and after neo-orthodoxy and existentialism had made their greatest impact. In fact, Childs's life
contrasts markedly with that of von Rad. For example, he did not have to undergo the soul-searching of an Old Testament scholar living in the midst of a nation overcome with hatred towards Jews. Childs was more concerned with the life of the church in a secular society which had insulated itself from the problems of the first half of the 20th century.

Both scholars, however, have as one of their primary concerns the status of Scripture, i.e., is it authentic, authoritative, and normative for the modern Christian community? Neither considered to any great extent the role of Scripture in Judaism or any of the other religious traditions.

The larger historical context for the questions raised concerning Scripture includes the influence of the Enlightenment on biblical studies. The scholars of the Enlightenment raised numerous questions about the character and role of Scripture. Although not all, if even many, of the questions were of an antagonistic nature, the overall result of the questions was the creation of a vacuum for authority within the Christian community. This vacuum may have been one of the factors which led von Rad and Childs to seek answers to the questions raised during their lifetimes. Could such a search have lead von Rad to identify ??? as an 'authenticating' factor in the Nacherzählung of the Old Testament? Or could the same search have led Childs to identify canon process, or Vergegenwärtigung, as a solution to the vacuum? Both ??? and canon process suggest that there is some element of authority in the written traditions of the Old Testament.
The hermeneutic of tradition versus canon also exerts an influence on each scholar. In von Rad's tradition it was customary to examine Scripture critically prior to accepting its 'claim' on one's self, e.g., Luther's negative assessment of the Book of James. Childs, on the other hand, follows in the tradition of Calvin which accepts scriptural authority prior to assessing it. These two approaches produce two quite different results.

It is also useful to observe that both von Rad and Childs trace the development of Scripture in the life of the community(ies) of faith. A discussion between Jesus and the Pharisees and teachers of the law recorded in Mark 7:1-13 refers to the issue of the development of both the 'tradition of men' and the 'commands of God.' Jesus's observation is that the Pharisees had 'let go of the commands of God and (were) holding on to the traditions of men.' The issue of traditions which became the commands of God and traditions which remained 'mere' traditions has a long history. The approaches of von Rad and Childs are useful in understanding how that process has continued.

In this light another important question could be raised: Are the theories of von Rad and Childs merely the result of modern questions and a reflection of their own scholarly pilgrimages in light of biblical scholarship since the Enlightenment, or do their theories quite possibly get at the actual situation which existed when the traditions of the Old Testament were becoming normative for the community of faith? If the latter were true, then their theories would acquire much significance. If the former were true, their theories would still demand recognition
as we, the most recent community of faith, seek to deal with the questions of authority and normativeness within Scripture.

Thus the examination of selected writings of von Rad and Childs within the parameters set by this dissertation is intended not only to uncover the question(s) which lay behind the research of both scholars, but also to define the resulting approaches of the two for possible use in present day study, critical examination, hermeneutical assessment, and if warranted, to determine the proper application of these approaches in the life of one's community of faith.

The following words and definitions are used throughout this dissertation and serve to clarify this author's understanding and use of them:

Canon: a collection of authoritative sacred books.

Canonization: a later, extrinsic validation of Hebrew literature, basically peripheral to its growth.

Canon (or Canonical) process: involves the long pre-history of the canonization of Hebrew literature and a theological intentionality which emerged early in Israel's history and left its decisive stamp throughout the process.

Canon criticism: often confused by writers with Childs's Canon process, although unwarranted; sometimes seen to be similar to Redaction Criticism.

Charisma/Intuition: the means by which the older materials are actualized for a new generation, a hermeneutical method.
Chronicler (Chr): since the purpose of this writing is not to investigate the authorship, etc., of the Books of Chronicles, the term is being used here in a broad sense which may imply either a single author or a school of individuals who collectively compiled the document.

Community of faith: that group of people which adhered to the tradition of Yahwism (and Judaism or Christianity for the purposes of this writing), a group who would have assessed the traditions and then have committed themselves to them.

Divine word (in Childs) and God's words or deeds (in von Rad): the messages, whether via an oral prophetic message or an act in history, which were considered by the community to have originated in Yahweh and were meant for incorporation into their sacred corpus.

Heilsweisheit: a concept argued to be potentially part of von Rad's system; a continuation of Heilsgeschichte, a salvation history/salvation wisdom.

Nacherzählten: used by von Rad to designate the process of re-telling the ancient traditions by a new generation in a manner which would make the traditions relevant; in the process some of the traditions would have been dropped.

Normative tradition: materials inherited by a community, which were perceived to have inherently an authoritative character, and which were consequently to be considered as normative for the community.

Redaction criticism: the study of how literary materials are organized, interpreted, and modified by an author or editor.
Tradition: the oral and/or written thoughts, beliefs, and history of a community which have been handed on from generation to generation.

Vergegenwärtigung: the act by which an ancient tradition was brought to mind in such a way as to achieve the realization of the tradition for a new generation.
PART ONE

GERHARD von RAD
1. *Heilsgeschichte* and Tradition Criticism

Since the publication of his *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Gerhard von Rad has influenced much of the scholarship related to the Old Testament. His many books and articles deal with a wide range of topics, but his *Theologie* without a doubt is his most significant contribution. Although this monumental work is an Old Testament theology, it is also, and perhaps just as significantly, a model of the use of tradition criticism. It is within this framework that we examine von Rad’s use of the Chronicler. A short survey of his two volume *Theologie* will highlight the issues at stake.

The two-part division of Volume I provides some keys to understanding von Rad’s approach. He has divided Part I into six sections which cover the following sequence of Israel’s history: origins, crisis of conquest (Canaan), crisis of state (monarchy), restoring the past (Dtr), post-exilic community, and sacral office and charisma (which is not a sequel to the other five sections).

Within the framework of the three periods of time represented in the six sections — pre-monarchy, monarchy, post-monarchy — von Rad sets forth his approach. First, the origins and the crisis of the conquest (which basically form the Hexateuch), are the primary theme of Volume I and probably the basis of all of the Old Testament for von Rad. Second, the crisis caused by the rise, and at that moment the possible, fall of the state, along with the call to reform, set the stage for the Dtr. to address that issue; it also gave rise to the development of that
particular segment of the Old Testament, the Deuteronomic history.

Third, the post-exilic community finds itself in a totally different situation from the previous ones.

In the post-exilic age . . . Israel now no longer appeared as a people determined by nature and history; it was the law which more and more began to define who belonged to her and who did not . . . . What was Israel and what was not became a matter of the interpretation of the law.¹

Prior to the exile, Israel, as von Rad puts it, was in a definite historical situation, which itself raised problems for which Yahweh provided direction. But after the exile 'this flexibility of Yahweh's revelation . . . ceases. The law becomes an absolute entity, unconditionally valid irrespective of time or historical situation.'²

This, of course, is a primary concept in his Theologie: the historical situation, the saving event put in new 'time'. When the law became an absolute, Israel no longer had a history with Yahweh, for then she lived and served her God in an enigmatic 'beyond history'. As von Rad says, Judaism entered history when the Torah of Yahweh was understood as a 'law'. Thus he follows quite closely the position held by Wellhausen concerning Judaism.³ He appears to be placing the Chr. in this same milieu. Tentatively, it might be said that Chronicles appears when law is an absolute entity, when tradition is no longer placed in 'time' to


². von Rad, p. 104; ET, p. 91.

be re-lived as was the case in early Yahwism. We shall see the similarities and differences later.

What was the role of Deuteronomy in the post-exilic period?

We have seen how Deuteronomy was to some extent regarded, if not as 'Scripture', at any rate as a standard, a revelation of the will of Jahweh admitting neither of addition nor subtraction.

Prior to the exile and during that time also, the traditions did not need to be developed, but rather simply to be explained. Israel still used tradition very flexibly although she regarded it as a perfectly absolute norm. Von Rad further describes this period.

Up to now the commandments had been of service to the people of Israel as they made their way through history and through the confusion occasioned by heathen forms of worship. But now Israel had to serve the commandments.

Thus, the post-exilic community signals the end of Israel's dynamic witness of faith and begins in some degree the more strict observance of law. Von Rad is less rigid than Wellhausen here, but his results are similar to Wellhausen's.

Finally, he gives a subtitle to the last section which seems to be a clue to the material therein. Chapter F, 'Sacral Office and Charisma in Ancient Israel', is also subtitled 'A Retrospect'. This section surveys the influence exercised by Yahweh upon segments of ancient Israel's leadership. This influence created a charisma that caused the person in question to perform beyond normal expectations. The fact that

5. von Rad, pp. 104; ET, p. 91.
von Rad calls this section 'A Retrospect' is significant in that the word charisma appears frequently throughout the two volumes of his Theologie. Does 'retrospect' imply that this was what he did after writing the Theologie? If both volumes had been released on the same date, it would be fair, according to the principles of redaction criticism, to say that this section was written afterwards. But since the two volumes were released separately, this cannot be the case — except that perhaps during von Rad's study of the Old Testament this idea may have been developing over a period of time. Nonetheless, this section seems to constitute von Rad's principle understanding of what was happening in ancient Israel. It aids the reader in understanding how von Rad moves from the problem of historical investigation (Religionsgeschichte) to his solution, Heilsgeschichte theology, and from the problem of a critically assured minimum to the solution of a theological maximum. At any rate we would have to link charisma with what facts we have on hand concerning Heilsgeschichte. I will deal further with charisma in a later section but for the present it seems fair to say that Part I is really the methodology for all of Volume I.

Part II of Volume I deals primarily with the Hexateuch. Much has been written about this topic and since it is not a major concern of this thesis, I only mention it briefly. Von Rad does give 'Methodological Presuppositions' prior to his major section on 'The Theology of the Hexateuch', but this deals basically with technical

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details and with the specific discipline of biblical theology. Part I remains his basic methodology for Part II.

The section on the Hexateuch puts together the literary structure of the history of Israel: primeval history, the Patriarchs, deliverance from Egypt, revelation at Sinai, the wilderness, Moses, and finally the granting of the land -- thus completing the promise and fulfillment of this part of Israel's saving history. The topic of this section appears to be the core of von Rad's understanding of the Old Testament -- a canon within the canon. After the exile, when the Chronicler pays special attention to David and Jerusalem, leaving aside the theme 'my father was a wandering Aramaean', a new focus is given to Israel's traditions. Not only is new material added, but an enlarged, reshaped canon is presented -- perhaps even a 'rival' canon within the canon. If this is so, it may help explain the brief coverage that von Rad gives Chronicles in his Theologie.

The last two sections, Chapters C and D, of Part II are significant for this thesis, Chapter C in particular. Chapter D, 'Israel before Jahweh', covers Israel's response to Yahweh in praises within the psalms, response in trials, and wisdom writings. The last sub-topic in Chapter D is 'Scepticism'. This seems an incredible place for von Rad to close his first volume. Granted, Israel left such a tradition behind, but it seems odd that von Rad should stop here. Does he not close his second volume on a high note, the actualization of the Old Testament in the New Testament and the saving event fulfilled in the New

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Testament? At first glance, it appears that he was in a hurry to send the manuscript off to the printers! But, in all seriousness, he may have intentionally brought the first volume to a close at this point in order to set the stage for the dynamic message of the prophets for Volume II. But then could he not be accused of 'theologies'? Granted these are merely speculations, but the ending remains perplexing.

Chapter C, 'Israel's Anointed', is, however, more significant for the present study.10 Here von Rad deals with the monarchy, which is not part of the saving history of promise and the appropriation of the land. David is the major character and all subtopics centre on him, both those that relate directly to him and those that do not, e.g., Saul and the Judges. Von Rad then mentions the Dtr.'s analysis of the monarchy from the perspective of the exile and gives broad overview of all that happened. He then refers to Chronicles. Von Rad's view of the work of the Chr. will be dealt with later. For the time being it is sufficient to note that Volume I is von Rad's theology of the Hexateuch and as such only includes the Chr. because it provides a different perspective of a secondary issue, the monarchy.

Volume II is organized in a similar fashion to the first. Part I is something of a historical survey of prophecy, but functions effectively as von Rad's presupposition for this volume. Part II deals with the classical prophets and so has only an indirect bearing on the Chr. Part III is von Rad's attempt to link the Old Testament with its fulfillment in the New Testament and also includes two sections in which he replies to his critics. The importance of the second volume will be

seen later when von Rad's presuppositions concerning inspiration and charisma are treated at length.

2. Inspiration as Found in *Theologie des Alten Testaments*

In order to understand von Rad's use of Chronicles in his *Theology*, it will be necessary to develop some criteria by which to examine his approach to the Old Testament traditions. As has already been mentioned, von Rad, as a German Lutheran was willing to question Scripture. This critical attitude could be a key to his understanding of inspiration. With this in mind the various ways in which von Rad uses the term in both volumes of his *Theologie* will be set forth below.

Von Rad's first reference to inspiration comes in a discussion on sacral office and charisma\(^\text{11}\) in the context of holy war. He shows how the charismatic judges functioned and then goes on to discuss how the monarchy's mechanization of the military eliminated the need for Yahweh's activity in battle and thus charisma as well. The priests, however, remain as a force in that they are the chief representatives and custodians of Yahwism. Yet it is important to note that this priesthood, which presupposes special knowledge of *torah*, is never referred back to the operation of the *nḫnh wṯn*\(^\text{12}\). The process by which the priests came to a decision was rather technical and, according to von Rad, 'not dependent upon free inspiration'.\(^\text{13}\) This

\(^{11}\) von Rad, p. 109; ET, p. 96.

\(^{12}\) von Rad, p. 109; ET, p. 96.

\(^{13}\) von Rad, p. 109; ET, p. 96.
seems to imply a dichotomy between some metaphysical phenomenon which was outside man's control and a process of analysis which could be taught and passed on. It is strange that von Rad does not use the word inspiration without qualification. Apparently the adjective 'free' has some significance for him — be it a technical difference or an evaluative slur.

The bureaucracy of the monarchy to some extent eliminated the need for charisma, yet even the monarchy is described as having come to power with a charismatic claim and עם ידוהי (II Samuel 23. 2; Proverbs 16. 10). It is debatable whether this was a mere claim or an actuality. However, von Rad maintains that the emphasis upon charisma in I Kings 3. 5-15, regardless of the dating of this section in its final form, lends some strength to the legitimacy of Solomon's reign — inspite of the negative introductory comment in verses 3-4.

According to von Rad, during the monarchy charismatic leadership had disappeared in practice except within the prophetic movement. This would mean that only in Yahwism (thus the Hexateuch) and the prophets did this special phenomenon exist. Could this be a principle by which von Rad operates in his view of Heilsgeschichte/historiography and his two-fold division of his Theologie? If so charisma and inspiration occur as part of Israel's theology but are not historically verifiable. They occur in the Hexateuch and the Prophets, but are only 'claimed' for the monarchy and not practised by it.14 Does עם ידוהי appear in

14. Although the two volumes are subdivided into two and three parts respectively, there are really only the two themes, Hexateuch and Prophets.
The references to רוח התויה in Chronicles apply basically to prophets, but the term also is used with reference to an officer, a priest and Levites. Therefore, von Rad may be placing the writing of Chronicles outside this special influence. One must also consider whether the Chr. is writing about רוח התויה as a fact in history or as a phenomenon of his own day. Von Rad assumes the former to be true.

Von Rad says that the priestly and the fiery charismatic must have existed side by side, if not even actually intertwined with one another, 'even as late as the time of Amphictyony'. We are not told what happened from the time of the Amphictyony until the post-exilic period when Chronicles was written.

What is 'einer freien Inspiration'? Von Rad notes that the priests functioned within a more or less logical process in order to make decisions; and that the priests did not claim to possess רוח התויה. It would appear, then, that 'free inspiration', according to von Rad, involved decision-making initiated by רוח התויה, creating a charisma for that person and for that moment in time. The latter is not the lot of the priests, and it would appear from the above data that the Chr. also wrote like a priest, i.e., a kind of application of torah without רוח התויה. Von Rad continues,

... the supreme office through which the proper intercourse between Jahweh and Israel is to be carried out is that of the prophet, who will never cease in Israel (Deut. 18:18). Thus, according to

Deuteronomy, Israel as properly constituted stands explicitly under charismatic leadership.

The same can certainly not be said of the great theological scheme given in the Priestly Document, for in the orders of Israel with which it deals, the charismatic element has absolutely no place. . . . this priestly-cultic world allowed no room for activity deriving from inspiration. 18

He adds that 'in the early post-exilic period, prophecy has already come to its end — from then on it apparently disintegrated as an order in its own right'. 19 As far as the successors to charisma in the post-exilic period and later are concerned the Priestly school does not claim to be inheriting a previous tradition and the Chr. makes only five references to that would in any way imply charisma, and none except the prophet Azariah would seem to have any antecedent connection with charisma. 20 In fact, von Rad goes on to say that the Chr. regarded them 'as authors of chronicles', implying that the Chr. confused the true role of the prophet (inspired messenger) with that of a recorder of mere data and so could not recognise charisma or distinguish it from court records. 21 Yet, a close examination of the six Scripture passages on which von Rad bases his contention reveals a variety of

19. von Rad, p. 113; ET, p. 100.
20. I Chronicles 12. 19 ('the Spirit came upon Amasai, chief of the thirty' — army officer); II Chronicles 15. 1 ('. . . Spirit of God came on Azariah. . . ' — prophet); II Chronicles 18. 23 ('which way did the spirit of the Lord go from me to speak to you?' — a prophet); II Chronicles 20. 14 ('the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jahaziel . . . (a Levite) in the midst of the assembly'); II Chronicles 24. 20 ('Spirit of God took possession of Zechariah') — a priest).
words that describe what the prophets did. Did the Chr. fully understand why he used these words or not? Von Rad goes on to say that charisma did manifest itself in worship and also instruction in post-exilic times. Yet for some reason the Chr. lacked all standards for understanding the prophets and their charisma.

Von Rad contends that although the Chr. records the phenomenon charisma from previous tradition, the Chr. himself does not really know what it is. Is the Chr. functioning like the priests with regard to charisma? Von Rad suggests that the Chr. used Levitical sources and that the Levites knew charisma. Was the Chr. so far removed from Levites that he could not have known charisma from them? Could the Chr.'s use of charisma (see note 20) really be due to his lack of understanding or experience? Von Rad seems to be saying that inspiration is dependent upon charisma, and that charisma would apply to the Hexateuch and the prophets, since these represent true Yahwism, for

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23. von Rad, p. 113; ET, p. 100. It is strange that in his section on 'Das chronistische Geschichtswerk', (pp. 359-365; ET, pp. 347-354), von Rad does not mention this Levite background; cf. his Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 88-97; also Martin Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, 2. Auflage (Tübingen, 1957); ET, The Deuteronomistic History (Sheffield, 1981) (which does not include the section of Noth's book on Chronicles).
It is . . . evident that the charismatic was an absolutely constitutive factor in Jahwism . . . . Where it was absent, crisis supervened, and when it finally disappeared, the end of ancient Jahwism had been sealed, and the day of scribal religion had dawned.24

The Chr. would therefore be excluded from this phenomenon and fall under another category, i.e., scribal religion. Von Rad nowhere directly states that the Chr. is part of the scribal religion, but one can justifiably draw this conclusion from his various statements.25

In Volume II von Rad speaks further of inspiration with reference to that form of prophetic oracle which structurally included a preface clause and a messenger formula.26 The message came to the prophet in a moment of inspiration and new information was given to the prophet as a result. The preface clause, including the formula 'Thus Yahweh spoke', helped the message to be applied to a particular person or group of people.

What happens when a writer changes the previous meaning of a phrase or idea? Von Rad deals with this problem in a section he entitled 'The Oral Tradition of Prophecy'.27 Tradition, says von Rad, grows in size


25. von Rad, p. 115; ET, p. 102. [Granted the following statistic is not an absolute criterion of measurement, it is interesting to compare the space von Rad gives specifically to Chronicles in his two volume Theologie (less than seven pages out of 891 total pages) and Wellhausen in Prolegomena (57 pages out of 548 total).]


and application as each new era of time arrives. For example, the Nathan prophecy of II Sam. 7 is enlarged in meaning by the Dtr, Deutero-Isaiah, and the Chr; and Isaiah 18. 1-6 and 7 where the Egyptians are at first given a woe, 'those ones to be feared', but will later, according to the prophecy, bring gifts to Yahweh. More precisely,

... a conversion of an older message of judgment into one of salvation is not the plagiarism, on principle illegitimate, of a later writer who is himself devoid of inspiration. There is in the Isaiah text a genuine sense of continuity, and a genuine belief that authority has been given to reinterpret an earlier oracle, even if in opposite terms, because of the very different historical situation.28

He also maintains that the content of traditional material was adapted to each new historical occasion such as was done down to the time of the New Testament when the prophets' preaching was reinterpreted for that era.29 This seems to be the same process by which saving events were re-told (Nacherzählten), resulting in the Hexateuch. The question remains: By what authority does the Chr. 're-tell' history with a Davidic focus?

It would appear that von Rad has made a distinction here between inspired Nacherzählten and the copying/reshaping of older material by one 'devoid of inspiration'. The original or existing message of an oracle could be converted into another message. The history of the text of the Hexateuch and the Prophets (according to von Rad's use of traditio-historical criticism) illustrates the many occurrences of such

29. von Rad, p. 57; ET, pp. 48-49.
Nacherzählungen. When, however, the Chr. uses prophetic material, von Rad does not judge this 're-use' of the material to be on an equal or similar level to the reshaping of material by the Dtr, for example. It is difficult to see a cogent criterion for this distinction.

Some kind of 'authority', as von Rad calls it, was granted to these writers to handle old texts or themes in new ways. Since this is what the Chr. was doing, by what privilege did he write? Or perhaps he had none! If he was not inspired as a charismatic leader, could he not claim this 'authority' as employed in Isaiah 18?30

Von Rad has identified an on-going authority which, beginning with the earliest Yahwistic tradition, could re-interpret for the Sitz in Leben of a new era (his Heilsgeschichte in the Hexateuch), but which continues on in the prophets and finally concludes in the New Testament. This authority to revise texts is apparently supported in some way by inspiration or charisma.31

Inspiration is quite vividly described by von Rad in the section 'The Prophets' Call and Reception of Revelation':

... visions and auditions came to the prophets from outside themselves, and that they came suddenly and completely without premeditation. ... Inspiration might come to a prophet as he sat at table (I Kings 13. 20) [or] he might have to wait as long as ten days ... (Jer. 42. 7).32

30. von Rad, p. 55; ET, p. 47; a sense that authority had been given to reinterpret an oracle for a new historical situation.

31. An examination of der Sachregister of his Theologie will show thirty references to Charisma or Charismatiker and scores of occurrences of these words. The same is true in Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel and Weisheit in Israel.

32. von Rad, p. 68; ET, pp. 59-60.
He suggests that the prophets received an audible impression of the experience.

Regardless of how such a phenomenon is explained, it must not be overlooked that the Chr. does not claim to be inspired and von Rad does not try to help him gain even some remote relationship to this phenomenon. According to von Rad, even if inspiration did occur, the Chr. did not try to validate his message with an appeal to inspiration as the prophets did. One must therefore conclude that the Chr. neither experienced inspiration nor was influenced by רוח הקודש.

As far as the possible psychical processes in a prophet's reception of revelation are concerned, von Rad declares that

. . . we have good reason to believe that the prophets were also given inspiration in which no kind of change came over their ordinary consciousness, that is to say, in which the revelation was a mental process.33

Here the line between inspiration as a mental process and 'mere' logic begins to blur. One might be able to observe a prophet in an ecstatic state and record those observations, but how can one assess the differences between inspiration as a mental process and normal thinking? This reflects an issue which von Rad struggled to resolve on a larger scale, viz., Historie in the Old Testament documents versus Heilsgeschichte. Perhaps his handling of the latter problem allows for the impreciseness of his handling of revelation and charisma.

Yet, von Rad does not regard even this 'process' as common or normal since he stresses the element of 'event' which the prophet perceived in this word from Yahweh, רוחו של יהוה אלהים. However ordinary

33. von Rad, pp. 76-77; ET, p. 67.
the process the prophets still saw it as a strange experience to which they must respond. A key factor for the Chr. lies in the phrase 'רוֹחֵד וְגֶפֶר וַיַּחְנִיתוֹ' and the idea of 'event'. The Chr. does not claim דְּבַר יהוה על Авֶל for himself, but he does put the phrase in David's mouth in I Chron. 22. 8. This implies that the Chr. was aware of the significance of this phrase and the legitimacy it would attach to David, his hero. This in turn supports the contention that the Chr. is giving David a significant position as a leader in Israel, similar here to a prophet.35

However, from von Rad's assessment, the Chr. does not hold a stature equal to a prophet. But it can be argued that the Chr. is aware of the phenomenon of prophetic inspiration (or at least its significance) as he applies it to David.

Since, according to von Rad, the prophets are so clearly inspired, it would be profitable to see how he defines the term. He considers a prophet to be a figure36

1. who was much more independent than those who held a fixed office, whose status depended not on heredity but on charisma

2. who received a call to his work, the written record of which was intended to justify himself in his critics' eyes (This definition applies only to those prophets who lived during the period of the monarchy.)

3. who received vision(s) which were intended to open the prophet's eyes to coming events, in both the spiritual and the material world. (The prophets

34. See also its use by prophets, I Chron. 17. 3, Nathan; II Chron. 11. 2, Shemaiah; and II Chron. 22. 7, Shemaiah.

35. See the Chronicler's use of in Lisowsky, p. 1616.

did concentrate on historical events but interpreted them in light of coming events.)

4. who had been commissioned by Yahweh as he sat enthroned in heaven (e.g., Micaiah ben Imlah I Kgs. 22. 19ff, Isaiah in Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel in Ezekiel 1-3).

Von Rad considers each term that has been used to characterize the experiences of the prophets, e.g., ecstasy, psyche, audibility, to be deficient in some way. But he keeps coming back to charisma as either a catchword or general characteristic applicable to all, or nearly all, the prophets.

The four characteristics of a prophet listed above describe the prophets' qualifications for participation in the next step of salvation history. The prophet was not speaking as an average person, he was speaking exceptionally; he was making pronouncements about the outcome of events. His work was considered to be significant even though it never reached the exalted level attributed to Moses and David by later redactors and by tradition in general.

The Chr. did not fit von Rad's definition of a prophet nor did his activities resemble those of the Dtr. Hence von Rad did not (unfortunately) write a third volume on the theology of the Chr. as a bridge to later Judaism despite having written a transitional section on the fulfillment of saving history in the New Testament. In the field of Old Testament biblical theology such a work would at least have answered the call to build bridges to Judaism as well as Christianity.38

37. von Rad, pp. 69, 76; ET, pp. 61, 67.

Von Rad also mentions a new element in eighth-century prophecy, which he calls *ad-hoc-Inspirationen*. In *ad-hoc-Inspirationen* the prophet seems to be combining old saving traditions which they did not interpret as law in a legalistic manner but in light of the present conduct of Israel and the impending invasion by Assyria. From this they concluded that Yahweh must exercise judgment on the people since, e.g., 'as Yahweh's own people they had continually transgressed the commandment and not put their confidence in the offer of divine protection.' Von Rad declares that 'the devastating force and finality of [this] prophetic pronouncement of judgment can never have had a cultic antecedent, for it envisaged the end of all cult itself.'

The proximity of the Assyrian invasion forces created a crisis that lent force and finality to the prophets' messages. When, however, the exile was past, a remnant had returned and some measure of a community existed again in Jerusalem, one would expect the same finality to be seen, but in a different situation. That is, one could envisage a new *Sitz im Leben* in a new re-telling of a recently established tradition. Pre-exilic 'prophetic finality' would thus have become the antecedent for post-exilic usage and therefore a support for the Chr.'s appeal for strict adherence to law: God judged once, what could prevent him from doing it again? Prophetic finality would have served as a useful device for the Chr, since as we have seen, he did not function as a prophet in the generally accepted sense of the word and since prophecy was itself either dead or dormant at the time of the Chr. We must not by-pass


40. von Rad, p. 185; ET, p. 179.
the phrase 'ad-hoc-Inspirationen' without asking what it means. Von Rad uses 'free inspiration' when speaking of the composition of the Hexateuch and 'ad hoc inspiration' when referring to the prophets. One can not be sure this is a clue as to the meaning of the latter term because he is likely using the two concepts synonymously. If this is so, one wonders why he does not simply use 'Inspirationen' for both.

As we have seen above von Rad uses 'free inspiration' to portray the Chr.'s application of뉴 in describing the prophetic activity of an army officer, a priest, and a Levite.41 Von Rad's use of the term in these instances implies that his understanding of it underwent a change when he applied it to the Chr. This is a very broad use of free inspiration, the control of which is so open or non-existent, that the term itself becomes virtually meaningless. Von Rad would have done better to have spoken of linguistic changes over a period of time due to natural processes.

Von Rad also expands on his view of inspiration by using the phrase 'the dignity of enlightenment by the spirit.'42 when speaking of the wise-men. One could argue that this is his definition of inspiration, a definition that applies to the various persons who wrote or --re-wrote -- Israel's witness to her faith. He also appears to distinguish between two different categories of literary production in the Old Testament: the Yahwists and prophets (and perhaps the wise-men) in one category, and the Chr. and redactors in another? Evidently von Rad believes that the prophets drew particular conclusions from quite

41. See footnote 20.

obvious facts. Yet it must be noted that the term charisma also appears in this section. It would appear that to understand fully von Rad's view of inspiration as found in his Theologie, one must look carefully at his understanding and use of charisma.

3. Charisma/Intuition: a Key to Nacherzählen

Since the word Charisma occurs so frequently in both volumes of von Rad's Theologie, and since it also seems so closely tied to his use of inspiration, it will also be necessary to examine carefully the chapter 'Sacral Office and Charisma in Ancient Israel' in order to determine what von Rad means by this term and how he applies it to the Chr.

Von Rad gives what amounts to a definition of Charisma in the following passage:

... office and charisma were the prolongation of the arm of Jahweh himself, who was present in person and whose zeal determined everything in sovereign fashion. The supreme court was neither a sacral institution nor a charismatic person, but Jahweh himself, for whom it was an easy matter to break with even the most legitimate institution or the best-attested charisma. He was lord and limit of both, the official and the charismatic alike.43

All institutions were subordinated to the sole personal will of Yahweh in such a manner as to make justice a unique matter. It was Yahweh himself who was addressing men, not just some neutral law. Yahweh had jurisdiction in Israel. Justice was not embodied in an objective code, but in Yahweh himself. Here von Rad is certainly arguing for the phenomenon of God's action in the life of Israel. Indeed, in his view

43. von Rad, p. 106; ET, p. 93.
Yahweh even has a right to 'contradict' previous indications, and to supersede a charisma. Thus, when charisma dies with the prophets, the loss need not precipitate a crisis provided that Yahweh is 'breaking' new ground.

Von Rad's conception of law is also more personal and dynamic than objective and static: 'it was God's will for order, which in the end could never become really stabilized and objective'. However, the Israelites eventually had to attempt to understand it and administer it as can be seen in the judges when leaders such as Deborah administer justice. Von Rad's assessment of that situation is significant:

... Deborah's administration of justice is without any doubt to be taken as charismatic (Jdg. 4.4f): but, things being what they were, not even the normal administration of justice at the gate could be without a certain charismatic authority. 44

Von Rad here would appear to be arguing for the dynamic writing of saving history when God's earlier act was made present for a new situation. This would stand in opposition to the static use of law in scribal religion or Judaism. The Chr. appears to be seen as part of the latter situation.

One antecedent of charisma is found in holy war: 45 Yahweh gave his protection to the people, charisma came upon the leader-to-be who called the people into battle. Yahweh went out and won the battle for the people, and the people fought what amounted to a mopping-up operation.

44. von Rad, p. 107; ET, p. 95.

45. von Rad, p. 108; ET, pp. 95-96; see use of Charisma in von Rad's Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel (Göttingen, 1951), pp. 20, 24, 27, 28, 54, 61, and 67 where this concept again plays an important role in the development of his thesis.
However, charismatic leadership in war died with the rise of the state and with the loss warfare became a secular activity for Israel and its kings. Charisma was regained when

... the great prophets who, with their unprecedented claim to recognize in this very realm Jahweh's rising up and his final decisions, recovered the whole realm of politics for the faith.46

One might ask in this connection whether charisma had been preserved among the priests. Yet although they remained as the chief representatives and custodians of Yahwism, they never claimed charisma for themselves. For them divine decisions were a technical affair to be carried out within their sacral authorization. It is surprising that the priests who were Yahwists, were not charismatic. However, if the record of their activity comes from post-exilic documents when charisma was 'dead' and when law was becoming fundamental, then perhaps we should not expect to find charisma among the priests.

Von Rad further notes that charisma became associated with the monarchy when David was anointed king (referred to earlier in I Sam. 16. 13) and that David alludes to it in the last words attributed to him (II Sam. 22. 2). In both cases the הוהי זר יר came upon David. It is difficult to demonstrate how this phenomenon functioned during David's reign. It is much easier to show how quickly the monarchy gave 'the strongest impulse through the measures it adopted to the secularization of Israel...' as von Rad points out.47 Thus in his practice David

47. von Rad, p. 109; ET, p. 96.
seems to work outside of charisma rather than within or even in conjunction with it.\textsuperscript{48}

Since the monarchy had secularized Israel, and since in the Dtr. history so many kings are held responsible for making Israel sin, does not this put the monarchy in a bad light and the law and Sinai in a better light? Would this lead von Rad to favour the Hexateuch and the prophets, as the sources of Yahwism (with the Dtr. as the defender of Yahwism), but not the Chr. who paints a 'positive' picture of David and the monarchy?\textsuperscript{49} Von Rad even suggests that this royal claim for charisma was nothing more than a claim, 'an element of courtly tradition which gave the royal office a further halo of legitimation'.\textsuperscript{50} According to I Kings 3. 5-15 and Isaiah 11. 2, charisma was available, but the kings did not make use of it. Even the prophets could have been at their disposal in this area.

It is with the prophets that the charismatic side of Yahwism came to expression with a completely new force. In the ninth through the seventh centuries a process of internal disintegration had put Yahwism on the defensive so that its representatives were now chiefly in peasant circles. Into this dark age the prophetic movement 'erupted like a volcano'. Prophecy recovered for Yahwism extensive areas of life which

\textsuperscript{48} von Rad, p. 109; ET, p. 96, e.g., his kingship in Hebron, the competition for leadership of the other tribes, the capital in Jerusalem, Absalom conspiracy, census for power, and instruction to Solomon to assure his power.

\textsuperscript{49} The Chr.'s picture of David omits the prophetic critique over the Bathsheba incident.

\textsuperscript{50} von Rad, p. 109; ET, p. 96.
Israel had forgotten or neglected. However, the prophets found themselves in conflict with the kings.

[An] antagonistic isolation vis-a-vis all state and sacral offices alike is characteristic of the prophecy of the eighth and seventh centuries. Vis-a-vis all the demoralized or secularized institutions of Israel around about it, prophecy regarded itself, by virtue of its free charismatic commission, as the one and only authority mediating between Jahweh and Israel, and we may also say, the last directly authorized one.51 (underlining mine)

This assertion begs the question of whether the Chr. was, in von Rad's eyes, Yahwistic, like the Hexateuch, the prophets and the Dtr. or simply a supporter of David. It also leads one to wonder whether the Chr., since he is not charismatic, is therefore not authorized. Von Rad evidently did not believe the Chr. to be anti-Yahwistic, nor did he believe that Yahweh had authorized the Chr. For him the Chr. was simply so far removed from Yahwism that he lacked the understanding of it and sensitivity to it that had characterized his predecessors.52

In this connection, as von Rad points out, it is important to note the place Deuteronomy gives to prophecy. Although the possibility existed for competition among the monarchy, priests, and judicial elders, Deuteronomy drafted a place for each — but not equally.

... the supreme office through which the proper intercourse between Jahweh and Israel is to be carried out is that of the prophet, who will never cease in Israel (Deut. 18:18).53

51. von Rad, p. 111; ET, p. 98.

52. von Rad, p. 114; ET, p. 101 - '...und dass dem Chronisten alle Massstabe zum Verständnis der vorexilischen Propheten und ihrer Charismata fehlten....'

Thus, Israel, properly constituted, must have prophets or, in Von Rad's words, 'Israel . . . stands explicitly under charismatic leadership'.

What is Israel? I suspect von Rad has defined it here. Israel exists when charismatic leadership exists, but Judah (Judaism) arises when charisma is gone. He adds that for post-exilic Israel the messages of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi are high points for charismatic leadership -- the last voice of charisma. This is important because the Chr. wrote either at approximately the same time as they did or within two centuries afterwards. The later date would then place the Chr. in a different category from the charismatic. However, as we shall see later, the messages of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi -- even for von Rad -- are not the last voices of charisma, for, according to Weisheit in Israel, the wise-men also know of it.

Von Rad moves from Deuteronomy to the Priestly Document, in which, he contends, 'the charismatic element has absolutely no room for activity deriving from inspiration', pointing as evidence to the conspicuous 'absence of all directly charismatic manifestations'.


Rad goes to some length to show that P did not even understand Moses or Joshua as charismatic. He suggests that this coincides with the imperfect theological understanding P has of Israel.

This conclusion tallies with our knowledge that in the early post-exilic period, prophecy has already come to its end—from then on it apparently disintegrated as an order in its own right. . . . Was the post-exilic community to be completely without the charismatic element which . . . was constitutive of Jahwism?56

Von Rad implies that Israel had to decide whether the charismatic had a place or not which is surprising because he apparently also believes that charisma was an act of Yahweh and therefore beyond Israel's control. Is he saying that the priestly movement (post-exilic) resisted charisma while the wise-men were open to charisma and received it?

He seems to suggest that the Chr.'s writing indicates that some representatives and spokesmen for the charismatic are still to be found (the wise-men). Yet he argues that 'the Chr. lacked all standards for an understanding of the pre-exilic prophets and their charisma'.57

One wonders who represented the charismatic after prophecy ceased or, to use von Rad's terminology, whether הנחיה הנחיה or inspiration were still in evidence after the end of the prophetic period. Von Rad seems to contradict himself when commenting upon the wise-men and the Chr. If the Levites, as von Rad suggests, regarded themselves as heirs of the prophets, and if the Chr. derives his material from the Levites (who were contemporaries), why is it that the Chr. did not have a more

56. von Rad, Theologie, I, p. 113; ET, p. 100.

adequate understanding of the Levites and charisma, or a similar experience as the prophets and their charisma?

He maintains that the Chr. refers to charisma, but with something less than precision; witness, for example, his observation that the Chr. refers to various kinds of people as having been inspired (an army officer, a prophet, a Levite, and a priest). Could this indicate a revival of the charismatic in the Chr.'s era? Or is the Chr. merely quoting a source that contains the terminology? Or is the Chr. using terminology which he does not understand in its original sense but is applying it in a new sense? Is the Chr. reshaping the material? Von Rad does, however, believe that

... the operation of the divine spirit of inspiration had by no means withdrawn into the cultic realm. From far outside of it men came forward who very seriously laid claim to the dignity of enlightenment by the spirit—the wise men (Proverbs 1. 23).

This amounts to a declaration that charisma did not totally die with the end of the prophetic period. The wisdom literature was a beneficiary of this phenomenon, but somehow the Chr. at most saw it only from afar.

Von Rad also indicates that charisma was active in the area of instruction and teaching (II Chronicles 35. 3; Nehemiah 8. 7ff.). But was this teaching really assisted by charisma? Why could it not have been exercised in the same way as the priestly cult? Are the priestly school (non-charismatic) and the Levites (charismatic, and also subordinate in function to the priests) the two groups or traditions

58. See footnote 20 (Part I).

that are 'closely interwoven', but do not touch? They seemed to have operated reasonably well on a technical basis. Or, if, as von Rad suggests, the Chr. depends on a Levitical tradition does this then inject into his source of tradition a positive attitude toward charisma? What are the differences between the Levites and the Priests? If the Levites are the 'country-folk', then their association with grass roots Yahwism and the prophets could have given them the possibility of being spokesmen for charisma, whereas the priests, if they are the city-based (Jerusalem) spokesmen, were in another tradition. How do we distinguish between them within the Priestly Document and elsewhere? Von Rad's method of discerning the Levites and priests within various documents seems somewhat arbitrary. If the distinction is real, then it will be important for understanding the Chr, since it is argued that the Chr. was influenced by or used Levitical sources.

Von Rad discloses an operative principle of his methodology in the final paragraph of 'Sacral Office and Charisma'.

It is therefore evident that the charismatic was an absolutely constitutive factor in Jahwism. It appeared in many forms, in the guise of an inspiration for war and in the word of the prophets, in the praises of the Levitical singers and in the counsel and teaching of the wise men. Where it was absent, crisis supervened, and when it finally disappeared, the end of ancient Jahwism had been sealed, and the day of scribal religion had dawned.

60. See page 10, n.16.


Although von Rad allows that the Chr. employed the idea of charisma, he places the Chr. ultimately in the category described at the end of the quote above — 'scribal religion', a term which he uses as a synonym for Judaism.

Later in Volume I in the section entitled 'Israel's Anointed', von Rad states that behind the narratives about the rise and fall of the judges lies '... the unspoken question, where is the one who serves his people as deliverer not merely on one occasion alone?'. With this in mind, he claims that in order to demonstrate Israel's continual need for leadership, the Dtr. distributed these narratives throughout the time span covered by his text. There may be a clue here as to why von Rad includes charisma in Part I. Does he see charisma, not only as part of Yahwism, but as a stabilizing factor which is evident within Yahwism and the prophets? It then would be a positive influence in the development of dynamic Yahwism, but when absent would lead to a static scribal legalism, i.e., Judaism.

It may be also pointed out that according to the principles of historiography [a discipline which von Rad tolerates], it would not be feasible to define charisma because this supposed phenomenon would be very difficult to examine and verify. However, it could easily be regarded as a phenomenon of Israel's faith. The words used to describe charisma by various writers illustrate this problem. However, von Rad has dared to theologize with respect to the faith of Israel, so he may

63. E.g., super-intelligence or genius; ecstasy; drugs; see C.J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel (Oxford, 1962); recent books mostly ignore this issue.
be permitted [in the face of historiography] to employ such a vague concept as charisma and its influence within Yahwism.

In summary, we make the following observations about charisma. We find charisma in pre-exilic writings [the prophets and Hexateuch]; in post-exilic writings [wisdom literature and poems of the Psalter]. Who wrote the post-exilic material? Von Rad suggests wise men and Levites, respectively, wrote the post-exilic material. The Chr. derived his history from the post-exilic Levites. Von Rad suggested that the Chr. did not fully understand charisma and must therefore have based his accounts on second-hand knowledge. He was a teacher like the Levites whom Ezra sent around among the returnees. But if he used such material, why was he not inspired? The strongest argument has to be the dating of the Chr.'s work, if von Rad's theory is to stand. For the Chr. to be too far removed to understand charisma requires that Chronicles be dated much later than 350 B.C., which was only fifty years after Ezra in Jerusalem or at most seventy-five years. Such a vital tradition as charisma would not quickly disappear without serious consequences to Yahwism. There were a few prophets who spoke after the exile, although the exact dating of some may make their influence not so relevant. Von Rad argues that the wise-men did know charisma.

Could not the Chr. take the sources, re-tell the tradition in light of his own Sitz im Leben and thus reshape the tradition according to his own thesis concerning David and Jerusalem? This is Nacherzählen, but would it be true Yahwism told under the influence of charisma and inspiration? Although the force of von Rad's argument would require him

64. Wellhausen, Prolegomena, p. 171.
to deny this possibility, he appears to have no good reason for doing so.

4. The Genre 'Levitical Sermon' in Chronicles

In this article von Rad tries to establish the thesis that the Levitical tradition was a major source for the Chr. To support his argument, he appeals to an important feature of Chronicles:

. . . historical writings of the Chronicler stand essentially in the mainstream of the deuteronomistic-levitical tradition, and it is wholly in accord with this that religious instruction in the form of interpolated speeches should play a large part of the Books of Chronicles.65

The presentation of these sermons should illustrate how von Rad sees the Chr. in relation to inspiration and charisma. In Volume I of his Theologie, he argues that in the later monarchical era the Levites 'engaged extensively in preaching'.66

Von Rad provides ten examples of Levitical sermons from


66. von Rad, Theologie, I, p. 85; ET, p. 72; also Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium, Das Alte Testament Deutsch 8 (Göttingen, 1964); ET, Dorothea Barton, Deuteronomy. The Old Testament Library (London, 1966), pp. 28-30. [Although not necessary to the present argument, a comparison of the sermons in Deuteronomy and Chronicles (as to style, content, etc.) could prove useful. That project must remain for a later time.]
Chronicles. 67 A brief examination of these passages shows that eight of them were presented in the context of war and that one other may originate in a military situation. In von Rad's later writings, 68 'holy war' plays an important role, and especially in his consideration of the charismatic leader prior to the monarchy. This factor evidently was not apparent to von Rad when he wrote 'Levitical Sermon' in 1934, and so his thinking must have undergone a development. If he had written 'Levitical Sermon' after his Theologie, I suspect he would have found some indication of charisma in these war-related sermons. The context of battle implies that if the people were to obey and trust Yahweh, he would act on their behalf and provide the victory -- seemingly good old fashioned Yahwistic charismatic action! If this concept is present in the stories, we must ask what it meant to the Chr. Von Rad seems to say on the basis of his Theologie that the Chr. wrote but did not understand.

Here von Rad's comment concerning the sermon in II Chronicles 20. 15-17 where I Sam. 17. 47 is quoted, i.e., 'the battle is Yahweh's, כִּי לְיהוָה הוָלִמָה, is worthy of note in this regard. Does this not sound like charisma and holy war? Yet, von Rad says,

The paradox that the battle is Yahweh's, and not theirs, is presented to the people in strictly homiletic fashion, and the underlying thought is not prophetic but instructional . . . . 69

67. I Chronicles 28. 2-10; II Chronicles 25. 7ff.; 16. 7-9; 15. 2-7; 19. 6ff.; 20. 15-17; 20. 20; 32. 7-8a; 29. 5-11; 30. 6-9; 28. 2-10.

68. See von Rad's Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel (Zürich, 1958), and numerous references to holy war in his Theologie, Band I.

It would appear that his criterion, that the Chr. was part of scribal religion, dictates here that this can only be homiletical (which it certainly is) but not the dynamic re-telling of the event itself. In these sermons it appears that God is at least offering to act on behalf of Israel. Did the Chr. use them just as an interesting tale? Or did he not even have a clue about the implication for the ancients?

In a very brief sermon, II Chronicles 20. 20, where Isaiah is quoted, von Rad sees a 'decadent element' in Jehoshaphat's speech. The Chr. had made Yahweh and his prophets both 'objects worthy of faith'.

We cannot rightly equate faith in God with faith in his commandments, and then attribute redemptive power to both. Anyone who tries to do so doubtless shows great reverence for holy writ and for the agents of Jahweh, but also displays a singular lack of insight into the real import of the prophetic oracle he quotes. 70

Von Rad is here arguing for God as the only object of faith and that holy writ only serves as an instrument of God in revelation. Where does divine revelation occur — in the text or in the witness of Israel's faith? Since von Rad argues for the latter, it is obvious that here he is criticising the Chr., a scribal religionist, for using the prophet's words as text. Thus von Rad's view of Scripture is shown here as well as his understanding of Israel as opposed to Judaism.

In the next sermon he reviews I Chronicles 28. 2-10, saying of the Chr.,

Evidently the Chronicler has lost sight of the

70. von Rad, p. 255; ET, p. 274.
particular situation, and has fallen into the common homiletic style.\textsuperscript{71}

Even if his accusation is justified von Rad fails to provide an adequate answer to the question of what process Israel adheres to when they give witness of their faith in the re-telling of tradition so as not to 'lose sight of the particular situation and fall into some homiletic style' or scribalism. Why was this process not available to the Chr.? In his Theologie, von Rad implies that this process came into operation again when the New Testament writers used the Old Testament. The fact that scribal religion had arrived determines von Rad's conclusion. For example,

If these speeches are free compositions interpolated by the Chronicler, evidently they will have been shaped to a great extent by his own presuppositions. \textsuperscript{72}

To this must be added, the Chr.'s 'own admittedly limited literary capacity' (wherever that is admitted!):

We must not be misled by the fact that the Chronicler presents many of these sermons in the guise of inspired utterances, and that occasionally even the style and form of prophetic oracles are found in them (e.g., the phrase, 'Thus says Jahweh', \textsuperscript{73}

Along with the 'general character of the work as a whole' is the assumption that charisma, such as the prophets experienced, was absent.

\textsuperscript{71} von Rad, p. 257; ET, p. 276.

\textsuperscript{72} von Rad, p. 257; ET, p. 277.

\textsuperscript{73} von Rad, pp. 257-258, n. 25; ET, p. 277, n. 27.
Yet, as will be shown below, the wise men somehow operated under its influence.

Von Rad also believes that the Chr.'s work lacks originality: 'He is quite the last person whom we should credit with the creation of anything, let alone a new literary form'. 74 Moreover,

There is no doubt that the tendency which we have noticed to quote from earlier written sources is indicative of a declension in religious vigour and spontaneity. 75

The preacher has become a scribe! Von Rad in 1957 is not much different from von Rad in 1934 in this regard. However, if Chronicles is examined afresh without relegating it a priori to Judaism, would one still draw the same conclusion as von Rad has done?

5. Heilsweisheit

In his two volume Theologie des Alten Testaments, von Rad did not find a place for the Old Testament wisdom literature. It was not part of the Hexateuch or the prophetic literature. So the appearance of Weisheit in Israel 76 was an answer to his critics and a solution to the problem of wisdom. With this in mind his thesis in Weisheit will now be examined in the light of the critique of his Theologie given above, so

74. von Rad, p. 258; ET, p. 277 - 'Er ist wirklich der letzte, der mit Neuschöpfungen irgendwelcher -- am wenigsten noch formaler! -- Art hervortritt.'

75. von Rad, p. 260; ET, p. 279.

as to determine whether Weisheit in Israel contains important data concerning the Chr. and von Rad's own view of Scripture and charisma.

Von Rad describes 'wisdom' as the arena of practical experience and experiential knowledge and as the sphere of order which lends stability and validity to a society. However, the society in question always runs the risk of simplifying and generalizing these 'truths'.

The aforementioned sphere of order exists in dynamic tension between internal development and external threat: from within arises development, self-disclosure and intellectual arranging; from without comes the threat of contrary experiences. This tension, in turn, engenders a process of resistance and preservation.

Studies in the wisdom literature of the ancient Near East have shown that Israel and her neighbors acquired similar perceptions concerning life and reality. Differences arose when Israel set its proverbs or maxims in a specific spiritual or religious context. Israel's wisdom seemed to proceed 'along a razor's edge between faith and knowledge'. It is important to understand how these proverbs and maxims came into being. Was it by mere reason alone or, as von Rad says, by a particular 'kind of intuition.'?


78. von Rad, Weisheit, p. 16; ET, p. 5.

What does von Rad mean by Intuition? In the *Wichtige Stichworte* of *Weisheit in Israel* where he lists Intuition, Charisma is placed in parenthesis. However, on looking up references to the terms, one will find the following words or phrases used as substitutes for Intuition or Charisma in the text: 'ein inspiratorisches Ereignis'; 'eine Art von prophetischer Inspiration'; 'von einer vorausgegangenen göttlichen Eingebung'; 'eine charismatische Gabe'. Even though the English translation may not show much connection between intuition and charisma,

Von Rad lists the following related words in the *Wichtige Stichworte*:

[a] Charisma. Charisma according to Sirach 39:1-11 'is founded on a personal relationship of prayer with God, for God alone...could furnish [the wise man] with a charisma which would enable him faithfully to fulfil his teaching office (p. 38, ET, p. 23).

[b] Ein inspiratorisches Ereignis. The wisdom given by Yahweh is 'not...on the same level as the other gifts of God — honour, life, wealth, posterity — but...a phenomenon of a particular type...of special theological significance.' (p. 78, ET, p. 55). Wise men attribute their reception of this gift 'einem inspiratorischen Ereignis' (cf. Job 32. 8, 18).

[c] Eine Art von prophetischer Inspiration. God had entrusted the wise man 'with a perception which forced him to speak'; the perception, received from God, was recalled as eine Art von prophetischer Inspiration, i.e., 'something strong which he [was] unable to resist' (both citations are from p. 78, ET, p. 56).

[d] Eine vorausgegangenen göttlichen Eingebung. Wise men confronted by 'difficult problems...were enabled to face this exacting work by a direct, divine impulse...the need also grew to legitimize their perception' as having derived von einer vorausgegangenen göttlichen Eingebung (p. 80, ET, p. 56).

[e] Eine charismatische Gabe. The connection between Charisma/Intuition and prophetic ideas and methods is obvious. Reason [die Vernunft] was for ancient Israel 'not simply part of the natural equipment of each simple man, but was, rather, basically something like [eine charismatische Gabe] which was not available to everyone (p. 376, ET, p. 296).

[f] Intuition. Intuition, rather than clever rules, 'helped the [student] to transfer correctly the general instruction to his own situation' (p. 393, ET, p. 309). What is this but an example of Nacherzählungen? 'Again and again it had to be established anew from the very heart of Yahwism' (p. 393, ET, p. 309). It appears that this is done when charisma or העריך is present.
from the several contexts of these German phrases and words, one must conclude that von Rad is using them synonymously.

What is his method in approaching the material? Von Rad seeks to determine some of the specific trends of thought and the theological contexts in which Israel's wisdom functioned and to understand how this wisdom can be appropriately interpreted. He proposes to

... arrange them according to certain groups of problems and treat together some of the principal teachings which clearly are of importance among these instructions. 81

However, he points out that the total ideological picture must be taken into account as well, even though it is one of 'fluidity and variability'. 82

When was the wisdom literature written? In earlier scholarship, wisdom was assumed to be a religious phenomenon of the post-exilic period, but recent investigation has shown that it was common to the ancient Near East, dating even from the third millennium B.C. right up to the late period. These results made it feasible to date some materials in the early monarchy. However, of more importance here is what was wrongly assumed. The post-exilic assumption was based on an opinion which scholars

... had drawn of spiritual and religious movements and developments in ancient Israel. It was, above all, the rigid, individual 'doctrine of retribution' that they felt obliged to regard as characteristic of a late period. 83

82. von Rad, p. 17; ET, p. 6.
What von Rad goes on to say about the work of such scholars has relevance for the questions raised by this study with respect to the Chr.

It was particularly disadvantageous that at this stage in the investigation scholars were unable to free themselves from what we now see to have been a much too confused set of questions. They considered the book of Proverbs . . . to be a specifically religious book. Since, however, the results of these particular researches were not exactly satisfactory . . . they felt obliged to deduce from the book of Proverbs that there had been a decided loss of religious content in the post-exilic period.

Von Rad sees the problem here to be the negative view of the post-exilic period which scholars had inherited from Wellhausen. Note that the exile is characterized as a period which had lost much of its religious content. (By religious, he means a dynamic, creative atmosphere of worship such as characterized the legalism of Judaism.) It is also the category into which von Rad puts the Chr. He argues here that wisdom must not be regarded in such a negative way. It is significant that von Rad's view in Weisheit, if applied to the Chr, would relegate the Chr. (still) to a negative context.

Finally, by way of introduction, how does wisdom fit into von Rad's time scheme? Does it fall into the category of pre-monarchy, monarchy, and post-monarchy? Is wisdom a fourth unit in time or was it concurrent with all or part of the three periods mentioned above? Von Rad does not think it profitable, or perhaps even possible, to describe wisdom during the time of the pre-exilic monarchy. He does assume that an older clan-type wisdom must have existed. He treats Proverbs 10 to 29 as the

initial point on his scale of wisdom and the book of Sirach as the conclusion, and believes that apocalyptic literature arose out of wisdom. Thus, it seems correct to describe wisdom as a product of previous stages. There is, for example, a progression in style:

Diagram A

Hexateuch → Prophets → Wisdom

However, as far as sequence of time is concerned wisdom does not merely follow the monarchy, because it arises during the monarchy and extends into the post-monarchical period.

Diagram B

Pre-monarchy → Monarchy → Post-monarchy → Wisdom

As will be demonstrated in the following section, wisdom for von Rad also belongs to the historical situation; it is the saving event placed in a new time perspective. It is not part of the 'law become absolute' and the enigmatic 'beyond time' to which Judaism belongs and apparently, for von Rad, the Chr. as well. In a logical sense, Weisheit in Israel could follow the conclusion of von Rad's volume one of Theologie des Alten Testaments where he deals with 'Scepticism' and wisdom literature in a very brief sketch.85

Five of the topics treated in Weisheit in Israel are important for understanding von Rad's Theologie and, consequently, the Books of Chronicles.

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A. Didactic Traditions and Charisma

From the late period comes a clearer understanding of the activities of Israel's teachers and their office. Sirach 39. 1-11 is used by von Rad to give 'an ideal portrait of a scholar and teacher of the time of Sirach (about 200 B.C.)'. As one of those whose task it was 'to perceive truth' the scholar and teacher had to perform the following functions:

- research the law of the Most High
- serve primarily as a scribe
- develop a mastery of the law and ancient traditions
- have a 'concern with prophecy'
- interpret proverbs and riddles
- serve a ruler, and accompany him on journeys

It is noteworthy that von Rad, so early in his book (chapter two), quotes Sirach, which is not part of the traditional Hebrew canon. He is displaying his freedom, flowing from his own presuppositions, to wander beyond the familiar thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, since according to his view of Scripture his investigations ought not to be limited by the canon as such.

It is also strange that von Rad believes that this teacher, as one who occupied himself with the law, must have been a scribe despite the fact that the old wisdom teachers apparently were not scribes. In his *Theologie* he describes the period after the exile as one of scribes.

religion, but he does not do so in a positive way as he does here. Wherein lies the difference? His answer:

All this, however, would have to be founded on a personal relationship of prayer with God, for God alone - if it was his will - could furnish [the scribe] with a charisma which would enable him faithfully to fulfil his teaching office.88

The distinction here seems to lie in two areas, prayer and the will of God. It appears that in prayer the teacher could receive charisma which would enable him to perform all of the functions mentioned above. Does this not imply that the Chr. perhaps failed to pray or that it apparently was not God's will for the Chr. to write with charisma? As was noted above von Rad did not think that the Chr. was even acquainted with charisma.

In light of this, it is significant that von Rad quotes Sirach 39. 5-8 in support of his argument:

5 He will set his heart to rise early to seek the Lord who made him and will make supplication before the Most High; he will open his mouth in prayer and make supplication for his sins.

6 If the great Lord is willing he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom and give thanks to the Lord in prayer.

7 He will direct his counsel and knowledge aright, and meditate on his secrets.

8 He will reveal instruction in his teaching, and will glory in the law of the Lord's covenant.

Is it possible that von Rad sees here a definition of inspiration, since the teacher is seen as having competence in the law, familiarity

88. von Rad, p. 38; ET, p. 23.
with the tradition, and a concern with prophecy? Is the qualification of wisdom writers dependent on how they used the traditions? Was not the Chr. also using tradition when he compiled Chronicles? It should be noted here that the teacher must gain 'charisma' in order to carry out his job properly. Moreover, in the conclusion of the book, he indicates that the teacher of wisdom will also leave room for his student to use 'Intuition'\(^9\) as a means of transferring correctly the general instruction to his own particular situation. Charisma and intuition thus seem connected to the proper understanding or application of truth. This arrangement also allows room for creative application or restatement (Nacherzähl.) Such a relationship between teacher and student is didactic but does not involve mere dictation.

B. Knowledge and the Fear of God

What is the source of wisdom? Wisdom as a special gift of Yahweh comes from a fairly late period and it was not regarded as being on a par with other gifts such as honour, life, wealth and posterity. Rather, it was considered 'a phenomenon of a peculiar type and . . . of special theological significance'.\(^9\) Thus wisdom is not a natural thing, but rather an inspiratory event.

> But it is the spirit in man, the divine breath, which makes him understand.
> Job 32. 18

These phrases suggest a type of prophetic inspiration which the wise man would have perceived clearly and would have been unable to resist.

\(^8\) von Rad, p. 393; ET, p. 309.

\(^9\) von Rad, pp. 77-78; ET, p. 55.
Von Rad continues concerning the seriousness of the wise men's task and the questions faced. He says,

... the need also grew to legitimize the perceptions gained - they were mostly of a theological nature - as deriving from a prior act of divine inspiration.91

Von Rad appears to be returning to the concept of prophetic inspiration in order to provide a basis for his contentions with respect to the perception of wisdom. This concurs with the suggestion made earlier in this study, that wisdom arose out of the prophetic tradition.

Was Israel's old proverbial wisdom touched by Yahwism? Von Rad argues that it was by pointing to Israel's 'one world perception' in which rational and religious perceptions were not differentiated.92 Israel's perception of reality included not only political and social issues, but also the burden of guilt and involvement in disobedience. 'Nor was this any different in the case of the prophets'.93 Wise men and prophets in von Rad's perception therefore function in a similar fashion. I would suggest that von Rad sees the wise men in a very positive light — just as he does of Heilsgeschichte in the Hexateuch and, obviously, the prophets. Is it possible that von Rad is hinting at Heilsweisheit? This wisdom movement, as he describes it, certainly contains the proper characteristics for such a designation: creative re-telling, an inspiration similar to that of the prophets, and

91. von Rad, pp. 79-80; ET, p. 56.
92. von Rad, p. 86; ET, p. 61.
Charisma/Intuition. These are the ingredients of Heilsgeschichte, except that wisdom, unlike Heilsgeschichte, is not narrative.

Of what significance is the phrase (or its variants) 'the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of knowledge'?94 Von Rad, in the process of describing Israel's understanding of this concept, seems to clarify in the process his own view of religion. Israel was interested in the possibility of, and in the authority for, knowledge. He notes that all human knowledge comes back to the question of commitment to God; this observation contains Israel's theory of knowledge in a nutshell, for

. . . . there lies behind the statement an awareness of the fact that the search for knowledge can go wrong, not as a result of individual, erroneous judgments or of mistakes creeping in at different points, but because of one single mistake at the beginning.95

Only if one begins with knowledge from God can he become an expert on life. Thus, Israel attributes a highly important aspect of human knowledge to the fear of God. Only by effective knowledge of God can one be in a right relationship with all aspects of life and thereby ask the kinds of questions that will lead to further growth in wisdom.

What according to von Rad at this point kept Israel's faith dynamic and whole? Again, 'fear of Yahweh' or faith in God is crucial.

Faith does not. . . hinder knowledge; on the contrary, it is what liberates knowledge, enables it really to come to the point and indicates to it its proper place in the sphere of varied, human activity. In Israel, the intellect never freed itself from or became independent of the foundation of its whole existence, that is its commitment to Yahweh.96

94. Proverbs 1. 7; 9. 10; 15. 33; Psalm 111. 10; Job 28. 28.

95. von Rad, p. 94; ET, p. 67.

96. von Rad, p. 95; ET, p. 68.
In fact von Rad also points to later didactic literature where the writers caution readers to retain or foster a close dependence on 'the basis of Israel's life'. He goes on to quote Jeremiah's comment on the wisdom of those who despise God's word, 'what kind of wisdom is that for them?' (8. 9).

The conflict which arose, and remains for the modern world, is this:

... insights which at one stage (were) correct [became] 'dogmatically' hardened; ... experience no longer [continued] to liberate that which is known and ... that which is known [was] not being constantly re-examined ... .

This helps to explain why von Rad sees the Chr. in such a bad light, for in his view the Chr., in trying to re-establish the temple cult while maintaining his association with Scribalism/Judaism, ends up by reshaping formerly correct insights into dogmatic policies. This is how von Rad must treat the Chr. if he is to be faithful to his presuppositions.

However, if one does not assume that the Chr. is part of Judaism, if the Chr. is not presupposed to be a poor historian per se, if the Chr. is not a legalist and a teacher of retribution, could not the Chr. be seen as properly fearing God and thereby re-stating formerly correct insights in a new way for a new day? The Chr. can be understood in this way and von Rad could have made a more realistic appraisal of the

97. von Rad, p. 95; ET, p. 68.
98. von Rad, p. 98; ET, p. 70.
99. This seems to be where Willi, Die Chronik als Auslegung und Mosis, Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes, are allowing the Chr. to function in a positive manner.
Chr. if he had chosen to detach the Chr. from Judaism and scribal religion.

C. The Limits of Wisdom

In light of the statement, 'the fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom', two possibilities are quickly eliminated: self-glorification cannot be combined with trust in Yahweh and wisdom itself cannot become the object of trust. In the process of re-telling (Nachezählen) that went on in Israel, the original event did not become static, but was renewed in the re-telling. Wisdom, as von Rad points out, would become static if it became the object of trust. Wisdom remained dynamic as long as it was kept in balance with the limitations of man and with trust in God.

Perhaps von Rad believes that the Chr. has made the law the object of his trust, and that it has become for him a dogmatic statement, one that is no longer inspired, affected byNeutral, or charismatic. Significant, in this respect, is his reference to Jeremiah 9. 23-24:

Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom,
let not the mighty man glory in his might,
let not the rich man glory in his riches.
But let him who glories glory in this,
that he has understanding and knows me,
that I am Yahweh who practices kindness,
justice and righteousness on earth;
for in these things do I delight.

Jeremiah's word is an interpretation of the deepest insights of the wise men and would probably be von Rad's word to the Chr. concerning the law, history and the temple. However, the question remains: Did the Chr. really glory in the law and temple? Or did he seek to re-state the truths associated with them with a dynamic relevance for the post-exilic
day? Concerning ignorance of facts or attempts toward certainty, von Rad observes,

You must always remain open for a completely new experience. You will never become really wise, for, in the last resort, this life of yours is determined not by rules but by God.100

This could describe in von Rad's understanding, where and how the Chr. went wrong. How, then, can one re-state concepts or establish 'rules' in a new era without appearing to be a legalist or Judaistic?

D. Self-Revelation of Creation

In chapter nine von Rad examines Job 28 and Proverbs 8, and his analysis provides helpful insights into his perception of the relationship between wisdom literature and Heilsgeschichte. Job 28 and Proverbs 8 describe wisdom as having been created by God and placed by him within creation. Wisdom exists, but being far removed from man, it is incapable of being grasped totally. It is 'meaning implanted by God in creation'.101 Such ideas are thus present in wisdom literature, but not as late additions, or new concepts; rather, as von Rad argues, Israel's use of wisdom must date back to its early history, for

. . . these comparatively late texts are dealing with an ordering power whose existence has been felt in Israel from the earliest times. But there speaks from them a generation of teachers who obviously felt the necessity of thinking through in very basic terms and of reformulating a subject which had for long been implicitly presupposed in their teachings.102

Thus wisdom literature is reinterpreting a very old insight in order to express it in a manner never before used. The concepts of

100. von Rad, p. 143; ET, p. 106.
Heilsgeschichte and Nacherzählten suggest themselves here, and if they are indeed present, wisdom would qualify as part of the redemptive story. Von Rad notes that the re-telling of wisdom literature included both an element of stability and an element of fluidity, and that teachers of wisdom bore this in mind in their attempts to understand their world.

Job 28 and Proverbs 8 also reveal the overwhelming power of the mystery of wisdom and yet the fact that it makes itself known, to a certain degree, to man. This divine mystery in creation is the object of contemplation by the teachers, but it can never fully be grasped.

Since the concept of Heilsgeschichte always allows for a new opportunity for re-telling, i.e., a re-application or re-interpretation, and since the nature of wisdom precluded anyone from ever totally grasping it, such a concept fits within von Rad's system. Wisdom literature functions within these parameters. Scribal religion, on the other hand, would be judged by Heilsgeschichte and wisdom, since it absolutized religion as a well-defined system and presented itself as being omniscient. Has the Chr. done anything so differently from the way the Dtr. handled the Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Kings material, or the way the wise men handled self-revelation in creation? Must the Chr. be relegated to the category of scribal religion?

Wisdom also calls out to man. Creation not only exists, but it also discharges truth. Thus, the writers of wisdom had stumbled onto a novel phenomenon with declaratory power. Previously, according to von Rad, revelation came via the cult, or history (narrative), or those who spoke out of free charisma, but the wisdom writers speak of the
self-revelation of creation. Von Rad points out that the wise men never troubled themselves about this problem; they evidently believed that the various kinds of revelation complemented one another in some way. It is Sirach who much later brings a harmonization to this problem [Sirach 24. 7-11]. Von Rad suggests that Sirach has here drawn a line from the primeval order right through to the revelation of Yahweh in the Jerusalem temple, 'a great, ambitious sketch of salvation history'.

The primeval order (wisdom) sought a dwelling among men and was directed by God to the people of Israel. Only here could she develop, for only here were men open to her, only here did they serve her aright, for in Israel the primeval order had revealed herself in the form of Torah.

'Could Torah-theology have invaded the domain of wisdom and assimilated it?', asks von Rad. He suggests rather that the opposite occurred. 'Wisdom has attempted to explain . . . the phenomenon of Torah and has done so in very untraditional terms'. Thus the crucial question, faced by later wisdom, of whether or not Yahwism could continue, was answered in the affirmative on the basis of primeval order. For this reason, I would like to propose the following sequence and terminology for understanding the relation between von Rad's Theologie and his Weisheit in Israel.

103. von Rad, p. 216; ET, p. 166 - '...ein grosser anspruchsvoller heilsgeschichtlicher Entwurf....

104. von Rad, p. 216; ET, p. 166.


Yahwism was sustained by salvation history in the re-telling of the narratives and by the prophets (thus von Rad's two volume *Theologie*). The problem which arose and threatened the vitality and dynamism of Yahwism was the dogmatizing of torah or scribal religion. Would Yahwism become a 'dead orthodoxy'? No, because wisdom, the primeval order, was seeking out man and revealing herself to Israel. The wise men heard this 'voice' and thus continued to proclaim salvation in what might be called 'wisdom salvation' (*Heilsweisheit*). 'The fear of Yahweh is the beginning of wisdom'. In the process of critical study beginning with de Wette and Wellhausen and including von Rad, the Books of Chronicles were associated with the problem of Torah-theology and placed in the context of its resultant form, Judaism, which for von Rad did not represent dynamic Yahwism. Yet, this approach need not have been taken.

E. The Wisdom of Jesus Sirach

Although the writings of Sirach are not universally considered part of the body of Old Testament canonical literature, von Rad includes them in his *Weisheit in Israel*.¹⁰⁷ If the title of his book defines the range of material to be considered, then it should obviously be

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included. If the traditional canon of the Old Testament is used, then Sirach would be left out. The fact that von Rad includes Sirach is most likely an indirect statement against the limitations of canon and a direct statement about the extent of the process of Heilsgeschichte and Heilsweisheit.

Von Rad's high estimation of Sirach as a source for the study of wisdom also manifests itself in the number of references he makes to it, in comparison to the other wisdom books, in the 'Wichtige Stichworte' (at the end of Weisheit in Israel).¹⁰⁸

The chief question which von Rad raises with regard to Sirach is 'its relationship to the received tradition, that is, the question about the nature of its reproduction'.¹⁰⁹ He is interested, as one might expect in Nacherzählern, in whether new tensions appear in this late writing and, if so, in the form that they take. He concludes

... that the teachings in Sirach are still highly mobile. At every turn he was forced - obviously in the face of a changing intellectual situation - to expand along topical lines.¹¹⁰

Sirach appears to have no inner structure, it simply brings together bodies of tradition including well-known old material as well as some new material. Thus Sirach is evidently involved in a kind of re-telling.

Sirach regards wisdom primarily as a human characteristic which is eagerly sought after. However, he also makes statements which show

¹⁰⁸. Sirach receives four and a half columns of entries, Proverbs eight, Job thee and a half, and Ecclesiastes one.


wisdom to be something other than the product of human endeavour. Wisdom, for example, approaches man, welcomes, feeds, and exalts him (15. 2-7). What ontological definition can be given wisdom? Von Rad says, 'Only as a beneficent, ordering power within creation to which man, in his world, is exposed, which woos him and leads him to knowledge.'\textsuperscript{111} But notice Sirach 1. 10:-

She (wisdom) swells with all flesh according to his (Yahweh) gift, and he gives her to those who fear him.

in which Sirach seems to consider wisdom to be a 'charisma' (von Rad's word here) bestowed by God.\textsuperscript{112} Sirach is certainly using the correct concepts for von Rad's system!

However, some changes have occurred in Sirach; von Rad suggests, for example, that his words must be multiplied since the clarity of language of earlier periods was gone. He also notes that Sirach finds it necessary to re-define the heretofore straightforward tradition of the fear of God so as to be able to recommend it to his generation:

The old ideas need to be interpreted afresh, they must be adapted to the ideas and to the taste of a different age, and this at once raises the question whether, then, Sirach means the same by the fear of God as did the old teachers.\textsuperscript{113}

Old wisdom in which fear of God referred to man's knowledge about his dependence on God gives way in Sirach to fear of God as an experience which comes via consciousness, feelings and inclinations. That is a rather significant change, a shift from a somewhat mysterious dependence

\textsuperscript{111} von Rad, p. 312; ET, p. 242.

\textsuperscript{112} See also Sirach 16. 25; 18. 29; 24. 33; 39. 6; 1. 27.

\textsuperscript{113} von Rad, p. 313; ET, p. 243.
to clarified emotional responses. Sirach seems to be a perfect model of how a tradition came to need definition and re-statement for a new generation. This indicates to some degree why von Rad used Sirach as an example: Sirach contains Nacherzählungen. Probably the most important aspect of Sirach as far as Nacherzählungen is concerned is his treatment of Torah. Von Rad acknowledges that many have seen in Sirach an 'alliance between nomism and wisdom', but insists that 'this interpretation is incorrect'. He suggests that a quick look at Sirach's treatment of wisdom would easily invalidate this long-held view:

Where, then, among the vast number of exhortations and counsels has the legal material penetrated wisdom, at what point is the Torah to be discerned as a new norm which has penetrated wisdom?115

Von Rad insists that Sirach's didactic material originates not from Torah but from didactic wisdom tradition.

Sirach does refer to 'the Torah' and 'the commandments', but he does not deal with them in detail. He refers to them, says von Rad, 'in order to give a more precise definition of and to clarify the idea of the fear of God.' What does 'fear of God' mean or how is it clarified by Sirach? Sirach and the older wisdom teachers basically agree on the correlation between fear of God and wisdom. The primary difference in Sirach is 'that he reinterpreted the expression "fear of

114. von Rad, p. 314; ET, p. 244
115. von Rad, p. 314; ET, p. 244.
116. von Rad, p. 315; ET, p. 244.
God" for an age to which the will of God spoke from the written Torah.\footnote{117}

Von Rad admits that Sirach gets slightly 'carried away to total identifications':

\begin{quote}
Torah is fear of God, and wisdom is Torah.\footnote{118}
\end{quote}

But he wishes rather to draw attention to the precise value of the theological role which Sirach assigns Torah, i.e., to define and interpret the term 'fear of God'. Thus Sirach has not taken a new step but has preserved a concern long held in the wisdom tradition.

Yet what matters

\begin{quote}
. . . . is not that wisdom is overshadowed by the superior power of the Torah, but \textit{vice versa}, that we see Sirach endeavoring to legitimatize and to interpret Torah from the realm of understanding characteristic of wisdom.\footnote{119}
\end{quote}

Does this not suggest that wisdom has primacy over Torah? Would this not suggest the presence of \textit{Heilsweisheit}? Perhaps \textit{Heilsweisheit} holds primacy over \textit{Heilsgeschichte}? Supporting this contention is Sirach 24, a magnificent didactic poem, wherein is described how primeval order, which was created before all things, was seeking a resting place; Sirach says that God made Israel its resting place.

Sirach is therefore not simply attempting to legitimize Torah, nor is he merely inquiring into its origins. For him the crucial question is: 'To what extent is Torah a source of wisdom?' Von Rad's answer:

\begin{quote}
\footnote{117. von Rad, p. 315; ET, p. 245.}
\footnote{118. Sirach 1. 16; 19. 20; 21. 11; 23. 27.}
\footnote{119. von Rad, p. 316; ET, p. 245.}
'Because Torah is a self-presentation of primeval order, it is able to help men towards wisdom.'

Torah is being examined and measured by wisdom. In Sirach 24 it is wisdom which speaks, not Torah. When Sirach speaks of wisdom he is enthusiastic, but when he refers to Torah he expresses himself in a rather dull way. As von Rad points out, when Sirach speaks of wisdom, 'this is where Sirach's heart beats.'

Torah is not a subject of deep interest to Sirach; he knows about it; but considers it relevant only in so far as it is to be understood on the basis of, or as it is otherwise connected with, the great complex of wisdom teachings.

Von Rad indicates here his own evaluation of Torah as opposed to wisdom. Although Sirach [c. 180 B.C.] lived at the same time as those whose attitudes contributed to the development of Judaism [which von Rad views as scribal and not identical to dynamic Yahwism], Sirach was not corrupted by Judaism enough to ruin his chances, in the eyes of von Rad, of writing properly! Torah is judged by wisdom. The Chr. stands outside this tradition since von Rad assumes that what he writes refers to the Torah of the scribes rather than to the dynamic Torah of Yahwism, and moreover, that the Chr. regards Torah as the judge of Israel's thought and practice.

The next three quotations show how positively von Rad treats Sirach and/or the teachers of wisdom.

120. von Rad, p. 316; ET, p. 246.
1) Von Rad seems to admire the ability of the wise men, in solving problems, to deal with contradictions yet without developing absolutes -- like Torah, Judaism and the Chr:

Things and events in man's environment are by no means neutral in value or meaning. But they do not make their meaning and value directly discernable to man. On the contrary, they confuse him, for they glide, so to speak, constantly to and fro between good and evil, between useful and harmful, between meaningful and meaningless. This, however, is the task which the wisdom teacher takes upon himself, namely to realize the specific value of each of them from case to case, from situation to situation.123

2) He also notes the flexibility of Sirach in dealing with ambiguities:

[Sirach] teaches the difficult art of finding the right way of looking at things in the midst of ambiguous phenomena and occurrences, and of doing what is right in the sight of God. In order to train his pupils in this, Sirach makes use of what is so characteristic of him, namely that ambivalent, didactic method, that remarkable 'both-and'. In actual practice, only one of them can ever be right.124

Even the balance provided by the last sentence does not diminish von Rad's estimation of Sirach's flexibility. Evidently he regards the Chr., by contrast, as inflexible and dogmatic.

3) He also has a high regard for Sirach's ability to avoid legalism:

The ways in which [Sirach] teaches pupils to look at life are . . . astonishingly flexible. There is nothing here that has been 'legalized' on the basis of Torah. Sirach has not, then, allowed the traditional form of wisdom perception and wisdom teaching to be replaced or restricted by the Torah. And yet much has changed.125

123. von Rad, p. 320; ET, pp. 248-249.
Supposedly, through Nacherzählungen, much tradition in wisdom circles changed due to dynamic re-shaping, yet this was not done in a restricted way as it was in static Judaism. One can assume that von Rad does not regard the Chr. as positively as he does wisdom.

One final question comes to mind. Sirach seems to be the perfect model of the continuation of Nacherzählungen which began in the Hexateuch and continued in the Prophets. The original printing of this chapter on Sirach by von Rad was separate from and prior to the publication of Weisheit in Israel (Sirach, 1969; Weisheit, 1970). Is it possible that the study of Sirach was done first and then became a basis for the examination of all of Israel's wisdom? In the earlier sections of Weisheit in Israel, von Rad refers frequently to Sirach (86 times in pp. 1-239). Sirach is therefore most important in von Rad's presentation of wisdom. Israel's wisdom thus is not far removed from the Hexateuch and the Prophets. Each contributes to the dynamic salvation process by means of Nacherzählungen and thereby maintains the relevance of the tradition for each new era. In fact, wisdom may not simply have existed at the same time as Heilsgeschichte, it may even have superceded it. However, it appears that von Rad's treatment of the Books of Chronicles is based on his view of Scripture, charisma and the dynamic form for Israel's religion as he defines it in Heilsgeschichte.

6. Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes

This chapter is devoted to determining why von Rad gave the Chr. so little attention; why he did not feature the Books of Chronicles to a
greater degree. His *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (published in 1957, 1960) includes a small section entitled 'Das chronistische Geschichtswerk'\(^\text{126}\) as well as frequent reference to the Chr. in the chapter 'Die Gesalbten Jahwes'.\(^\text{127}\) Also, his 'Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik'\(^\text{128}\) is given over entirely to an examination of the form-critical category of sermon in Chronicles. One item which has not yet been examined is *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*.\(^\text{129}\) This work will now be considered in order to establish what von Rad's view of the Chr. was in 1930 and the contributions which Chronicles could have made to his understanding of tradition criticism had he not given them such a superficial treatment.\(^\text{130}\)


130. My treatment of von Rad's *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* is not meant either to confirm or refute his assessment of the Books of Chronicles or the Chr., but rather to highlight those of his assumptions concerning the Chr. which in turn help to describe his own methodology, i.e., tradition criticism and Nacherrzählungen. This basic work was purposely dealt with at the end of this chapter on von Rad's writings so as to provide a more forceful contrast between his methodology and that of Childs. In a subsequent chapter it will be demonstrated that the Books of Chronicles are crucial in establishing Childs's methodology. However, von Rad passed over the Chr. in favour of the Dtr. and the priority of the Hexateuch. Since von Rad's method has already been analyzed, it is now appropriate to examine *Das Geschichtsbild* in order to see clearly what he appears to have overlooked.
A. The Chr. in 1930

In *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*, von Rad evaluates the material of Chronicles for possible use in the development of his traditio-historical method and its application to the Old Testament. Chronicles appears to have the potential for making von Rad's case. In the conclusion he states, '. . . [that the Chr. sought] at all cost the connection to the promises of old . . . [and that] the possession of faith is processed into new theological combinations . . . .'\(^\text{131}\) He is here suggesting, in contrast to Wellhausen, that Chronicles is 'one great appeal to the promises of Yahweh',\(^\text{132}\) and in so doing implies that the Chr. is presenting these promises in a new and dynamic form. He concludes *Geschichtsbild* with the following observation:

The biblical theological conception of the law is enriched to the positive side through Chronicles. In contrast to the sacrifice and atonement theology of the priestly writings, the law of David creates through its emphasis on the promised grace of Yahweh a service of singing praises and thanksgiving. As we pointed out in the beginning of our work, saying that Chronicles is to be counted to the nomistic view of history, we can now see that we really are dealing here with a new conception of law. It is kept in strong expectation through the faith in the promise of the future. The fact that this faith puts the cheerful "law of David" beside the severe law of Moses, is prediction of the "law of Christ".\(^\text{133}\)

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\(^{131}\) von Rad, *Geschichtsbild*, p. 132 (translations used here and below are mine).

\(^{132}\) von Rad, p. 136.

\(^{133}\) von Rad, p. 136.
From this passage it is evident that von Rad rates the Books of the Chronicles much more highly than Wellhausen and most other scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

From this one would think that the von Rad might have made more extensive use of the Chr. in developing his theories. However, as has been demonstrated he did not, owing primarily to his identification of the Dtr. as a primary source, and secondarily to his high estimation of the role played by והшивוהו and Charisma. The Chr. had to take a secondary position, primarily because von Rad identified the Chr.'s writings as being in the mainstream of the Dtr/Levitical tradition. That is, the Chr. borrowed from these sources in composing his work and only provided a small amount of original material himself.

In 'Die levitische Predigt in den Büchern der Chronik' von Rad makes much of the Chr.'s 'limited literary capacity' and his lack of direct prophetic experience. Four years earlier von Rad had made other negative statements about the Chr. in declaring that

The question for the historical picture of the Chronicler is complicated because it is not easily extracted from the reflections and discourses which are scattered in the text. It is known that the Chronicler remolded the flow of the historical events out of his own will, partly reflecting his own circumstances, and partly his own not yet realized tendencies. In places where the deuteronomistic work of history helps us to check the Books of Chronicles, the question of the extra material is usually simply answered; but in many places we do not have the opportunity for such a comparison and then the borderline between objective historical fact and later added interpretation or

even correction, to which we are more sensitive today, becomes blurred. (underlining mine)\textsuperscript{135}

Although von Rad is more positive than his contemporaries, he continues to regard the Chr. as a secondary source who shaped the tradition on the basis of his own will. However, if this assessment had not occurred, Chronicles could have functioned as a 'keystone' or model for von Rad's application of the principle of traditio-historical criticism.

B. The Potential for the Chr.

The well developed concept of Nacherzählen, the process of taking existing traditions and re-telling them through a re-shaping of the material, has been discussed earlier in this chapter. Nacherzählen is an integral part of traditio-historical criticism: old traditions are made new for a new generation. In Geschichtsbild, von Rad makes numerous statements which lead one to think that at this early date (1930), he is beginning to lay the ground work for the theory of tradition criticism which he uses extensively in his Theologie des Alten Testaments. He is here developing what might be called 'Vornacherzählen'.

To illustrate this emerging concept of 'Vornacherzählen' von Rad's statements throughout Geschichtsbild should be noted. This is particularly clear when one takes notice of the following subsections in Geschichtsbild: 'Die Priester in der Chronik', 'Die Leviten in der Chronik', and 'Die Ladetradition der levitischen Sänger'.\textsuperscript{136}

\textsuperscript{135}. von Rad, pp. 2-3.

It is known that the Chronicler remolded (nach geformt hat) the flow of the historical events out of his own will . . . .137

This was a primary factor in the process of re-telling the traditions. The historical perspective of the Chr. also played a significant role, as von Rad notes in the following passage (which occurs towards the end of the book):

. . . . the Chronicler did not intend to write history, neither in our modern sense nor in the conception of the Deuteronomist. His interest is only conditioned by the post-exilic situation in which he lived, and they are not of a pedagogical edifying nature as the ones of the Deuteronomist, but they are of a theological-dogmatic kind. And this is the reason why the whole theological possession of the author concerning the past as well as the future, is expressed in this work.138

Again, in line with Nacherzählern, the Chr. employs a post-exilic perspective to give shape to the materials he used. Von Rad elaborates on this observation as follows:

The layers and insertions are relatively easy to identify. But everything depends on determining the historical point of view from which the intervention occurred. It is altogether possible that a crudely wedged-in addition is nevertheless in line with the very first chronicled work. The Chronicler has in this fashion integrated material into his system that he has taken over from elsewhere.139

When discussing 1 Chronicles 9. 20ff., 23. 24ff., and Nehemiah 11 and the complications involved, von Rad notes that

What is significant here is that the relevant verses come from the pen of the Chronicler and are not

137. von Rad, pp. 2-3.
138. von Rad, p. 133.
139. von Rad, p. 89.
taken from the original list or, if they have been taken from the list, have been edited by the Chronicler.\textsuperscript{140}

Much of von Rad's argument in this section of his book is given to the role of the Levite and how that role had been re-cast by the Chr, but it is beyond the scope of this study to summarize that argument. However, the next example of von Rad's use of 'Vornacherzählen' not only illustrates the fact of re-telling in a literary piece, but shows an actual change which occurred in time and practice.

... the Chronicler's statement "Levi is sacred" has to be taken note of. (This) casual remark seems to be an important indication that the Levitical movement has entered into a new state in the Chronicler's times. The Levite had gained in the meantime: he was entitled to a number of ritual functions ... while P had reserved it exclusively for his priests.\textsuperscript{141}

Here von Rad argues that the Chr. was asserting the claims of the Levites, claims which would involve an intrusion into priestly rites. Many other examples of 'Vornacherzählen' can be found in Geschichtsbild.\textsuperscript{142} He also refers in numerous places to the Chr.'s bias (Tendenz),\textsuperscript{143} which further illustrates another factor in the process of re-telling. Thus, von Rad demonstrates a kind of 'Vornacherzählen' in

\textsuperscript{140} von Rad, p. 98. Von Rad's conclusion could imply that the Chr. did not personally re-shape this material, but merely recorded an historical change in the function of the Levites; or that the Chr. could have helped in making that change legitimate.

\textsuperscript{141} von Rad, p. 98.

\textsuperscript{142} von Rad, pp. 85, 87, 89, 90, 91, 94-95, 98, 100, 102, 102-103, 104, 110, 111, and 112.

\textsuperscript{143} For example, von Rad uses such words or phrases as 'die chronistischen Tendenzen', 'soziologischen Tendenzen', and 'mit der levitischen Tendenz der Chronik'; see pages 87-88, 89, 95, 96, and 99.
the earliest of his writings, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*.

Why, then, did von Rad not use Chronicles to demonstrate his theory of Nacherzählungen? When he wrote his *Theologie*, why did he not bring together the concepts of Nacherzählungen and Charisma/Intuition? The answer to these questions lies in the pervasiveness of the assumption which von Rad gradually acquired concerning רוח הוה and Charisma/Intuition and in the Chr.'s lack of any tangible awareness of them. The combination precluded any use of Chronicles by von Rad in supporting his idea of Nacherzählungen. According to von Rad the Chr. merely rationalized his case and Chronicles does not qualify in his estimation as *argumentum ad rem*. Perhaps if רוח הוה could have been demonstrated as an authentic experience of the Chr., and if the prophetic role adopted by the Levites could be proven to be 'authentic', then the Chr. could be seen to be contributing dynamically, i.e., in the vein of true Yahwism, to the process of re-telling.

Also, from this assessment, we can see that von Rad was considering the efforts of the Chr. at re-telling to be more or less a human process devoid of Charisma, unlike that of the writers of the Hexateuch and the Prophets. Later it will be shown that Childs's view of the Chr. included the assumption that the Chr.'s attempt at writing did involve a kind of 'charisma'.
PART TWO

BREVARD S. CHILDS
After Brevard S. Childs had completed his dissertation and returned from his four years of study on the Continent, he began to submit articles to various journals. It is in these articles that we find the constitutive ideas of his eventual treatise on canon and its application to the Old Testament Scriptures. These articles and the monographs which followed were written over a period of some twenty years. I propose to examine these items in more or less the sequence in which they were written in order to show the development of Childs's thought.\(^1\) A few items will not be examined since they do not contribute significantly to his view of canon process or my interest in the Chr.

1. *Vergegenwärtigung* and Hermeneutics

A. Childs published two significant articles in 1958. The first of these was 'Jonah: A Study in Old Testament Hermeneutics'\(^2\) in which the discussion centres on the problem of form and content: 'If the Bible shares in the laws of secular literature completely regarding its form, why does it not share in its content also?'\(^3\) Childs recognizes that biblical scholarship had confirmed that the Bible does share in the laws of secular literature regarding content. But he thereupon suggests

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that 'a theological evaluation'\textsuperscript{4} would be in order as well. It is here that the understanding of the relations between religion and Scripture which characterizes his subsequent writings first emerges. His point of view manifests itself with particular vividness in the following statement:

\begin{quote}
It is the offense of the Written Word that it has fully entered into the frailty of this world. It has partaken completely of its nature which means its relativity. It shares in a reality which we can only approach in connexion with the empirical method. This means we can at best only partially understand.\textsuperscript{5}
\end{quote}

He goes on to point out that the Church has made a similar confession regarding the nature of revelation in Jesus Christ, the Living Word. Here, he includes the New Testament, which demonstrates that he is presupposing the existence of canon. That Jesus Christ has fully entered into the world 'yet without sin',\textsuperscript{6} as Childs argues, does not limit his humanity, since sin 'is disobedience, not lack of intellectual knowledge'.\textsuperscript{7} Thus, since the Bible has entered the sphere of empirical reality, 'historical criticism is legitimate and obligatory'.\textsuperscript{8} But there remains a significant difference between the two modes of revelation: 'the Bible claims and the Christian Church has always confessed another reality which transcends the reality understood by the

\begin{itemize}
\item[4.] Childs, p. 56.
\item[5.] Childs, p. 56.
\item[6.] Childs, p. 56.
\item[7.] Childs, p. 56.
\item[8.] Childs, p. 56.
\end{itemize}
human mind'. This is neither idealistic philosophy nor existential reality, but rather, as Childs argues, a union of the reality witnessed to in the Bible and the reality made known in Jesus Christ. The former can be examined by the empirical sciences while the latter transforms our human reason. Childs bases these views, at least in part, in Mark's account of Jesus's parables (4. 11f.). In the parable man is 'confronted with the Word of Truth in a veiled manner', but Rather than being overwhelmed with the full force of divine revelation, the parable created a situation which allowed man room for decision. He was challenged to surrender his will in order that he might understand. Only as he committed himself to the claims of the Truth in Christ did the parable become to him a revelation rather than a concealment.

The next phrase is crucial for Childs's thesis -- 'Only to the "eyes of faith" was the mystery of the Kingdom revealed'. The 'eyes of faith' belong to those who are committed, which implies the 'community of faith', to which Childs will later on make frequent reference.

As far as the crucial issue, the exegesis of the Old Testament, is concerned, Childs insists that the exegete must deal with both areas into which reality has penetrated.

... the human witness is the only channel to the full reality. Biblical criticism is the attempt to understand the temporal form of the witness with the only tools available for this area of life.

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9. Childs, p. 56.
However, he also maintains that a theological evaluation must include another factor:

The great challenge of the exegete comes, as in prayerful expectation, God's Spirit opens his eyes to the full reality known only in faith. The temporal form becomes then a transparency through which the divine light shines giving the picture its true perspective.13

Thus it is apparent that Childs is operating under several presuppositions: 1) the necessity and legitimate use of Biblical criticism; 2) the inter-relation of the New Testament with the Old and thus a canon (although he does not use the word 'canon' in this article); and 3) the interaction of the Spirit to enable the reader. Childs takes seven pages to establish these principles; he takes only two pages to apply them to Jonah. Brief as it may be, the article reveals four significant premises for understanding Childs:

First, the non-historical nature of Jonah, which Childs believes to be the assured result of historical criticism. However, he strongly asserts that this does not eliminate the reality of the biblical witness. Nor is the message of Jonah a mere general truth or idea. Rather, it is 'the Word from God calling forth a response'.14

Second, the role of the prophets as 'men called of God to deliver to a particular people in a particular situation a particular message'.15 Here is the divine Word of God confronting people and demanding obedience. The hearers would either have 'eyes of faith', to

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15. Childs, p. 60.
use Childs's term, or eyes of disbelief. Childs says that the Church heard [i.e., had eyes of faith] this prophetic witness in the Book of Jonah and treated it as canonical. This then becomes a key for the modern reader in understanding Jonah.

Third, the close association between the Church and the New Testament as a means of understanding a prophetic book in the Old Testament. The components of this premise: the Church, the New Testament and the Old Testament must be considered as a whole if Childs's theories are to be properly understood. Although one component is a social group and the other two are documents, they all share in the common prophetic experience, i.e., what response will be made to the Word from God? Childs sees this as true for the Church which has both testaments, for the New Testament community which had only the Old Testament, and for the Old Testament community which had the spoken Word from the prophets.

Fourth, the premise that the story of Jonah is 'true' for the hearers because they are addressed by the Word of God:

... It is no longer a tale about Jonah, but about them. They are the people chosen by God, miraculously saved from death, and given another lease on life to proclaim the message of salvation to the heathen. They are offended that God has a concern for others, for whom they wish only destruction. The message of Jonah is God's Word in action judging this disobedience and challenging them to a new apprehension of their divine commission. 16

Although judged as mythical and not history in terms of time or space, Jonah remains history in the biblical sense as 'God's purpose for

mankind being realized through the activity of His Word . . . (a reality) revealed in its fulness to those who respond to His call'.

The idea here in embryonic form is that of Vergegenwärtigung which Childs was to develop in later articles. In it can be seen the importance Childs attaches to the Word not remaining just parchment and ink, but rather becoming the realization of God's Word in a new community, in the eyes of the faithful. Thus begins the development of his idea of canonical process.

B. The second article, which appeared in 1958, is 'Prophecy and Fulfillment: A Study of Contemporary Hermeneutics'. The title already indicates that hermeneutics is a major concern for Childs and this will continue to be the case in subsequent writings. In the material at hand, Childs surveys the history of hermeneutics, criticising most exegetes but expressing approval for the suggestions of Luther and Calvin that the Old Testament be understood Christologically, i.e., that the historical institutions of Israel must be regarded as having been fulfilled in the work of Christ. Childs concludes with the observation that

... the use of prophecy and fulfillment is not an embarrassing vestige from rabbinical exegesis, nor a primitive attempt at apologetics. Rather, it reveals a profound understanding of the purposes of


18. See Childs, 'The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament', in SVT XXIX, 1978; Congress Volume, Göttingen, 1977; this is dealt with later in this paper, see pages 143-154.

God in Jesus Christ, who is the fulfillment of Old Testament history.20

Thus prophecy is again his crucial concern, for it is not mere prediction, divorced from the purpose of God in history as in Protestant Scholasticism. Rather than proof-texting the correctness of 'predictions', Childs points to whole scriptural contexts and biblical categories as clues to understanding prophecy.

Childs argues that the prophetic word and the fulfillment of that word are not independent of each other but are part of the same event. 'The word is a quasi-independent activity which produces the event. It is not just descriptive, but causative.'21

Childs's understanding of the Hebrew idea of fulfillment and seeds of his view of Scripture and hence canon, which will become increasingly important in his writings, can be seen in the following passages:

An event is fulfilled when it is full. One determines it by its content, and when it is full, it evidences by itself the fulness. Because the Hebrew mentality could not abstract fulfillment from its content, the Hebrew saw no problem at this point. Fulness need not be tested since it authenticates itself.22

Admittedly, ideas strange and unclear exist in numerous theses, but Childs's contention here sounds like double-talk. It is strange that writers, when describing a 'concept', place it in 'the mentality' of another culture as if that would make it automatically correct. But for now, we will allow Childs this liberty.

To demonstrate that the prophetic word of the Old Testament is fulfilled, Childs points to fulfilled prophecies recorded in the Books of Kings, and then to the Gospels.

There is no objective criterion possible by which this can be tested. The person of Jesus Christ himself as the fulness of the word is self-authenticating.23

Thus Childs argues for continuity between the Old Testament and the New. The Old Testament moments/events can be seen striving to reach their reality in Jesus Christ. Even the discontinuity, although readily recognized, is judged as a fragmentary form. The self-authenticating nature of Word and Jesus Christ are already indicated here by Childs. This becomes an important tenet in his view of Scripture.

The Old Testament events in Israel's history thus belong, for Childs, to the self-same reality which Christ brought in fulness. In their incomplete form those prophetic events strove for a wholeness that would only come about in the New Testament. Childs is here building his case for the authority of the Christian canon. Prophecy is a self-authenticating process and this fulness (a kind of norm) was observable to the writers of the Gospels. Childs later applies this principle to a wider group, namely, the community of faith.

2. Remembering: Proto-Canon Process

The next major step in the development of Childs's position comes

in *Memory and Tradition in Israel*\(^\text{24}\) which is basically a study of the word יִנְאָר. Childs does not use the etymological method common to Kittel's *Wörterbuch*, but rather attempts to see the development of יִנְאָר in the framework of the life of Israel and within the history of its institutions. Childs draws a number of conclusions of which two are summarized below.

First, the verb יִנְאָר is used by the Priestly writer to present history as a witness to the unfolding of the purpose of the covenant God within Israel. God remembers, not as an actualization of a past event in history, but rather insofar as each event stems from the eternal purpose of God. Thus, history is merely a working out of the one eternal act of divine grace. God is acting within time and space. Childs would probably presume here the two levels of reality mentioned earlier.\(^\text{25}\)

Second, in surveying the occurrence of the phrase 'Israel remembers', Childs concludes that there are two parties that are said to remember in Israel's tradition: God remembers his covenant; Israel remembers the requirements of the covenant. The Priestly school seems to have used this phrase to express a theological interpretation of covenantal history. Childs seeks to show how memory functions as an actualization, *Vergegenwärtigung*, of an event in her tradition. Childs traces this idea of actualization through a number of strata of


\(^{25}\) Childs, *Memory and Tradition*, pp. 91ff.
tradition and literature: Deuteronomist, pre-exile, Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and complaint psalms.

A. The Dtr. needs to relate the tradition of Moses to a new generation that no longer has direct access to the redemptive events in Israel's history. Memory now takes on central theological significance. Israel's history continued only as Israel established her continuity with the past through memory. In this, says Childs, Israel is not cut off from redemptive history, for

... she encounters the same covenant God through a living tradition. Memory provides the link between past and present ... The divine commands as event meet each successive generation through her tradition calling forth a decision, and in obedience Israel shares in the same redemption as her forefathers.

Memory is not an automatic cultic rite, but, as the faithful respond to the claims of the covenant, it serves as a vehicle for the actualization of the event.

B. In the pre-exilic prophets a sentence from Micah 6. 5 has particular relevance: 'Remember ... that you may know (יודִעַ) the saving acts (נשׁוּף) of Yahweh'. Here the act of remembering serves 'to actualize the past for a generation removed in time from those former events in order that they themselves can have an intimate encounter with the great acts of redemption'.

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27. Childs, pp. 55-6.
28. Childs, p. 56.
than mere knowledge of data, for as Childs points out, Micah's polemic is against a cult which makes use of true tradition but requires little, if any, adherence to that tradition. Thus, Micah appeals to Israel's memory in an attempt to actualize Yahweh's original purpose: remembrance is participation.

C. In Deutero-Isaiah the meaning of remembrance has shifted to acknowledgment or a turning to Yahweh. But beyond this lies the problem of an exiled people trying to relate to their past, with apparently little success: 'remember the former things of old for I am God . . . declaring the end from the beginning' [Isaiah 46. 9]. Childs regards this as a declaration of the sovereignty of God over history and notes that Israel becomes part of the future by 'linking herself to the past in memory . . . because past and future are one in God's purpose'.29 Here Israel's memory must become an active response in faith which links her to the redemptive actions of God. Childs does not use the term 'actualization' here, but the idea is suggested in his use of the term 'link'.

D. In Ezekiel the remembrance is of past sins and the result is a loathing of that sin. But more importantly, 'to remember' in Ezekiel also implies knowledge of God: '[you] shall know that I am Yahweh' (6. 10; 16. 62; 20. 49; 36. 23). This knowledge is not some human speculation on the essence of God but a response to the divine initiative. In this regard, Childs notes that

29. Childs, p. 58.
Zimmerli correctly emphasizes that Israel's response in acknowledging these acts of God is not a secondary knowledge of second-rate importance in comparison with the original events of Sinai, but a completely new actualization. 30

Zimmerli elsewhere refers to this as a 'genuine reaching out after a reality, which in the very act becomes a new and living present'. 31

Remembering the past with discernment, says Childs, approaches the act of repentance. Thus, redemptive history can continue through Israel's obedience within the covenant, for

Although separated in time and space from the sphere of God's revelation in the past, through memory the gulf is spanned, and the exiled people share again in redemptive history. 32

E. The complaint psalms speak of memory in connection with separation from God. For example, in Psalms 62 and 137 Israel has been denied access to God and is struggling to find him. Through memory Israel 'encounters again' the God of her ancestors. 'Her attention no longer focuses on specific historical events, but on the divine reality who imprinted her history'. 33 According to Childs the vocabulary in these psalms indicates a wrestling process: 'to grasp after, to meditate upon, to pray to God'. 34 He refers to this as an 'internalization',


31. Childs, Memory and Tradition, p. 60; Childs quotes Zimmerli's Ezechiel (Biblischer Kommentar, 13), p. 152.

32. Childs, p. 60.

33. Childs, p. 65.

34. Childs, p. 65.
which is apparently a synonym for actualization (the difference may be accounted for by the private nature of many of the complaint psalms).

One can see that Childs is developing a case here for a canonical process. He does not mention the concept per se, but it seems he is establishing here the foundation on which to build his case. The facts, events, and traditions, which Israel remembered and in turn actualized (i.e., which became a new and living present), can be seen as information which a creative generation attempted to 'renew' for themselves. However, Childs connects the act of remembering with the acts of a sovereign God who makes a covenant with Israel. It is in this perspective that Childs sees the use of tradition in memory as more than a simple human activity, i.e., it is rather 'proto-canon process'.

Old Testament scholars have frequently pointed out that the chief function of the cult was to actualize the tradition. Childs's study of the word יִדְּחַ (Hebrew: יִדְּחַ) however, indicates that when it means actualization it is not connected with the cult. "How can actualization take place both in the cult and in memory without their (sic) being some genuine relationship evidenced in the vocabulary?" He suggests, rather, that a process of transformation occurred in which a reinterpretation of Israel's cult was effected. He supports his contention by appealing,


36. Childs, p. 76.
again, to the Deuteronomist, Deutero-Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the complaint psalms.

For the Dtr. Israel's crisis consisted in her possessing the land but lacking any comprehension as to the meaning of her traditions and her cult. The Dtr. thus points to Yahweh's absolute claim on the whole people of Israel -- dead and living. For Deutero-Isaiah the crisis lies in the fact that the temple was lying in ruins. Memory linked Israel with the one great purpose of God in history which encompasses both past and future. Also, meaning not only came from the past, but God brought into existence a new age in which Israel could participate (43. 18f.; 65. 17). For Ezekiel the crisis of Israel in exile is one of ignorance: she did not understand the nature of her sin (16. 22,43). Her memory brought about a repentance for former sins and a seeking after God. The complaint psalms represented not a single period of history or crisis but many crises involving various individuals, i.e., bodily sickness, rejection, and exile. Here, too, memory becomes a process of internalization rather than participation in the cult.

To sum up, Childs is, in these examples, illustrating the following sequence of events: a crisis arises which presents a threat to the cult; Israel collectively or individually remembers her past traditions but sees them in a new light; a reinterpretation results in a new actualization which is contemporized for a new age. It seems that here Childs is hinting at a form of the canonical process which he will formally introduce in his later writings.

Childs concludes Memory and Tradition with his original question:
'How do the remembered events relate to the primary witness?' His response: not via inner reflection, but via encounter. Each generation witnessed in faith to a reality when it remembered the tradition, for

The biblical events have the dynamic characteristic of refusing to be relegated to the past. The quality of this reality did not remain static, but emerged with new form and content because it identified itself with the changing historical situations of later Israel. . . . Redemptive history is not merely a reflection of Israel's piety—a Glaubensgeschichte. Rather, each generation reinterpreted the same determinative events of the tradition in terms of its new encounter. 38

Thus the Old Testament has a peculiar character, which consists of layer upon layer of Israel's reinterpretation of the same period of her history, because each successive generation rewrites the past in terms of her own experience with the God who meets his people through the tradition. 39

In employing the words 'determinative' and 'rewrites', Childs is saying two things. The Old Testament traditions as determinative have a character quite different from other traditions for Israel's traditions were initiated by God. Yet Israel also shapes this tradition as a response of faith to God's action. On this note Childs points out that the same verb (שָׁכַר) is used to describe God's redemptive action toward Israel as well as to describe Israel's response to it. For Childs these two parts form a unity which cannot be analyzed into objective and subjective components. Thus remembering takes on the connotation of an absolute. Moreover, as his use of 'rewrite' indicates Childs also

38. Childs, pp. 88-89.
39. Childs, p. 89.
maintains that the successive layers of tradition became, in turn, a tradition of their own. Thus in order to understand Israel's redemptive history, one must hear

the witness of the different layers which reflect Israel's response to the divine initiative. Only in this way can one appreciate the fullness of the redemption which revealed itself in Israel's history.\textsuperscript{40}

Thus, instead of taking the path of tradition criticism, Childs seems well on his way toward establishing what he later terms a 'canon process'.

3. Exegesis and Canon

Between 1963 and 1970 Childs published five articles and one monograph.\textsuperscript{41} These will be examined now in the following section with a view to determining how they contribute to Childs's eventual position on canon process.

A. In "The Theological Responsibility of an Old Testament Commentary", Childs provides a method for the exegetical task. He

\begin{enumerate}
\item Childs, p. 89.
\end{enumerate}
points out that the Old Testament scholar can take one of two approaches to the scriptural text. The first is the descriptive task, which involves the delineation of 'the structure of the religion of historical Israel in as objective a manner as possible'.\textsuperscript{42} The other is the theological or normative task.

Childs questions the effectiveness of each of these two tasks. If the task is exclusively descriptive, the exegete becomes detached from the subject and consequently his or her research yields a rather sterile set of facts. However, Childs is not suggesting that this approach is of little or no value. On the contrary, he used it in doing research for his commentary on Exodus while at the same time attempting to illustrate the application of a new approach to the book.\textsuperscript{43} He does, however, prefer the theological or normative task because it yields preferable results. This task is founded on the Christian confession of the unity of the two testaments which together witness to the one purpose of God. The problem with this approach centres on the use of normative and descriptive categories. Childs suggests that in order to go beyond the historian's task of merely describing Israel's faith, one needs to employ the witness of the Old Testament in constructing a theology, thus relating the witnesses of the Old Testament and the New.

But,

\ldots the question arises regarding the controls for such a theology. By rejecting the restrictions of the historical

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{42} Childs, 'The Theological Responsibility of an Old Testament Commentary', p. 433.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Brevard S. Childs, The Book of Exodus. A Critical, Theological Commentary (London, 1974).
\end{itemize}
method, has one lost the ground of objective research and entered a swamp of uncontrolled subjectivity?44

Childs's survey yields no solution to this question. How, then, does one employ the theological dimension while avoiding 'uncontrolled subjectivity'?44

The primary emphasis of Childs's article is not to eliminate one task in favour of another, but rather to suggest that the problem lies in the starting point, the definition of the descriptive task. He asks, 'What is the content which is being described and what are the tools commensurate with this task?'45 Childs's criticism of the popular usage of the descriptive task is that 'by defining the Bible as a "source" for objective research the nature of the content to be described has been already determined. A priori, it has become part of a larger category of phenomena.'46 In rejecting this one-sided approach Childs maintains that

... the genuine theological task can be carried on successfully only when it begins from within an explicit framework of faith. Only from this starting point can there be carried on the exegetical task which has as its goal the penetration of the theological dimension of the Old Testament. Approaches which start from a neutral ground never can do full justice to the theological substance because there is no way to build a bridge from the neutral, descriptive content to the theological reality.47

45. Childs, p. 437.
46. Childs, p. 437.
47. Childs, 'Theological Responsibility', p. 438. One could argue whether or not there is no way to build a bridge from the descriptive content to the theological reality. But Childs points out that it is 'a
One wonders here if Childs is trying to differentiate between canon and faith? One would expect that he is working towards 'an explicit framework' which is the canon; but instead he refers to faith. The limits of the canon may be debatable but at least one can demonstrate its existence with a few pieces of objective evidence. In this light Childs's appeal to faith seems totally subjective. He argues, however, that the task of theological exegesis involves the use of a disciplined method and proceeds to set forth, in the remainder of the article, four steps in his version of that method.

The first step interprets the single text in light of the whole Old Testament witness and the whole of the Old Testament in light of the single text. Childs intends this to include the full range of the descriptive task: literary analysis, source criticism, etc., but this is to be done from the standpoint of faith as embodied in the Bible as the Word of God. In employing this biblical framework the exegete is freed from the need to harmonize texts in order to gain unity and from the tendency to attribute a higher degree of truth to the earliest witnesses. Thus the framework of faith, '... far from being a foreign

presumption of historicism to assume that tools which function adequately in one area can claim the right of priority in the theological task as well', (p. 438).

48. Childs's use of the term 'canon' is unfortunate, because in his articles he demonstrates how an original core of 'scriptures' became updated (actualized) for a new generation, until finally the early church used the new factor (Jesus Christ) to develop the NT, a process that was brought to completion by the Church Fathers. Canon is usually understood to mean the final form of the process, but Childs is arguing for the process itself. Thus one should be careful to use the term canonical process in referring to his theory, because it assumes actualization of tradition and therefore, the timeless relevance of the scriptures.
structure which dictates results in advance, serves rather to insure the radical integrity of the discipline of exegesis. The dialectic of text and whole witness functions within the framework of faith or, more specifically, what seems to be an embryonic form of canon.

The second step involves the movement from the Old Testament to the New. In this process the religious roots of Childs, his theological heritage, play a large role. Childs agrees with the Reformers that both the Old and New Testaments point to the one purpose of God through his people and uses this principle to shed light on the ontological relation of the diverse witnesses in both Testaments. Faith is the key, for within

\[ \text{. . . the framework of faith in the one divine purpose, the exegete seeks to understand more fully the nature of the reality to which both witnesses point.} \]

Within this hermeneutical dialectic, Childs intends his exegesis to function on the ontological level. He does not want to confuse the typological method with his approach nor does he allow for harmonization. By hearing the dual witnesses, the exegete not only relates ideas of each to those of the other but is also lead by those witnesses to the reality which evoked their separate testimonies.

The third step interprets the Old Testament in light of the reality which called forth the witness, and this theological reality is understood through the witness of the Old Testament. Thus there is a dialectic movement between substance and witness as the exegete seeks to

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49. Childs, p. 440.

hear the Word of God; thus the witness of Moses and Paul 'become a vehicle for another Word'.

The exegete must come to wrestle with the kerygmatic substance which brought into being the witness. Because the divine reality witnessed to is not confined to the historical past but is a part of the present, the historical tools are inadequate to exhaust this material. Yet the reverse is equally true. There can be no understanding of the reality of God's redemptive purpose apart from the witness to this purpose found in Scripture.

By hearing the witnesses as 'another Word' the exegete thus moves beyond the descriptive task to the formation of normative categories. According to Childs the normative categories are formed within the dialectic of witness and substance; they are not simply derived from the New Testament, and imposed on the Old. From within the dialectic of witness and substance, one must isolate the witness and then penetrate to the reality which called forth that witness. This appears to be an early form of the method which Childs would eventually develop in order to get behind the 'final fixing of the canon' (canon criticism) to its very earliest 'formation' (canon process). Childs also includes a fourth step which takes into account the Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament which would parallel the New Testament interpretation of the Old. I have not considered this step to be crucial to my argument here.

51. Childs, p. 443.

52. Childs, p. 443.

53. Öning, Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart, p. 188 - "Und dieses Bekenntnis der alten Kirche hat auch für die theologisch verantwortliche Exegese heute noch Gültigkeit. Von daher wird bei Childs der ganze Kanon Alten und Neuen Testaments a priori als normativ, und zwar als gleich normativ festgehalten. (Underlining is Öning's.)
We return to the question of subjectivity which Childs raised. Does this method of dialectical hermeneutics avoid the 'swamp of uncontrolled subjectivity'? The first step seems to force the text to demonstrate its integrity as each text is understood within a larger context and as the larger context is understood within the framework of each text. The second step, which involves movement back and forth between the Old Testament and the New, should illustrate both continuity and discontinuity [if the exegete does not impose an artificial harmonization]. The third step still seems to be too subjective in that the movement from witness to reality and back involves excessive speculation. How does one uncover the 'reality which called forth the witness'? 

Childs's solution to this problem appears in two tangible forms. First, he refers in each step to the framework of faith, which seems to be a synonym for the idea of canon. Hence the Scriptures become the rule of faith, the body of information from which normative categories are developed. Childs presumably is thinking here of Scripture as propositional truths. Thus he approaches 'reality' within this context and not through any criteria which the exegete would impose. Secondly, he refers to the Church, another tangible form, diverse as it may be! As a part of the Church the exegete functions within the fact of God's redemptive activity within that Church and thereby understands 'reality' in light of the Scripture. Childs here introduces another important concept to which he later returns, that of the community of faith.

The final question which must be raised with respect to 'The Theological Responsibility of an Old Testament Commentary' is this: How
well has Childs's method corrected the problem of the starting point for the descriptive task? It is certainly true that without the descriptive task the theological task opens the Old Testament to diverse and sundry strange interpretations — whether through pure historicism or radical spiritualization. So Childs argues for a modified use of the descriptive task. If the exegete begins his work by seeing the Old Testament in a theological context, the descriptive task and the theological presupposition can work to counter-balance each other. This is his aim.

Can the Scriptures, after being determined a priori to be part of a larger phenomenon, i.e., literature in general, still be interpreted in a genuinely theological sense? One would think that the facts of Scripture, if they did originate with the divine reality, would still have something powerful to say — to be self-authenticating. Childs evidently believes that once the Scriptures have been determined to be a substance subject to the descriptive method, (not a witness or the reality behind the witness), the Scriptures then somehow lose their life. In practice this may be the case, but in theory it would not be necessary according to Childs's view of Scripture.

B. Another article, 'Psalm 8 in the Context of the Christian Canon', appeared five years after the one just dealt with above.\[^{54}\] It provides an example of how Childs applies the second step in his

interpretive process, the movement from the Old Testament to the New, and further defines how the canon functions in exegesis.

The problem with Psalm 8 is that we are so familiar with the New Testament writers' reinterpretation that we find it hard to understand what the Old Testament writer is saying. Childs treats Psalm 8 in the Old Testament context and then Hebrews 2 in the New Testament context, so as to isolate the two perspectives.

In this magnificent hymn the psalmist moves to affirm man's place as lord of creation because of the will of God. The psalm is a praise to God the Creator who in his infinite wisdom and power has placed man at the head of his creation.

The New Testament writer, working on the basis of the Greek Old Testament text, has been able to move his interpretation into an entirely different direction from that of the Hebrew Old Testament. The psalm becomes a Christological proof text for the Son of Man who for a short time was humiliated, but who was then exalted by God to become the representative for every man.

The foregoing examples illustrate both the descriptive and the theological dimension of canon process. Both must be done, according to Childs's method, within the framework of the canon. Childs criticizes Luther for 'obliterate[ing] the Old Testament' since he only hears the New Testament revelation and refuses to hear the Old Testament on its own terms. He therefore rejects Luther's approach to Scripture, which is basically Christological (a canon within the canon). He compliments

55. Matthew 21. 16 and parallels; I Corinthians 15. 27; possibly Ephesians 1. 22; and especially Hebrews 2. 6ff.


58. Childs, p. 27.
Calvin for not wanting the Old Testament witness to be lost in a Christianization of it, but regards Calvin's 'dogmatic context', i.e., the doctrine of the fall, as being foreign to Psalm 8.59

Childs's own method of interpreting Scripture from a Christian point of view can be summarized as follows:

1) One must be committed to hearing both witnesses, the Old and New Testaments, separately and then together. This means taking seriously the church's confession of a canon and rejecting any idea of a canon within the canon.

2) One must grapple with both Old and New Testament in order to understand the reality which called forth both of them.60 To do this aids in understanding what the New Testament writers were attempting to do. It also preserves the role of the Old Testament witness. Finally, in Childs's dialectic of the Old and New Testaments, the nature of reality is clarified by the perspectives of both testaments.

In conclusion, Childs is not just hinting at the importance of the canon, rather he is now beginning to apply process of the principle of canon as a context for doing exegesis.

C. Two other articles, 'A Traditio-Historical Study of the Reed Sea Tradition' and 'Deuteronomic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions',

59. Childs, p. 27.

60. Childs, pp. 27-8.
were written at about the same time as the two just discussed. These represent a further development of his thesis.61

However, some important questions need to be posed at this point. When speaking about canon we can point to the era of the Church Fathers as one time among several when recognition was given to certain Old Testament books, and the number of the Old and New Testament books became fixed -- more or less. If one pushes back further in time to a passage like II Peter 3. 16, there is some indication of that a corpus of literature was being referred to as Scripture, probably the Old Testament as we know it. But this passage mentions 'other Scriptures', as well, implying that some of the New Testament material was gaining the status of Scripture. Thus we have an insight into the development and growth of a corpus of literature in New Testament times. Of course, one could go back still further in time, to the inter-testamental period and see in the Septuagint the development of the Old Testament canon. Obviously the question of the development of canon is much more complex than this, but I have tried simply to point towards a development in order to pose some questions. Since the hypotheses concerning the growth of the Old Testament are based primarily on sources such as Yahwist, Elohist, Priestly work and Deuteronomist, can one detect in the Old Testament that an original core of information existed which was recognized as official and authoritative, and which became the basis upon which a later growth or level of development was founded? Was there a normative collection (canon) which served as a basis for

succeeding generations and for new interpretations which in turn became a new and larger normative collection (canon)?

In Childs's article on the Reed Sea, he seems to have discovered a principle for the expansion of an original canon; or as he has expressed it elsewhere, the actualization of an old concept for a new generation. He sets out, in the article, to understand why the Old Testament is inconsistent in assigning the sea event to the wilderness tradition and concludes that the lack of consistency reflects not some accidental confusion, but rather a complex development of tradition.62

In the descriptive portion of his exegesis Childs makes the following observations:

1) In the early prose sources, the sea event belongs to the wilderness tradition.

2) P views the sea event in connection with the exodus from Egypt, but it is not clear why he chooses to do this.

3) In the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), a poetic tradition of the sea event has been transmitted within the exodus and conquest traditions, and thus has a larger framework than the wilderness traditions. This is a parallel development to the prose account in 1) above, not a development from J to P.

To return to the role of P in the development of the sea tradition, Childs suggests that P wanted to assign a central role to the sea tradition in the narrative of the deliverance from Egypt. As a result the exodus emerges as 'one event but divided into two different phases.

the slaying of the first born and the victory at the sea'. The role of the passover tradition also seems to have played a part in this process. The Deuteronomic reform sought to establish the passover as a national pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Priestly source reflects a continuation of the Jerusalem theology in the post-exilic period by making the passover feast the principal festival.

Psalm 106 reflects the latter stage of development in which the sea event is quite separated from the wilderness rebellion (see vv. 12 and 13). Childs goes on to mention Nehemiah 9. 9ff., which he attributes to the Chr. who weaves the afflictions of the fathers in Egypt together with the deliverance at the sea, or as he himself puts it:

The Chronicler's reading of the late Pentateuchal redaction offers additional evidence that in its final stage the sea tradition had become identified with the exodus from Egypt.

Thus Childs is saying that by the post-exilic period, when the passover had been assigned a new role, the sea tradition was attached to exodus and the passover, rather than to the wilderness tradition. His comments suggest that certain Old Testament writers were attempting to provide meaning for a new era by revising bits of several stories so as to emphasize one particular event. If Childs is using his first step of exegesis (dialectic between text and larger text) in this analysis, he could be pointing to an early example of the role of canon. More importantly, the discussion of the Reed Sea illustrates the development

63. Childs, p. 417.
64. Childs, p. 418.
of sources or traditions over the course of time and the further reinterpretation or actualization of the material for a new generation.

D. In the next article, 'Deuteronomic Formulae', Childs takes two recurrent phrases ('Yahweh brought you out of the land of Egypt' and 'Yahweh showed signs and wonders') and shows their use in Deuteronomy. Contrary to Noth's narrow interpretation which identifies the 'bringing out' with the exodus and the 'signs and wonders' with the plagues,\(^65\) Childs indicates that these two formulae include the entire experience of Israel in Egypt.

The formula of Yahweh's bringing Israel out of Egypt with a strong hand shows the Deuteronomic stamp on an older, inherited phrase. It points to the redemptive purpose of Yahweh with Israel from which the Deuteronomist develops his theology of election. His stress is on the great power revealed in this deliverance.\(^66\)

The Dtr. thus has taken an extant, older phrase and placed on it his own interpretive hand. The result is an emphasis on the theology of election.

The second formula of the signs and wonders emphasizes also the great power of Yahweh, but focuses on the continuity of the visible signs which are still active in the preservation of the nation. This formula has its setting in the parenetic sections, and is integral to the homiletical concerns of the author who seeks to actualize the past in a challenge for present action.\(^67\)

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\(^66\) Childs, 'Deuteronomic Formulae', p. 34.

\(^67\) Childs, p. 34.
The Dtr. uses this formula to stress that Yahweh continues to use signs to preserve Israel and thereby to actualize the past for a new era in Israel. Childs sees in both formulae the employment of an older tradition for the purpose of generating a new and broader interpretation.

Childs then seeks to ascertain the effect upon these formulae by the added tradition of the 'event at the sea' in such passages as Joshua 24. 2ff., Psalms 78, 136, and 105, and Nehemiah 9. 9. He concludes that the addition of the sea tradition has in effect narrowed the formerly broad meaning of the Dtr. version of the exodus 'to designate the specific event of leaving the territory of Egypt'.

At first, it appears that Childs has reverted to Noth's position which he had previously rejected! However, what Childs is simply seeking to indicate is the manner in which strains of material were brought together.

What is significant in the later development of the Deuteronomic tradition is that when the sea tradition appeared, it came from a source outside the stream of Deuteronomic tradition. It was a secondary penetration of Tetratuchal material...

Childs uses this argument in his conclusion to question the early dating of von Rad's 'Credo hypothesis'. He suggests that these chapters (i.e., Deuteronomy 6 and 26) are 'basically Deuteronomic abbreviations of fuller tradition which in the later Deuteronomic redaction continued to

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68. Childs, p. 38.

69. Childs, p. 38.
develop the form of summaries of salvation history through secondary expansion'.

Thus, whether consciously or not, Childs seems to be arguing here for an early form of canonical process (although he does not use the term). He does, however, observe that the Dtr. is developing a theology of election and actualizing past events, both of which are characteristic of Childs's view of canonical process.

E. In 'A Study of the Formula "Until this Day"', Childs studies the phrase, 'Until this day', which biblical writers use in connection with a number of etiologies. He concludes that the phrase was seldom used to justify an existing phenomenon, but was rather primarily a 'formula of personal testimony added to, and confirming, a received tradition'. The Chronicler continues the use of the formula but it is difficult to determine to which level of the tradition the formula belongs. Although these are not profound discoveries, they do suggest textual development in the sense of canonical process. Childs notes the use of this phrase in Chronicles.

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70. Childs, p. 39.
73. Childs, p. 292; Childs refers here to W. Rudolph's Chronikbücher, p. 42.
74. These references to Chronicles will be dealt with later on in this study.
4. PARENTHESIS

This survey has so far examined Childs's published articles in the order in which they were published. However, this is at present, no way of determining just when Childs researched and wrote a particular essay or book. It is possible that, for example, he did the research for article A before doing the research for article B, but published article B first. Thus far in this survey this problem does not seem to affect the sequence of articles. However, in the years immediately preceding or following 1970, the sequence becomes unclear, as can be seen from publication dates of four important items:

Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis. 1967.
"Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis". 1971

One wonders how much time elapsed between the writing and the publication of these works. For example, "Midrash and the Old Testament" appeared in the Enslin Festschrift in 1972, which means it could have been written a couple of years beforehand and that Childs could have been using the same material as a basis for parts of Biblical Theology in Crisis (where he does refer to Midrash in chapter six). Moreover, in 1972 he gave the Sprunt Lectures which actually became parts of his Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture which was published in 1979. Finally, Childs himself makes the following telling comment in Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis:

75. In 1972, two other works also appeared: 'Old Testament as Scripture in the Church', in CTS and 'Tale of Two Testaments', in Interp; however, their subject matter is not relevant to the point at hand.
The problem of developing theological norms with which to evaluate the diversity within the Old Testament finally forces the interpreter outside the context of the Old Testament and raises the broader questions of Scripture and canon.76

So, it is difficult at this point to show the exact chronological development of his ideas. However, it will become evident that the years 1967 to 1979 were the period of greatest development for the main thesis of Childs's Introduction. Although the subject of Midrash is basic to our understanding of Childs, we will first deal with his Biblical Theology in Crisis.


When coming to his Biblical Theology in Crisis there are three factors which need to be observed. Two of them have been presented above and the third is Part I of Biblical Theology in Crisis. First, in the area of Systematic Theology, we have mentioned Childs's view concerning Scripture and canon. Second, in the area of biblical studies and biblical criticism, he has sought to demonstrate a process of developing older traditions so that in actualization, it retains its relevance for yet another generation and era. Third, he describes his own Sitz im Leben in North America where, he says,

The Biblical Theology Movement underwent a period of slow dissolution beginning in the late fifties. The breakdown resulted from pressure from inside and outside the movement that brought it to a virtual

76. Childs, Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis, p. 127.
end as a major force in American theology in the early sixties. 77

This third point was as much a factor in building his canonical process concept as the other two, although Childs would be reluctant to base his theory on it alone. It is out of this context then that Childs proposes a new approach to hermeneutics in which the final state of the biblical literature in use be utilized as the context from which to do biblical theology. Many interpreters regard this as Childs's definition of canon but, as will be shown below, Childs's understanding of canon is much broader than this. He contends that the canon of the Christian Church in its final form is the most appropriate point of departure for theological reflection. He considers the characteristics and function of canon to be as follows:

A) .... the Old and New Testaments constitute the canon ... 78

In saying that the Old and New Testaments constitute the canon, Childs is fully aware of the historical problems that must be faced in coming to an understanding of the development of the canon. However, Childs insists that that issue must not be confused with the theological issue. He wants to emphasize canon as the acknowledgment of divine authority in the writings and collections of Scripture. It is not a collection made by the church, but acknowledged by it. 'Canonicity as

78. Childs, p. 99.
the "rule of faith" was a confession of the divine origin of the gospel that had called the Church into being'.

Childs admits that the issue at stake here is the propriety of his appeal to divine authority. He draws an analogy between the 'human and divine side of the Bible' and the 'historical and theological aspect of the canon'.

The church's confession of, and faith in, the divine origin of Scripture was developed in a time-conditioned manner, i.e., it was affected by various historical events. However, it is the theological, not the historical, dimension of this claim that is of greatest importance. The canon is not an accident of time, for...

B) Canon is not objectively demonstrable, but is a statement of belief

Scripture must be interpreted in relation to its function within the community of faith

Scripture is a vehicle of divine reality which encountered people in the past and continues today

Having assumed the correctness of his first thesis (that the Old and New Testaments constitute the canon), Childs proceeds to discuss the function of the community of faith in canon process. He observes a pattern within Scripture, namely, a community which received the information, had to accept or reject it initially, and subsequently decide how and whether to continue to respond to it. This same pattern


80. Childs, p. 105.

is part of the relation between canon and Church. Canon is a statement of faith concerning the contents of Scripture. It is therefore to be interpreted within a community (it is not simply phenomenon for objective analysis by individual scholars); and the community must continue to respond to it. The community of faith is not only an important part of this canon, but also part of canonical process. This vehicle, Scripture, encountered the ancient people as a community (it was not just present in an intangible way), and through the Church's confession it continues to encounter people, for...

C) Canon acknowledges a normative quality in Scripture

Canon marks the area in which God acted and is acting and what man's response should be.

The presence of such a collection of material and a community of faith, implies that the acceptance of the canon is an acknowledgement of a normative quality in Scripture. Childs sees the canon of Scripture as providing for the Church 'the authoritative and definitive word' which will give shape to and enliven the Church. Scripture is not mere illustration nor is human experience to become the criterion for evaluating Scripture.

The Bible does not function in its role as canon to provide a collection of eternal ideas, nor is it a handbook of right doctrine, nor a mirror of man's religious aspirations. Rather the canon marks the area in which the modern issues of life and death are defined in terms of what God has done and is

82. Childs, pp. 100, 101-102.

83. Childs, p. 100.
doing, and what he demands as a response from his people.

Since canon has normative qualities, it functions in a dynamic way in tandem with the descriptive task although the descriptive task could be done without regard to the theological issue of normativeness. One must admit that, for example, a Hindu well versed in the critical tools could perform the descriptive task using the Hebrew and Christian literature, but hold religious views entirely contrary to them. If the Hindu were to accept the normative quality of the canon, he would either have to change religion, acquire some flexibility or adopt a syncretistic approach, since...

D) canon requires Scripture and the community of faith to be dynamically joined

divine inspiration is a claim for a special prerogative for canon as a context from which and out of which to work.

Childs does not regard the relation between text and community as one in which the text has an authority in and of itself which is separate from the reality about which it speaks. He sees rather a dialectic between the reality of Christ and the text of Scripture.

The text of Scripture points faithfully to the divine reality of Christ while, at the same time, our understanding of Jesus Christ leads us back to the Scripture, rather than away from it.

86. Childs, p. 103.
The circularity of this argument is obvious, yet if text and reality did not lead to each other, the text would suffer at the expense of reality. Hence the vital need for a dynamic relationship among reality, text and community.

Childs's view of the inspiration of Scripture flows along similar lines. Divine inspiration is 'a way of claiming a special prerogative for this one context', i.e., the canon. That is,

E) Canon becomes a hermeneutical analogy for doing Biblical Theology

Childs bases this contention on the fact that the New Testament writers, even though they accepted the Scriptures of the synagogue as authoritative, still subjected them to a critical interpretation in light of their own understanding of Jesus Christ. The results were varied as can be seen from the writings of Paul, Luke or John, but yet these same writers expressed their messages within the common framework of 'the faith of Israel confronting the gospel'. In other words, the New Testament writers worked within the context of the Old Testament canon. This seems to be the model for Childs's canon process. It is a process found in the New Testament and the issue at stake is the context for doing exegesis.

Childs detects the following sequence of canon usage: the Church recognized the Old and New Testaments as a canon for its thought and

87. Childs, p. 104.
88. Childs, p. 106.
89. Childs, p. 106.
practice; the New Testament writers sought to understand the implications of Jesus's life and teaching in the context of the Old Testament canon; and the writers or redactors of the Old Testament also wrote in light of the traditions which were handed on to them from previous generations, that is, traditions which were recognized as authoritative.

The interpretive principle which arises from the context of canon, according to Childs, must be dynamic and not static:

... each new generation of interpreters seeks to be faithful in searching these Scriptures for renewed illumination while exploiting to the fullest the best tools available for opening the texts.

Childs stresses that the principle of canon does not restrict the interpreter to any one exegetical method since methodology will change over time, yet he recognizes the historico-critical approach has become the method of the modern period. On the other hand the context of canon could be abused and allowed to degenerate into a prescriptive legalism and a static set of conclusions from Scripture. Childs responds that

... to stand within the tradition of the church is a stance not made in the spirit of dogmatic restriction of the revelation of God, but in joyful wonder and even surprise as the Scripture becomes the bread of life for another generation.

In a subsection of Chapter 6 entitled 'Categories for Biblical Theology', Childs suggests that to avoid the dangers of abstraction in biblical theology one should 'begin with specific Old Testament passages

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which are quoted within the New Testament'.\textsuperscript{92} He lists four advantages in using such a method:

a) The New Testament writers did deal exegetically with the Old Testament text

b) To begin with such texts, allows genuine biblical categories to be used

c) From the author's use of quotations can be seen the variety of ways a text can function depending on its context

d) The theological task of reflecting on different Biblical witnesses from the various canonical contexts is made easier in that they all have the same text in common.\textsuperscript{93}

Childs considers this model to be of crucial importance for the recognition of canon process and it is even here, in the New Testament model, that Childs obtains his warrant for canon process.

Childs refers in this same section to what he calls 'midrashic technique',\textsuperscript{94} which he defines as

\ldots the New Testament's reading of one Old Testament passage through the perspective of another text, which \ldots results in an interpretative stamp on the larger units.\textsuperscript{95}

He also uses the term in another sense, which he does not define. Nevertheless, the introduction of 'midrash' here is significant. What does Childs understand midrash to be? How much influence does this

\textsuperscript{92} Childs, pp. 114-115.

\textsuperscript{93} Childs refutes objections to this contention on pp. 115-118, so I will not comment further on it at this point.

\textsuperscript{94} Childs, \textit{Biblical Theology}, pp. 116 and 117.

\textsuperscript{95} Childs, p. 116.
technique play in Childs's canonical process? Some answers will be found in the next set of his writings, which will be dealt with below.

6. Proto-Midrash: Dialectic between Text and Interpreter

Childs wrote three works on the subject of midrash: *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* [1967], 'Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis' [1971], and 'Midrash and the Old Testament' [1972]. It should be remembered that the latter two works were likely written as early as 1970. If the items are considered chronologically by date of publication, the resulting order seems to fit the internal development and use of the term midrash in these writings.

A. In *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* we focus at this point only on the fourth chapter, 'The Chronicler (II Chronicles 32)', where Childs compares the Chr.'s account of Sennacherib's invasion with that of the Books of Kings. The Chr.'s account does not merely repeat or abbreviate the material in Kings. It is similar to and yet different from Kings. Childs calls it a 'genuinely new literary creation', a form of midrash, i.e., ' . . . by midrash we mean a specific form of literature which is the product of an exegetical activity by a circle of


98. Childs, p. 105-106.
scholars in interpreting a sacred text.' 99 It is not clear from this whether or not Childs means a literary genre or merely a process, although he appears to mean the latter. He goes on to describe midrash as an attempt 'to elucidate' a written source, 100 a process involving a dialectic movement between text and interpreter. In this dialectic two things occur:

... the form of the midrash is structured by a serious wrestling with the problems arising from the text itself

[and] categories of interpretation which are independent of the text in origin are brought to bear upon it. 101

Childs points to II Chronicles 32 as an example of this exegetical activity. It appears that he has taken the general concept of midrash and defined it on the basis of II Chronicles 32. That he has in fact done so is confirmed in his other two articles on midrash in which he 'refines' the term.

B. 'Psalms Titles and Midrashic Exegesis' deals with the problem of the historical setting of the Psalms. In it Childs contends that the titles of various psalms established a secondary setting which became normative for the canonical tradition. He also raises three questions concerning this development in the history of exegesis: 1) How do we understand the development of associating events in David's life as

100. Childs, p. 107.
101. Childs, p. 107. Note that Childs is rejecting the idea that midrash only has a derogatory connotation; cf. Wellhausen, Prolegomena, ET, p. 227.
settings for the psalms? 2) What exegetical rules if any were used in this process? and 3) Can this activity in the psalms be related to midrashic methods of the later Tannaitic sages? After a long, somewhat cautious discussion, Childs declares that at most one can only recognize analogies in this exegetical process (he describes it as 'inner-biblical interpretation'), which later developed into 'full-blown midrash'. So he appears to be identifying an activity here in the psalms that later developed into midrash.

He concludes the article with three implications of midrash for hermeneutics. To begin with he argues for the legitimacy of midrashic or 'proto-midrashic' exegesis, which is not to be construed as a 'Jewish distortion'. It is difficult to see how he moves from his discussion on the psalms to this first point. He does demonstrate the use and significance of 'inner-biblical exegesis', but it is only by implication that he can equate 'inner-biblical exegesis' with midrash. Secondly, he identifies midrash as a theological analogy which explores an area that has been identified by means of a sacred text. It seems that this has equally strong implications for canon, and he does in fact make this point later on in the article. Thirdly, he contends that the midrashic method is a model which sets up a dialectic between the ancient text and the community to which it is addressed. This is also a foreshadowing of midrash to come in that the interpreter needs to study the text continually while at the same time bringing his own perspective to it.

102. Childs, 'Psalm Titles and Midrashic Exegesis', p. 137.
104. Childs, p. 149.
One can argue against Childs's use of midrash from the perspective of, for example, Addison G. Wright's *The Literary Genre Midrash*, which argues for a very narrow definition of the term. Wright's point may be well taken, but the important consideration in this instance is that Childs is not working with a precise, clear definition of midrash taken from actual midrashim. Rather he seems to identify the term by means of doing inner-biblical exegesis.

C. In the third article, 'Midrash and the Old Testament', Childs recognizes that '. . . there remains a considerable lack of clarity in respect to a precise definition of midrash and its relation to the Old Testament.' Amusingly enough Childs is not referring here explicitly to his own writings on the topic but to the scholarly writings in general, and to Samuel Sandmel and Addison G. Wright in particular.

In his examination of Sandmel's article, 'The Haggada within Scripture', he argues that 'embellishment' is not basic to midrash, because non-midrashic methods use it too. Rather,

... midrash is ... an interpretation of a canonical text within the context and for the


107. 'Midrash and the OT' in *Enslin Festschrift*, p. 47.

What is significant in Childs's perspective is that midrash does attach itself to a text. The degree to which the writer of midrash considered a text to be literal or otherwise may differ, but it can be said that the writer is conscious of a text and works within that context. Childs disagrees with Sandmel's contention that midrash is present in Genesis, for by his own definition the term can only be applied to Chronicles because only here does the writer attempt to interpret a normative text. He concedes that midrash could be present in Genesis, but warns that to say so categorically would be to assume more about the Israelite community of that era than is really known. Childs considers Sandmel's definition to be too broad!

In his critique of Wright's *The Literary Genre Midrash*, Childs seeks to distinguish between midrash as an exegetical method and midrash as a literary genre. Wright stresses that midrash as a genre is a literature about a literature which has primarily a religious and edifying aim. The application of this definition of genre would not permit the Chr. to be considered as midrash, because the Chr. used Kings as a source and not as an object of interpretation. One would expect that Childs would disagree, but in this article he does not do so explicitly.


110. See note 68; Wright's view first appeared as 'The Literary Genre Midrash' in *CBO* 28 (1966), 105-138 and 417-457.

111. This is merely one example from Wright, but it is significant since Childs singles it out for comment.
Wright also refines the definition of midrash by insisting that the citing of a scriptural text is midrashic only if the new composition contributes to understanding the original text. The mere citation of a text does not make it midrash. The result of Wright's definitions is that midrash as a genre is excluded by and large from the Bible. Childs would disagree.

Childs differs most radically from Wright in contending that certain exegetical techniques appear in rabbinic midrash, whereas Wright sees these as only part of the exegetical activity which participated in the development, but definitely not a constitutive characteristic of genre. Wright seeks to make a distinction between midrash as genre and midrash as exegetical activity. Childs questions this distinction on the basis of the fundamental postulates of the form-critical method which insist that the form and function of a genre must be held together.112 The result of keeping form and function together distinguishes the form-critical method from simple literary analysis. Thus Childs believes that Wright's approach is inadequate because it distinguishes between midrash as genre (form) and midrash as exegetical activity (function). Childs regards this as an artificial distinction which is difficult to apply to a text.

But the chief complaint by Childs against Wright concerns his misuse of the form-critical method. For Childs the midrashic method as used in interpretation must include the movement 'from the biblical text

to seek a connection with a new situation'. But the reverse must also be acknowledged or employed, for the interpretation 'comes from the situation and moves back to the text'. That is to say, 'the text interprets the new situation' and 'the new situation illuminates the text'. In this way Childs observes both genre and exegetical activity in the ancients' attempt to actualize the older texts and evaluate their own era in light of the past.

Childs thus suggests that, if midrash (as he defines it in the light of form criticism) were applied to the biblical material, one would obtain different results from those of Sandmel and Wright. He does not expect to find exact parallels to Tannaitic midrash, but he would expect to trace 'analogous movements in the biblical period to the form and function of midrash as it is represented in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods'. Note that although Childs has sought to establish a clear and careful definition of midrash, he has in fact merely alluded to an early manifestation of it. Thus he ought in fact to have used the term 'proto-midrash' since it does not necessarily have the connotation of Tannaitic midrash.

A matter of far greater importance to the development of Childs's canon thesis than the definition and application of midrash or proto-midrash, is his

113. Childs, 'Midrash and the OT', p. 52.
114. Childs, p. 52.
115. Childs, p. 52.
endeavor to trace the forces which were exerted on the interpretation of the Bible by what has aptly been described as 'the consciousness of canon'.

Childs thinks that, the process of the formation of tradition was affected not only by cult but also by 'a sense of authoritative Scripture'. Thus the study of midrash is for Childs not merely a means of supporting some bizarre interpretation, but rather a tool of considerable assistance 'in attempting to describe the nature and impact of these new factors on the composition of the Bible'. By these 'new factors' he means a kind of canon, perhaps a 'proto-canon' (to be consistent with proto-midrash!), which was operative during the development of the Old Testament by its later authors. This is a decisive factor which is usually overlooked by scholars seeking a definition of canon in Childs's writings. (If the principle of 'Kanonbewusstsein' was always in effect, it could be postulated that this process occurred when a second writer used material from a previous 'canonical' one, or used the oral tradition in composing written material.)

Of the evidence Childs uses to support his theory the examples he selects from Chronicles are the most important for this study — and

117. Childs, p. 53. He refers to I.L. Seeligmann, 'Voraussetzungen der Midrashexegese', in SYT I (1953), 152, where Seeligmann uses the term Kanonbewusstsein.

118. Childs, p. 53.

119. Childs, p. 53.
perhaps even for his own thesis! He first of all examines the citation of Scripture by the Chr. and draws the following conclusions: 120

- the Chr. actually quotes from earlier texts as part of his paraenesis

- the Chr. does not attempt to draw analogies between like situations in Israel's history, but uses the text as such for his new purpose

- the Chr. feels free to choose texts from different parts of the Bible and to weave the parts into a new whole

- the Chr. even uses the same text in two completely different contexts

In this dialectic process the earlier texts assist in creating a new composition, but the new context in which the older text is placed gives a new interpretation of the original text. For example, the unconditional promise of Jeremiah 29. 13f. is made conditional by obedience when it is taken over by the Chr. in I Chronicles 28. 9 and II Chronicles 15. 2.

Childs also examines harmonization between texts in the Chr. He notices, for example, that in II Chronicles 32, the Chr. manages to harmonize the different accounts in Kings, one of which recounts Hezekiah's reticence to pray without Isaiah while the other records an unmediated prayer by Hezekiah.

In light of the preceding discussion it should be noted that Childs does agree with Wright that the distinction between later midrashic techniques and 'proto-midrashic' techniques in the Bible should not be blurred. Yet he still argues for the existence of emerging exegetical methods in the biblical period which did develop into midrash. Childs

120. Childs, p. 54.
is attempting to work with the principle of 'inner-biblical exegesis' and, perhaps, he is not imposing an idea (Tannaitic midrash) on an earlier period.

Also it should be noted that the phenomena of the citation of texts and (especially) the attempt to harmonize 'assumes basically a closed canon which by definition reflects an inner consistency'. This is an integral part of Childs's thesis. He is suggesting that the principle of authoritative or normative traditions or texts was functioning during the development of at least some Old Testament texts (such as Chronicles).

The harmonization of texts is not for a moment conceived of as a tortuous making true that which was actually in conflict. Rather, working from the assumption that the testimony of every part of Scripture is true, the harmonizing of passages by means of a variety of techniques is simply making explicit what was believed about the canonical Scripture as one harmonious deposit of truth.

Thus, whether or not one accepts Childs's definition of midrash or his use of that term, it is clear that the concept of canon and the assumption that writers such as the Chr. used certain exegetical techniques are basic ideas in Childs's writings. He uses these as building blocks for his monumental Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture (the phrase 'as Scripture' is significant). On a more practical level, it is also important for Childs's thesis that both the Chr. and the New Testament writers can be shown to have worked with existing texts in writing their own.

121. Childs, p. 56.
122. Childs, p. 56.
7. Community of Faith, Tradition, and the Spirit of God

In this section four more of Childs's publications will be considered, these are: 'A Tale of Two Testaments'. (1972); Exodus, A Commentary. (1974); 'The Search for Biblical Authority Today'. (1976); and 'Symposium on Biblical Criticism'. (1976/77).123 These works comprise, in order: a critique of Hans-Joachim Kraus's history of the research in biblical theology; a commentary; a treatise on the problem of Biblical authority in America; and an essay on theology as a profession or vocation. It would be difficult to find four works by one author on such a variety of topics and which at the same time have one overriding concern: the relationship of the Scriptures and the Church. With the exception of the commentary on Exodus, each item includes a prescription or guideline for the Church's use of Scripture. Childs includes these guidelines because of the importance which he places on the community of faith and because of his belief that to depend exclusively on historical criticism in doing exegesis yields sterile results. The empty results of historical criticism have played a central role in motivating Childs to search for the key to 'relevance' for the present era. The three principles which underlie the guidelines

Childs sets forth correspond to the three points in Childs's contribution to the 'Symposium on Biblical Criticism'.

Childs's first point is that 'the study of the Bible must involve the whole community of faith'. This study must include all levels of the church's life -- not just the world of the scholar. Moreover, in the 'A Tale of Two Testaments' he goes so far as to urge that the church also enter into discussion with the modern day Jewish community. In 'The Search for Biblical Authority Today' Childs articulates five principles which summarize his conception of the community of faith:

1. As the community of faith worships it is reminded of its special relation to Scripture; and in worship the church is shown 'how the past is caught up into the present to anticipate the future'

2. The test of family resemblance for the community of faith is based on 'the hearing and doing of God's will' as found in the Scriptures

3. The community of faith should come to the Scripture with the expectation that God will continue to address his people

4. The community of faith accepts the Scripture as normative for the tradition in which the Church stands

5. As the community of faith employs the Scriptures, their

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125. Childs, p. 359.
126. See note 123 above.
authority and self-authenticating truth emerge in the life of the Church.

Childs's second point is that 'the study of the Bible must be carried on within the full gamut of dogmatics, ethics, church history, and pastoral care'. In the 'A Tale of Two Testaments' he also includes the expositors, both ancient and modern, among those who seek a proper model from which to work. In addition he argues for the use of biblical criticism, so long as its practitioners recognize the canonical shape of biblical literature.

Childs's final point is that 'the study of the Bible must be accompanied by an eager expectancy that the Spirit of God will again awaken the church through a fresh enlivening of the Scriptures'. This same idea is also expressed in 'A Tale of Two Testaments' as an 'attitude of expectancy' and a 'willing ness to experience the Scriptures coming alive'.

Childs does not, however, base Exodus, A Commentary, on the plan articulated above; he bases it rather on the principles he has articulated in 'Interpretation in Faith'. However one judges his commentary, one must at least admit that Childs was attempting to write a commentary which would be useful no only for critical studies, but

129. Childs, p. 359.
130. Childs, 'A Tale of Two Testaments', p. 29.
also for preaching and teaching at all levels of Christian education and worship.

Thus, besides developing a theory of exegesis according to the governing principle of 'canon', Childs sets forth a method for using the results of exegesis in the modern community of faith. The first and third points articulated above involve a dialectic between the community of faith and the Spirit of God, a dynamic relationship which reflects Childs's own religious background — an apparently Calvinist influence which compliments his view of Scripture and canon. The second point calls for interaction among the theoretical, historical and practical segments of the Church.

8. Canon Process

Two of the most important articles written by Childs on the subject of canon are 'The Sensus Literalis of Scripture: An Ancient and Modern Problem' (1977) and 'The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament' (1977). Each in its own way is a significant summary statement of the two basic issues which he eventually applies in his Introduction.

A. In 'Sensus Literalis' Childs attempts to summarize the history of the problem of *sensus literalis* up to the Reformation period, to discuss the impact of the historical critical method on the problem and to propose some solutions to it.

1) In his summary of the history of the problem, Childs sets aside for the time being the question of medieval exegesis to concentrate on Calvin and the Reformation. In his discussion of the latter topic Childs makes some observations which describe quite well the assumptions which he makes in his own writings. For example, he remarks that Calvin's approach focused on the text itself, not trying to penetrate through it in a search for something behind it, because for him the text was the faithful vehicle for communicating the oracles of God.133 For Calvin the literal sense is its own witness to God's divine plan. For him there was no tension between the historical and the theological because Christology ('the earthly Christ partook fully of the divine Spirit') was his basic hermeneutical principle.134 Also, Calvin accepted the pre-critical concept of revelation. Childs evidently espouses these same principles.

2) In his discussion of the historical critical method, Childs points out that the adherents of this method emphasize ascertaining the true historical reference in the text, because for them revelation no longer inheres in the words themselves, but rather in the subject matter to which the words refer. Thus, whereas the Reformers used the terms *sensus literalis* and *sensus historicus* interchangeably, the critical

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133. Childs, 'Sensus Literalis of Scripture', p. 87.
134. Childs, 87.
method now uses the historical sense to determine the content of the
text. Thus the reconstruction of the original event now becomes the
most important task of exegesis.

Childs believes that the historical-critical approach has affected
the modern understanding of the literal sense of the biblical text in
four ways. First, in identifying the literal with the historical
sense, this approach has virtually destroyed 'any claim for the
integrity of the literal sense of the text'. As a result the
biblical text is now explained by historical research. The medieval
parallel: various applied senses threatened to destroy the significance
of the literal.

Second, to identify the literal sense with 'the original sense' (by
which I think Childs means historical sense), results in the literal
sense becoming 'captive of countless speculative theories of historical
and literary reconstruction'. The medieval parallel: the loss of all
control of exegesis through the abuses of the multiple senses of
Scripture.

Third, to equate the literal sense with the historical alters the
concept of the Bible as the Scriptures of the community of faith. The
result is that the literary, historical, and theological boundaries are
called into question. These boundaries lie at the heart of canon for

The scope and character of Israel's sacred
literature had been established by a long historical
process of selecting, ordering, and reinterpreting
of tradition which culminated in canonization, but

135. Childs, p. 90.
toward the goal of structuring the religious life of that community. (underlining mine)\textsuperscript{137}

Israel's sacred literature functioned as normative for their life and understanding. Childs argues that recent methods of exegesis have, in effect, denied this. The medieval parallel: a tension between text and tradition.

Fourth, the historical-critical approach to the literal sense affects both Jewish and Christian communities. The result is 'an almost insurmountable gap'\textsuperscript{138} between the historical sense of the text and any relevance for the present era. The medieval parallel: an tendency to abandon the literal sense in order to construct a relevant theology. The relevance of the text for the present is a chief concern of Childs's research. All efforts to achieve relevance outside of the literal sense and the parameters of the canon, in Childs's estimation, are too subjective and speculative.

3) In attempting to arrive at a solution to the problem of sensus literalis Childs observes that

\ldots if one can learn from the history of exegesis, the discipline has been strongest in those periods when exegesis rested on the literal sense in such a way as not to divorce text from reality, and history from theology.\textsuperscript{139}

Childs's theory of canon process corresponds to his views regarding exegesis and sensus literalis, viz., text and reality must be kept together, as must history and theology. This means that one cannot deal

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{137} Childs, p. 91.
  \item \textsuperscript{138} Childs, p. 91.
  \item \textsuperscript{139} Childs, p. 92.
\end{itemize}
solely with the text and objective history, i.e., one cannot confine oneself to the descriptive approach, or the historically verifiable minimum. On the other hand, Childs would not advocate dealing solely with reality and theology, i.e., von Rad's theological maximum. Rather, it is only when the pairs are kept together, [text and reality, history and theology] that the reader or exegete will recognize the full dynamic of the phenomenon residing in the biblical text. With these things in mind, Childs makes the following four proposals for a reclamation of the concept of sensus literalis.\textsuperscript{140}

a) 'The object of biblical exegesis is the text itself as well as the subject matter of which the text speaks'.\textsuperscript{141} He is here assuming that any appeal to revelation must include an appeal to inspiration as a related matter, and in so doing is following the example of the Reformers.

b) 'The biblical text must be studied in closest connection with the community of faith which treasured it'.\textsuperscript{142} Hence to understand Scripture properly one must commit oneself to understanding it from the perspective of those to whom the revelation first came.

\ldots the literal sense of the canonical Scriptures offers a critical theological norm for the community of faith on how the tradition functions authoritatively for future generations of the faithful. Canon is not an ecclesiastical judgment sanctioning a previously unauthoritative text, but the recognition of the authority which the biblical

\textsuperscript{140} Childs, pp. 92-93.
\textsuperscript{141} Childs, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{142} Childs, p. 92.
The canon thus exerts a forward and backward influence. As a norm it is prescriptive for community and the community recognizes its authority in actual usage. Wherever that community exists, it needs to do exegesis within the bounds of the canon.

c) "The hermeneutical move which seeks to bring the meaning of the biblical text from the past to the present takes place on the basis of the literal sense of the text". It is important to understand Childs's view of the function of the literal sense. In the hermeneutical task of actualizing the tradition (Vergegenwärtigung), the literal sense has rendered the material into a form which is suitable for future accommodation. This is why Childs feels that the reconstructions of historical criticism are harmful. They actually destroy the very elements in the shaping which made the actualization possible. Canon process seeks to recognize that shaping process which in turn created actualization and thus the relevance of 'shaping' for future use in exegesis.

d) "The role of the Holy Spirit in biblical interpretation is not to add a new dimension to the literal sense, but to effect the proper actualization of the biblical text in terms of its subject matter for every succeeding generation of the church". This seems to indicate, on the basis of Childs's view of revelation/inspiration and the process

143. Childs, p. 92.
144. Childs, p. 93.
145. Childs, p. 93.
of actualization, that the Holy Spirit was active at each level of development of the canon as a whole as well as in the reading of the canon by the generations of the community of faith. Thus, for Childs, the search for the literal sense lies at the heart of doing 'proper and relevant' exegesis.

B. The second article of 1977, 'The Exegetical Significance of Canon for the Study of the Old Testament', was presented at the Ninth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament in Göttingen.\textsuperscript{146} In this article Childs makes a presentation of his canonical process thesis. He deals with the issues of exegetical methodology and then demonstrates the canonical shaping of the Old Testament. He also provides some theological implications for the use of canon in exegesis.

Childs defines canon as

\textit{... that historical process within ancient Israel - particularly in the post-exilic period - which entailed a collecting, selecting, and ordering of texts to serve a normative function as Sacred Scripture within the continuing religious community.}\textsuperscript{147}

Childs points out that he does not see canon as the act of closing the collection; that is only the end of a long process. Rather, he wants to emphasize the long and complex process of collecting which began prior to the exile. One could possibly push this starting point


\textsuperscript{147} Childs, 'Exegetical Significance of Canon', p. 67.
back further in time, but Childs indicates only that the process began long before the exile. He concentrates, however, on the post-exilic period. He also in his terminology, distinguishes between 'canonization', which should be reserved for the final fixing of the limits of Scripture, and 'canon process', which he uses to refer to the long and complex growth of the sacred literature.

From the foregoing description canon process would appear at first to have close affinities to both literary criticism and redaction criticism. In fact it is difficult to see any difference between canon process and the other two kinds of criticism, and in light of Robert Stein's article 'What is Redaktionsgeschichte?', it seems even more that Childs is really talking about redaction criticism. Hence it is no wonder that Childs goes to great lengths in this article to demonstrate the uniqueness of canon process.

Childs defines literary criticism as the study of (1) the growth of Sages, (2) the use of prose and poetry patterns, (3) the social setting, and (4) the changing scribal techniques. Canon process, on the hand, deals with the forces which affected the collection, transmission and religious usage of the literature. Practically speaking canon process could not be ascertained until literary criticism had begun its task. Canon process builds on the conclusions of literary criticism.

Redaction criticism and canon process both begin with the peculiar shape of the literature, i.e., both must be preceded by literary criticism. Their techniques can be compared thus:

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Redaction Criticism
-seeks signs of intentional reinterpretation which are related to an editor's particular historically conditioned perspective
-uses the text as a source for other information which has been obtained by an oblique reading of the text

Canon Process
-focuses attention on the effect of the layers on the final form
-its warrant is in Scripture because the tradents hide their 'footprints' in order to focus attention on the canonical text rather than the process

Whereas redaction is the final operation on a text and leaves an imprint of the era in which it was done, canon process indicates how the previous layers, i.e., the extant authoritative material, bear on the shape of the final form. Although both deal with the final form, they examine two different phenomena.

In addition, Childs implies that redaction is imposed as a tool upon the text, but he insists that canon process gets its warrant from Scripture itself where the tradents have sought to hide their own 'footprints' in order to focus attention on the canonical text rather than on the process of its formation.149

He gives this one stage, i.e., canon process as defined by Childs, because the text reflects a history of encounter between God and Israel and because canon (1) describes this relationship, (2) defines the scope of this history by establishing a beginning and an end, and (3) assigns a special normative quality to this segment of history.150

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149. Childs, 'Exegetical Significance', p. 68.
150. Childs, p. 69.
maintains here that the peculiar relation between text and community is constitutive of canon. 'Canon also implies that the witness to Israel's experience with God lies not in the process . . . but is testified to in the effect. . . .'\textsuperscript{151}

The foregoing assertions of Childs appear to be based more on systematic theology than on the evidence within the text. They assume a particular understanding of revelation/inspiration.

Childs also deals at length in this article with the effect that canon process has upon a text. He maintains that the principle of normativeness imposes a critical theological judgment on the process of selecting, arranging and/or expanding the material in the long process of the shaping of the Old Testament sacred literature. Literary criticism merely distinguishes the Yahwist source from the Priestly within the Pentateuch which when heard together create a fuller understanding. But canon process recognizes the original authority, or norm, which the normative text exerts on the community of faith. Literary criticism assists in comprehension; canon process identifies the normativeness of the earlier texts which is still present in the final form of the text.

Canon process, according to Childs, also has implications for hermeneutics in that canonical form establishes the peculiar profile of a passage. It provides an order by 'highlighting certain elements and subordinating others'.\textsuperscript{152} These elements should guide the biblical

\textsuperscript{151} Childs, p. 69; see also p. 69, n.4, where Childs points out the distinction between his views and those of James Sanders.

\textsuperscript{152} Childs, p. 69.
theologian in research. Childs argues that the use of Heilsgeschichte as a guiding principle results in a critical reordering that does violence to the emphasis of the canon. He also implies that a historical-critical reconstruction would have the same negative effect on exegesis since it would attempt 'to refocus the picture according to its own standard of historical accuracy', 153 thus ignoring the canonical standard of history.

2) Childs devotes a considerable portion of this article to examples of canonical shaping in the Old Testament. He gives six examples of the principle of canonical process with illustrations from various biblical texts. 154

Example 1.

'A collection of material has been detached from its original historical mooring and provided with a secondary, theological context'. 155

Childs uses Isaiah 40-55 as an illustration of this phenomenon and suggests that the present context intentionally obliterated the original sixth century context in order to direct the message of promise to the future. It seems that the results here could just as easily have been attributed to a redactor. It is not clear why Childs regards canonical process as the only explanation for the new context. If, for example, a copy of the original Isaiah 40-55 material could be compared with the present edition of Isaiah 40-55, thus showing that the later edition in using the earlier material recognized the normativeness of the earlier

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154. Childs, pp. 70-77.
155. Childs, pp. 70-71.
material, then Childs could legitimately contend that canon process was responsible for the shaping.

Example 2.

'The original historical setting of a tradition has been retained, but it has been placed within a framework which provided the material with an interpretative guideline'.

In this case the Book of Koheleth is used to show how an appendix served as a 'rule-of-faith'. In 12. 9-11 Koheleth is characterized as being wise, as having a teaching office in the community, as being truthful, and as being esteemed as highly as the 'collected sayings'. The canonical shaping here 'is not the heavy reworking of the original sayings of the sage', says Childs, rather it provides a new perspective for understanding the rest of the book. This example does seem to meet the requirements for canon process in that the criteria of a sage have been imposed at the end in order to establish this book as normative teaching rather than merely the 'pessimistic utterances of a discouraged old man'.

Example 3.

'A body of material has been edited in the light of a larger body of canonical literature'.

Here, Childs uses the Dtr.'s use of Jeremiah as an illustration. The Dtr. has edited the prophecies of Jeremiah into the mode of the preacher of judgment (the prose section) and has transformed the poetic

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156. Childs, p. 71.
158. Childs, p. 71.
159. Childs, pp. 72-73.
traditions into the prose language of the Dtr. The resultant ordering of Jeremiah's message by means of the larger canonical corpus (i.e., Dtr) provided later generations with an interpretation of how the law and the prophets should function together. If we assume Childs's principle of an earlier canonical tradition exerting its influence, then here a later tradition is being reshaped by an earlier one. However, if the Dtr. school develops during the exile, then this could be an example of a not-very-old tradition shaping another traditional... That would seem to make the prophecies of Jeremiah much more like redaction, unless the Jeremiah material had quickly acquired a measure of stature in the shaping community.

Example 4.

'An original historical sequence of a prophet's message was subordinated to a new theological function by means of a radically theocentric focus in the canonical ordering of a book'.160

Using Ezekiel as an example, Childs shows that the canonical key for understanding this prophet lies in Ezekiel's radical theocentric perspective. Even though his oracles are fixed within a chronological framework, their temporal facts are transcended when the prophet testifies to the activity of God in terms which are free from any human limitation. If this theocentric focus does not originate with the author, it could be the 'footprint' of a redactor in the post-exilic period, or it could result from the influence of and reshaping by a canonical process. It is quite difficult to prove categorically which is the better explanation.

160. Childs, pp. 72-73.
Example 5.

'The shaping process altered the semantic level on which a passage originally functioned by assigning it a less-than-literal role within the canonical context'.¹⁶¹

In this case, Childs appeals to the Book of Hosea where the original material has been arranged (e.g., the material of Hosea 2 placed between chapters 1 and 3 appears to be an interruption in the flow of the material of chapter 1 and 3) to reflect an important semantic shift in the function of Hosea's witness. The prophet's realistic language takes on metaphorical significance and a wisdom saying is placed at the end of the book (14. 9). However, it is not clear whether this final verse is a redaction or merely an interpretive guideline as in the example of Koheleth given above. Nor is it crystal clear whether the writer in adding 14:9 was giving witness to the canonical shape as he saw it then and thereby giving a written account of 'what he heard the text saying' in his own day. This is yet further illustration of the complexities involved in applying Childs's theory.

Example 6.

'Prophetic proclamation has been given a radically new eschatological interpretation by shifting the referent within the original oracles'.¹⁶²

Childs observes here that the visions of Zechariah 1–6 once functioned independently of each other and were once addressed to particular historical situations. On the surface there appears to be tension between the original and present frameworks. Childs suggests that this

¹⁶¹ Childs, pp. 73-75.
¹⁶² Childs, pp. 75-77.
comes not from historical confusion but from intentional theological shaping. The new canonical form of the passage with its references to the exile and its use of second exodus language, points still further into the future towards Israel's deliverance. In this example, Childs appeals to the principle of actualization. This seems to be a cogent argument provided that the old tradition was shaped in such a way as to keep its message relevant. Moreover, it demonstrates the clear distinction Childs makes between canon process and redaction, namely, the influence of a former authoritative document.

Yet Childs's argument is still not entirely convincing. Has he, for example, failed to distinguish between the introduction of an idea such as eschatology, the re-use of it in canon process, and the imposition of it by a redactor? Biblical scholars simply do not yet know enough about the growth of Israel's theological and religious ideas, nor have they established criteria by which to determine how long a concept must have been current for it to have had normative status or canonical influence. Childs has not given enough attention to this problem.

3) Childs concludes his treatise with a section on theological implications of canon for exegesis. He stresses, first of all, the importance of treating the biblical text as the 'religious literature of a community of faith'. Childs contrasts this 'literature' with 'inert sherds' -- the former is the product of a dynamic, living

163. Childs, pp. 76-77; see also the example from Daniel, pp. 76-77.
164. Childs, p. 78.
165. Childs, p. 78.
community, the latter is the product of archaeological investigation, a dead community. Critical studies assume that the historical background of a text must be known before the text itself can be correctly interpreted. Childs argues that such an effort destroys the features inherent in the text which, if recognized, show how the community of faith in history conceived the text and shaped it for a new normative function.

The task of exegesis involves taking seriously the historical dimension of the biblical text in tracing the effect of the community upon the text and conversely examining the force of the text on the community. This historical interaction between text and community is constitutive of canon. 166

Childs deals next with Vergegenwärtigung, which is generally understood as an 'updating' effort of redaction. Childs acknowledges that this is occasionally the case, but he would like to broaden the definition and use of Vergegenwärtigung, for he believes that

... it is an essential function of canon to seek to transmit the tradition is (sic.) such a way as to prevent its being moored in the past. Actualization derives from a hermeneutical concern which was present during the entire canonical process. It is built into the structure of the text itself and reveals an enormous richness of theological interpretation by which to render the text religiously accessible. 167

Childs points to the presence throughout the development of the Old Testament of a continuous force which kept the traditions constantly relevant for the community of faith. Who was the agent of this force? Who guaranteed its uniform application? Or was it uniform? Did it end at

166. Childs, p. 78.

167. Childs, pp. 78-79.
some point? If so, why and what connection is there between that community of faith, Judaism's community of faith, and the Christian community of faith? It would appear that Childs's views concerning actualization are supported by his theological presuppositions concerning both canon as a final form (not as a process) and revelation/inspiration.

Childs suggests that by 'decanonizing' a text, one cannot see any relevance for that text in the modern context, which is a serious problem if the community of faith is to be sustained. He implies that to 'decanonize' a text is to render it no longer normative, while the canon process renders the original text religiously accessible and thus normative. This is an important issue in modern exegesis: is the text normative or a phenomenon?

Finally, Childs looks at the implication of canon exegesis for biblical theology. The various approaches to Old Testament biblical theology use a significant level of subjectivity in ascertaining the theological significance of texts and traditions. If canon process is inherent in a text in question, then it should provide some guidance for the determination of the content and significance of Old Testament biblical theology. If this canonical force can be ascertained in the text, it would give us the viewpoint of a rather ancient era — and, given Childs's presuppositions, a viewpoint which is normative.

According to Childs, canon process established a body of literature as normative and authoritative in its present form, a form on the basis

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of which theological exegesis can be done. This presupposition underlies our modern dilemma. What presuppositions underlay the work of the Old Testament tradents and enabled them to consider certain bodies of literature as normative? Evidently, the tangible evidence for the existence of such presuppositions vanished long ago, whereas, the New Testament, by contrast, contains evaluative comments on 'Scriptures', including Paul's writings. Perhaps the solution lies in the concept of 'self-actualization', a term Childs uses occasionally, and which implies that a force was at work which was not necessarily the conscious effort of the tradents. This certainly would bring the argument back to Childs's Reformed presuppositions which I suspect he assumes to be present from the beginning stages of canon process.

9. The Role of Chronicles in Canon Process

This section will treat Childs's Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture which was published in 1979 along with an article he published in 1978, 'The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature'. The article is included because it has a more thorough discussion of the Latter Prophets than does the Introduction.

With the exception of the introduction and conclusion, all of the Introduction is devoted to a discussion of the canonical divisions of the Old Testament. The Former and Latter Prophets are each given a separate section, presumably to keep the size of the section on Prophets

manageable. Three important concerns of Childs can easily be seen from the layout of the book. For each biblical book he deals with Childs includes a section on (1) historical critical problems, since Childs believes that the investigation of such problems is a necessary and legitimate part of research; (2) the canonical shape of the book in question, which is the new contribution of this Introduction; and (3) as a conclusion, the theological and hermeneutical implications which generally point toward the exegetical results which Childs envisioned within this system.

Each of the four divisions of the book has a separate introduction, but they are not uniform in design or quality. Childs deals with the canonical shape of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, but does not do so for the Latter Prophets or the Writings. He could have summarized the canonical shape of the Latter Prophets, but the Writings may be so diverse in character as to prevent such a summary. Finally, it is instructive to compare the length of the introductory sections: Pentateuch, 27 pages; Former Prophets, 10 pages; Latter Prophets, 6 pages (a total of 16 for Prophets combined); and Writings, 3 pages.

Although Childs uses this general format throughout his book, he makes an almost imperceptible exception when he deals with Chronicles. In describing the canonical shape of the Books of Chronicles, he goes into much more detail than he does for the other books and the examples for exegesis of authoritative Scripture remind one of Childs's previous treatment of the New Testament and of midrash. Could it be that after

170. His article on 'The Canonical Shape of the Prophetic Literature', *Interp* 32 (1978), 46-68, makes up for this deficiency.
writing the articles mentioned above, Childs discovered that the Chr. would serve well as his next model for demonstrating the phenomenon of canonical shaping? The resultant sequence (reversed in historical sequence) of examples of canon process would be: New Testament, midrash, Chronicles. He could then apply the theory to all of the Old Testament.

The Books of Chronicles provide a different set of problems for the interpreter than the other sections of the Old Testament. Whereas the other books present critical problems connected with the original event (never to be repeated) and the biblical record, Chronicles is a reshaped record of another existing text, Samuel-Kings basically. Also the process of the composition of Chronicles does not cover such a long period of time as does that of the other Old Testament books. Thus the Chr.'s own intention is 'basically identical' with the canonical shape of the Books of Chronicles, for

The probability of some development later than that of the Chronicler has not seriously altered the decisive shape by the Chronicler himself. To put the issue in another way, it was the Chronicler himself who was raising the canonical question of how Israel's sacred historical traditions functioned authoritatively for the continuing life of the people of God.\footnote{Childs, \textit{Introduction}, p. 643.}

This statement must be seen against the background of the mixed response Chronicles has so far received. For example, the Jews thought highly enough of Chronicles to use readings from it on the Day of Atonement; de Wette, by contrast, argued that the Chr. had 'reworked, altered, and falsified' his earlier sources, thus rendering Chronicles useless as a source of history; similarly, Wellhausen relegated the Chr.
to the negative wasteland of Judaism; however in more recent times Mosis and Willi have offered a more positive evaluation of Chronicles.\(^{172}\) Childs obviously regards the Chr. in a positive light. His a priori view of canon and revelation/inspiration to a large degree required him to accept Chronicles as it stands.

The assumption of scholars that the Chr. 'cloaked his real intentions behind some tendentious handling of his sources'\(^{173}\) will invariably lead to a negative assessment of Chronicles. Childs, however, wants to take the Chr.'s statements 'at face value', which will obviously also determine the outcome of his research. He considers the Chr.'s purpose to be 'entirely straightforward'.

The author was attempting to interpret to the restored community in Jerusalem the history of Israel as an eternal covenant between God and David which demanded an obedient response to the divine law.\(^{174}\)

For Childs to read Chronicles canonically is to describe how the Jewish community encountered its Scriptures after the exile. Hence he regards the book as a prime illustration of canon process.

The way in which the Chr. uses his sources also makes Chronicles attractive to Childs as a model of canon process. He notes four characteristics of the Chr.'s use of sources. First, the Chr. selects material from a larger body of information. This does not necessarily


\(^{173}\) Childs, Introduction, p. 643.

\(^{174}\) Childs, p. 644.
imply that he is suppressing or replacing earlier material with his own, for the Chr. assumes by the way in which he writes that his audience knows the whole tradition, and so he also feels free to hint at stories which he has omitted. Second, the Chr. repeats large sections of material to which he appends a theological explanation, thereby indicating that he saw his work 'not simply as a supplement, but as a necessary explication of the tradition'. Childs argues that the Chr. is consciously striving to produce an authoritative product by thinking of the final product as canonical. Third, the Chr, according to Childs, seems to draw on material which has some kind of normative status. However, Childs thinks it is important to note that the Chr.'s use of these 'authoritative writings . . . lies in the nature of the material rather than in an official status'. Fourth, the Chr. frequently uses prophetic writings, indeed

[the] close relation between the histories and the prophetic writings indicate the author's belief that prophetic inspiration lay at the source of all his material.  

Childs also suggests here that we may have a hint of the beginning of the tradition which identified the historical writings of Israel as Former and Latter Prophets.

Next, Childs deals with the Chr.'s exegesis of authoritative Scripture.

175. Childs, p. 647.
176. Childs, p. 647.
177. Childs, p. 647; this is in contrast to von Rad's view that the Chr. did not know .
Perhaps the crucial discovery of the modern study of Chronicles is the extent to which the Chronicler sought to interpret Israel's history in relation to a body of authoritative Scripture. Although it is obvious that the Chronicler did not at any point articulate his concept of canon, he made use of the earlier writings in such a way as to indicate how strongly the consciousness of a body of authoritative writings affected him . . . most of the crucial exegetical moves which comprise the Chronicler's method derive directly from his concept of authoritative writings through which the will of God is revealed to every generation of Israel. 178

Childs identifies four approaches to exegesis in the Chr. which offer support to his theory of canon process: harmonization, supplementation, typology, and the coherence of action and effect.

Harmonization arises from the Chr.'s understanding of the unity of Scripture. 179 Childs draws the following conclusions on the nature of the Chr.'s harmonization.

It is an unconscious process . . . a reflex from a concept of canon, done most often as serious exegetical activity

He did not change the text at will since this would be foreign to a sense of canon

He used creativity only within certain boundaries which he could justify from the received tradition

Harmonization by the Chr. reflects the influence of other authoritative texts upon the Samuel-Kings tradition

Sometimes the harmonization reflects the Chr.'s

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179. Childs demonstrates this quite effectively from Chronicles, but it is also important to bear in mind that the Chr.'s view, as presented by Childs, corresponds rather nicely to Childs's own Reformed views.
attempt to make sense of an apparently poor Hebrew text.\textsuperscript{180}

Childs uses various examples as a basis for these conclusions, which are not at all unlike what one would expect from a Reformation theologian.

Supplementation of material from the prophetic literature to the Samuel-Kings account was used by the Chr. to 'round out the tradition',\textsuperscript{181} so as to

Supplement the earlier accounts with the full range of prophetic revelation in an outer harmony which implies a view of revelation and authority

Bring out the full dimension of divine revelation by using texts other than Samuel-Kings

Represent the full extent of the normative tradition as the Chr. knew it.\textsuperscript{182}

Childs regards this as a critical, theological process in which the Chr. uses certain material as a base and then adds other material to it. He evidently considered both types of material to be normative for Israel.

Typology in Chronicles is 'a non-historical ordering of material according to patterns which arise from a similarity of content'.\textsuperscript{183}

This is an example of the Chr.'s practice of making value judgments on what is 'normative, enduring, and representative' from the various historical situations available to him.

This typological method is particularly compatible to the canonical process since it makes use of lead words and stereotyped expressions by which to call to the reader's consciousness other examples of the


\textsuperscript{181}. Childs, p. 650.

\textsuperscript{182}. Childs, pp. 649-650.

\textsuperscript{183}. Childs, p. 650.
same pattern within the whole range of authoritative Scripture.\textsuperscript{184}

However, Childs maintains that this characteristic did not develop into an interchange of words or ideas extracted from their original context. Childs is simply referring to the Chr.'s use of historical antecedents, a practice which assumes that the hearers have a familiarity with the older texts.

\textbf{Coherence of Action and Effect} is 'an essential part of the Chronicler's concept of God's revelation through his prophets which is contained in a body of authoritative Scripture'.\textsuperscript{185} Childs has given special attention to this phenomenon because of the problem of retribution in Chronicles. Rather than being an imposition of 'strange doctrine upon his material', the Chr.'s use of the retribution motif is an attempt to show the continuity in God's economy between human action and its inevitable effect.

By emphasizing the verifiable consequences of disobedience, the Chronicler simply drew forth the truth of a lesson which history itself had confirmed.\textsuperscript{186}

Childs also argues that the Chr. did not regard his own work as being prophetic, but rather as a commentary on the prophetic writings. In this sense he attempted to demonstrate the truth of the prophet's message by showing the correspondence between their word and the inevitable effect of disobedience to it. This is reminiscent of one of Childs's earlier discussions about proto-midrash (see pp. 133ff.).

\textsuperscript{184} Childs, p. 651.

\textsuperscript{185} Childs, p. 653.

\textsuperscript{186} Childs, p. 652.
The 'Theological and Hermeneutical Implications' which Childs lists for Chronicles are headed by this thesis:

...that the Chronicler in the process of giving his material its canonical shape has made use of a variety of exegetical methods many of which are akin to late Jewish midrash... .

Childs argues that in spite of the modern rejection of this type of exegesis, i.e., midrash, we must give serious attention to its use here as a method of canon process, as a force that shaped the Chr.'s work. This implies that Childs sees this issue from two perspectives: (1) that as part of the canon, Chronicles has the status of normative, authoritative, inspired Scripture; and (2) that in his use of older normative traditions the Chr. is expressing an orthodox view consistent with tradition. It is unclear which one carries the most influence in Childs's thinking. I would suggest that the former conclusion came first and that the second resulted from the application of the first to the study of the text of Chronicles.

In summary, the manner in which Childs treats Chronicles in his Introduction and the characteristics of the Chr.'s use of Samuel-Kings and other traditions seems to support the idea that Childs's view of canon process arises from the models found in the New Testament, in midrash and in Chronicles.

One wonders whether Childs's presuppositions are acceptable for present day hermeneutics and whether his system of exegesis would make a positive or a negative contribution to contemporary biblical theology. With these concerns in mind, Childs's method and that of von Rad will be

examined together in the following chapter so as to determine their implications for hermeneutics and to expose their flaws.
PART THREE

A COMPARISON
1. Historical Continuity and Hermeneutical Judgment

A. Brevard S. Childs

Canon process has become synonymous with the name Brevard Childs. Other scholars consider terms such as canon criticism and inner Biblical exegesis,¹ to be identical to 'canon process' in meaning, but Childs insists on the uniqueness of his own term. The reviewers of Childs's works, and especially of Biblical Theology in Crisis and Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture, seem consistently to misunderstand or fail to grasp what Childs means by canon process. Childs doubtless creates some of the confusion in combining two seemingly disparate elements to create his term. Moreover, his use of 'process' is extremely fluid: he sometimes uses it to designate an activity of short duration, while at other times he uses it to describe an activity of considerably longer duration. His use of 'canon', which most people take to refer to the Church's acceptance of a prescribed set of texts elicited the following response from James Barr in his review of Childs's Introduction:

Canon in this book is vaguely and unanalytically treated. Sometimes it is the canon in the sense of the boundary of Scripture; sometimes it is the final form of a book, as contrasted with earlier sources. Sometimes it is the abstract, canon without definite article: Childs seems not to notice that the logical behaviour of the term alters when the article is removed. Sometimes canon is more a context than a set of books or a form of words; and this suggests

that it may be something in the eye of the beholder rather than a real thing out there in the world. Sometimes it is a sort of Holy Grail, a principle of finality and authority. All these are hardly distinguished; yet it must be obvious that they are different. A book's becoming authoritative is one thing; the exclusion of other books is another thing. 2

By adopting the word canon Childs no doubt has brought along some unwanted semantic baggage. At the same time he has consciously sought to broaden our understanding of the term to include what he identifies as a complex process. James Barr with his preoccupation with semantics has not allowed Childs the freedom to do this. Words, after all, do change or undergo redefinition over time. Childs responds to Barr and his other critics thus:

Some of the misunderstanding of parts of my book stem from replacing my broad use of the term with a much narrower, traditional usage, and thus missing the force of the argument. 3

He also defends his anarthrous use of canon as being 'not an intentional oversight, but a sign of the extended use of the term'. 4 Various reviewers doubt whether such a canonical process can be identified in the Old Testament because, even as Childs admits, the so-called 'footprints' of canonical tradents have been obscured; some question how

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4. Childs, 'Response to Reviewers', p. 53. 'My preference for the term canon without the article is not an unintentional oversight, but a sign of the extended use of the term,' p. 53.
well Childs applies his method.\textsuperscript{5} However, such criticisms usually fail to take into account the length of the process as Childs perceives it. 'The formation of the canon was not a late extrinsic validation of a corpus of writings, but involved a series of decisions deeply affecting the shape of the books'.\textsuperscript{6} In defining and using 'canon' Childs wanted to overcome two obstacles. First, the problem of Hebrew canon, which had heretofore been viewed as 'a narrow historical problem, focused on the establishment of the boundaries of Israel's sacred writings in the Hellenistic period',\textsuperscript{7} and thus the long period of time during which the literature was being formed had been overlooked. Second, current biblical criticism, particularly traditio-historical research in which von Rad was deeply involved, had failed, in Childs's opinion, to recognize sufficiently the connection between its own conclusions and the formation of a canon. Thus Childs sought to broaden the term in order

\ldots to encompass the complex process involved in the religious usage of tradition which extended far back in Israel's history and exerted an increasing force in the post-exilic period. \ldots ,\textsuperscript{8}

and to

\ldots emphasize that the phenomenon of the canonization of the Hebrew Bible had a long

\begin{itemize}
\item[5.] For a useful collection of various authors assessing Childs and his responses to them see JSOT 16 (1980), 2-60, HBT 2 (1980), 113-211, and S. E. McEvenue, "The Old Testament, Scripture or Theology?", Interpr. 35 (1981), 229-242; see also Manfred Öning, Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart, p. 198.
\item[6.] Childs, \textit{Introduction}, p. 59.
\item[7.] Childs, 'Response to Reviewers', p. 53.
\item[8.] Childs, p. 53.
\end{itemize}
prehistory. It was not a late, extrinsic validation, basically peripheral to its growth, but it involved a theological intentionality which emerged early in Israel's history and left its decisive stamp throughout the process.9

In the Introduction itself he declares that canon process is an activity which extended throughout Israel's history.10 One should permit Childs to define his terms and use them on that basis. Obviously we would then expect him to be consistent in his usage of his own term.

As far as his use of the term is concerned Childs pinpoints three aspects of the process that Old Testament literature underwent: (1) the setting of boundaries for the literature, (2) the combining of rival traditions, and (3) the actualization of earlier traditions so that they would function authoritatively for later generations. Although some insist that this is 'inconsistent', Childs replies that the attempt to comprehend Israel's struggle to understand its own religious tradition was complex and of long duration:

... the point to be emphasized is that there are important elements of continuity extending throughout the entire history of the literature's formation which are connected ... with a religious concern.11

Others have recognized Childs's aim and have commented favorably on his use of canon process. H. Cazelles has this to say:

It is by studying the authority of a given text in the development of the people of God that the

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"process of theological reflexion in Israel" is revealed (p. 58). The formation of the canon is the result not of a once-for-all decision, but a series of decisions in the believing community; I would perhaps rather say: "the believing communities". Rudolph Smend speaks of 'the elasticity of the concept of canon' while acknowledging that Childs uses the term to refer to the 'pre-history' of the present form of the Old Testament books. Smend sees in Childs's definition that

... the boundaries between the finalisation of the canon and its immediate pre-history ... become less important, but the same also holds for the boundaries between the penultimate and the earlier stages in the development of the Old Testament writings.

Some significant aspects to Childs's approach deserve to be noted prior to the brief examination of von Rad's method in the following section. The first centres on the issue of 'Israel and/or Text'. Childs clarifies his own position by contrasting it with that of James Sanders who suggests that the heart of canonical process is Israel's search for identity. Childs rejects this view because, in his opinion, it exchanges what ought to be a theological perspective for an anthropological focus. Childs wants to retain the 'theocentric understanding of divine revelation' that he believes would be lost to 'an existential history' if the search for Israel's identity were to become primary.

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Childs admits that canon involved a response by Israel but that Israel's response was to a continuing experience with God as demonstrated by their new understanding of Scripture. Therefore they were not witnesses to their own self-understanding, but by means of a canon they pointed towards the divine source of their lives. Childs explains that this is the reason why the identity of the canonical traditions are obscured -- shape of canon points to the sacred writings and not to the editors. Thus the normativeness of Scripture is also the guiding principle for Childs's understanding of Israel's life.\(^{15}\)

The second aspect centers on the relationship between process and text. Childs suggests that one must choose between attributing authority either to the text or to the process. He concludes that

> Because the process of forming the Scripture came to an end, canon marked off a fixed body of writing as normative for the community rather than attributing authority to the process itself.\(^{16}\)

Childs does not indicate here what caused the end of the process, but rather suggests that the end thus set the focus on a fixed text rather than on a continuing process. Sanders and Childs disagree here, for Sanders includes in the canonical process not only the stabilizing of the text but also the function of canon in the believing communities.\(^{17}\)

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Childs argues from the dual perspective of Christology and the role of the Holy Spirit in actualization.

The Holy Spirit appropriates for every new generation, in every new situation, the Christ to whom the Apostle bore witness. The Christ of the New Testament is not an illustration within a traditioning process, but the fulness of God's revelation. The modern Christian church does not function in a direct analogy to the Apostolic church, but through its understanding of Scripture and creed, seeks to be faithful in its own generation to the witness of the Apostles and Prophets on whom its gospel is grounded. 18

Childs is thus apparently also including the role of dogma in his view of text over process.

Childs further states that the fixing of a canon indicates that Israel's witness to their experience with God did not consist

. . . in recovering such historical processes, but [rather] is testified to in the effect on the biblical text itself. Scripture bears witness to God's activity in history on Israel's behalf, but history per se is not a medium of revelation which is commensurate with a canon. It is only in the final form of the biblical text in which the normative history has reached an end that the full effect of this revelatory history can be perceived. 19

Thus, as will be demonstrated below, Childs is taking a contrary position to von Rad concerning the role of history and the process of Israel's witness.

The third and final aspect of Childs's approach combines two elements: divine word and text. Childs refers several times to the

divine word. In countering Seeligmann's concept of \textit{Kanonbewusstsein}\textsuperscript{20} as derivative and not constitutive of canonical process, Childs stresses that there is a decisive force at work in the formation of the canon which transforms the divine word in such a manner that that word becomes authoritative in the eyes of the following generations.\textsuperscript{21} 'The Old Testament is not a message about divine acts in history as such, but about the power of the word of God'.\textsuperscript{22} Moreover,

\begin{quote}
The divine word which proclaims the will of God confirms itself in bringing to completion its promise. History is an important medium of God's activity, but history receives its meaning from the divine word, and not \textit{vice versa}.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

One wishes that Childs had elaborated more on the nature of this divine word. However, it is at least apparent that he is most likely rejecting G. Ernest Wright's understanding of the 'acts of God in history'. In contrast Childs is asserting that any nascent part of Scripture is a testimony to the power and fulfillment of God's word. Scripture thus has a claim upon the community for that reason, not because it narrates a saving event. Hence the normative focus of the written word.

As far as text is concerned, Childs emphasizes that the objective of canonical process was to render the authoritative tradition in textual form so that it might function 'as Scripture' for succeeding generations who would not have participated in the original events of

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{20} I.L. Seeligmann, 'Voraussetzungen des Midraschexegese', \textit{SVT} 1 (1953), 150-151.

\textsuperscript{21} Childs, \textit{Introduction}, p. 60.

\textsuperscript{22} Childs, p. 337.

\textsuperscript{23} Childs, p. 337.
\end{quote}
revelation. This rendering of the tradition involved hermeneutical activity, the effects of which are now part of the structure of the canonical text. Hence an adequate interpretation of the text must take canonical shaping into account, i.e. not the tradents, but the inherent authority of the text.

Childs appears to be joining together here a process and a dynamic. The importance of the הנני וה and Charisma for von Rad's understanding of the Old Testament have already been mentioned above. Childs appears to be pointing to a similar phenomenon and calling it the divine word.

In summary then, Childs claims that the canonical process occurred over an extended period of time in which its influence theoretically (although probably not demonstrably) affected every stage of the development of the Old Testament. The process whereby the various individual texts arose and then were formed into subgroups, and eventually into the canon [canonical process], bore witness to the divine source of Israel's life. It was not a record of Israel's search for its identity as von Rad would have it. The texts represented a theocentric understanding of revelation. Later the fixed canon, not the process, became normative in and of itself. Childs considers the divine word to be the decisive force at work in forming the written texts.

B. Gerhard von Rad

Although Gerhard von Rad's exegetical methodology was set forth in detail in Chapter One, it will be recapitulated briefly here so as to
set the stage for the comparison between it and Childs's canon process, to which the rest of the chapter will be devoted.

Von Rad was a leading proponent of the traditio-historical method, but certain aspects of this methodology are similar to aspects of Childs's canon process. To begin with, the traditio-historical method is, among other things, concerned with process; that is, it seeks to discover the process by which the confession of Yahweh's words and deeds were conveyed from generation to generation. This process involves the utilization of older themes, themes that have to do with the relationship of God with Israel. These are re-employed at a later time, in new situations, so as to be understood in new ways. Von Rad refers to this as Nacherzählen, or re-telling. The aim of the traditio-historical method is to identify how Israel received the words and deeds of Yahweh, how she responded to them, and how she interpreted them for a new era, so as to understand the Old Testament's own confession about Israel's relationship to God. In this light von Rad observes that

... even the simplest fusion of two originally independent units of tradition was in itself already a process of theological interpretation.\(^{24}\)

Von Rad and others used the traditio-historical method as a tool for the composition of an Old Testament theology such as the one von Rad has articulated in his two volumes.\(^{25}\) The traditio-historical method is not an optional tool for Old Testament study, according to von Rad, but


rather the key that unlocks the very essence of the Old Testament faith itself.

Von Rad's method is contrary to the rather dogmatic approaches of those who have in the past attempted to understand the Old Testament by synthesizing or abstracting various concepts from the it. Von Rad contends that such imposed systems failed to understand the communities of faith out of which the Old Testament arose. By contrast, *Nacherzählen*, the re-telling process, lay at the heart of the hermeneutics and understanding of these communities. Yet von Rad's method is more anthropological than Childs's canon process [with its emphasis on the theocentric nature of the Old Testament texts].

Von Rad's understanding of process also differs from that of Childs. For von Rad the process of re-telling was a continuing process: the confession of Yahweh's words and deeds did not come to an end but rather continued to be retold afresh by each successive generation and re-interpreted in that new *Sitz im Leben*. Men were invited to see the continuing activity of God in their 'new present'. Von Rad suggests that this was done by recalling past events -- not however just any past event -- but those events which had proved themselves to be of revelatory significance. This understanding of tradition presupposes that the available material of tradition had varying degrees of relevance and required the community to judge its relevance. Von Rad would accept that certain events had a normative character, but he definitely does not consider 'memory' to be in a congealed state. For example, the Exodus event is not a mere memory fixed, as it were, at a tourist site to be visited in the Sinai peninsula. Rather, its re-
telling somehow unleashed a power which illuminated later experience — such as can be seen in Deutero-Isaiah. Thus the re-telling process continued from generation to generation.

A third feature that von Rad stresses in his Theologie is the faith exercised by Israel in the process of re-telling.

... everything is shaped by faith; even the association of the events into a grand path of salvation is not merely historical record, but is in itself . . . an acknowledgment of the leadership of God.26

The process of re-telling was carried out with a faith that God was continuing his work with Israel.

The task of the traditio-historical method is to follow this process step-by-step, acknowledging all the way the faith of the community in its witness to, or confession of, the acts of God. The results, which the traditio-historical method seeks to establish, will be the heart of the Old Testament's own proclamation — the faith of Israel as demonstrated in their reinterpreting traditions in relation to later events.

The fourth and final aspect of the traditio-historical method that is of interest to this study is its ability to uncover what might be called built-in hermeneutics. By tracing the long process of the re-telling of the traditions, the traditio-historian can identify a sequence of examples whereby an original word or deed of Yahweh is applied and re-applied by succeeding generations. In a sense, traditio-historical research yields both a history of hermeneutical judgment and a history of theology in ancient Israel. Within the text of the Old

Testament we have recorded the very process of interpretation and exegesis. The Old Testament as we have it includes the hermeneutic of how Israel appropriated the past in each present and von Rad in his *Theologie* provides insights into how Israel understood its past and present. He believes that the key to this understanding is implicit in the text as we have it.

Von Rad's work gives a new appreciation for the way in which ancient Israel saw her history. As time passed for each generation, the former events acquired paradigmatic significance for new generations. In the process by which Israel remembered, there is historical continuity, since by her remembering, her present identity was continuously revealed to her. In re-telling the past Israel perceived the basis of her existence and role. At the same time the tradition played some part in the formation and continuation of Israel as a community.

The following diagrams are an attempt at a visual representation of the methods of von Rad and Childs described above. They will also form the basis for the comparison of the two methods in the discussion that follows.

Diagram D shows the three principal components of Childs's method. Von Rad's method as summarized in Diagram E differs only in the terminology used to describe the activity of God. The primary distinction between the two diagrams concerns the implicit, inner quality which has been 'hidden' in the text until the discovery and implementation of the respective methodologies. Childs's canon process of Diagram D describes the dynamic inner quality inherent within the
normative material, that is, the Masoretic text as we now have it in a fixed form, but more importantly, in previous canons as they developed in history. Von Rad's inner hermeneutic of Diagram E derives from the traditio-historical method, and provides examples of how to identify the process of re-telling and, perhaps, of how to continue the process of re-telling.

Diagram D: Childs

Diagram E: von Rad 27

hermeneutical judgment

historical continuity

divine word

God's words, deeds

canon process (normativeness)

inner hermeneutic (charisma)

tradition

community of faith

tradition

community of faith

Before the methods of von Rad and Childs can be compared an important issue for biblical scholarship must be dealt with, viz., how one ought to evaluate the past traditions which are now the Old Testament (and the New Testament as well) when examining them from the Christian perspective. The Books of Chronicles provide an excellent point of reference for this discussion because both von Rad's and Childs's methods draw on them extensively and because they were the focus of much scholarly debate and were eventually 'devalued' by such scholars as de Wette and Wellhausen. The discussion centered on the two kinds of Israelite religion that these scholars had discussed: dynamic

27. See a somewhat similar diagram in James A. Sanders, 'Canonical Context and Canonical Criticism,' HBT 2 (1980), 193.
religion (Hebrew religion) and static religion (Judaism). According to Wellhausen the religion of Israel 'declined' after the exile into legalism and absolutes which he labeled 'Judaism'. He regarded Chronicles as part of this trend, which is summarized in Diagram F.

Diagram F

exile

dynamic OT

Hebrew religion

legalism

absolutes (static religion)

Judaism

Chronicles

One might well ask, in light of this, whether Christianity or some form of it might also be accurately described as static [see Diagram G].

Diagram G

dead of apostles

dynamic NT

Apostolic religion

Christianity

church history [static?]

But that question must remain unanswered as must such vital questions as how it is possible for a static form to revert to a dynamic form.

Scholars usually distinguish between dynamic and static religion through an analysis of the valuative techniques employed by the writers of the Old Testament. If either 'historical continuity' or 'hermeneutical judgment' [or a combination of the two] were employed then vitality and thus dynamic religion are presumed to have characterized Israelite life at the time of writing. The writers of the
Old Testament used these techniques in a number of ways: sometimes they used only one, sometimes they alternated between one and the other, and at other times they used both by holding them in tension with each other.

By way of definition, writers who employed historical continuity evaluated their subjects by examining whether the content of the various historical traditions could be preserved intact and unbroken by any form of discontinuity. Those who employed hermeneutical judgment evaluated their subjects on the basis of some theological criteria, either one inherent in the text itself or one which had been established from dogma.

It is clear that a crucial element in the development of both Christianity and the New Testament was the radicality of Christ. Although the writings of the Chr. contain no equivalent element, the exile may have functioned much the same way for the Chr. as did the radicality of Christ for the New Testament.

Of the two techniques just described, hermeneutical judgment could best be applied to the radicality of Christ because it forced the reshaping of older material. (See Diagrams F and H.)

![Diagram H]

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28. Diagram H, which illustrates this issue, arose from a discussion with Professor John Rogerson.
In the following section the methods of von Rad and Childs will be compared in order to see how each scholar employs the valuative techniques just mentioned, and to see whether each manages to avoid confusing the two techniques. Their use of the radicality of Jesus will also be considered. As far as the latter point of comparison is concerned, the following observation by John Bright is instructive:

We have to hear the Old Testament through Christ, for it is at his hands that we — who are not Jews — have received it. That is to say, we have to refer each of the Old Testament texts to the New for verdict, whether it be ratification, modification, or judgment.29

Tradition criticism seeks to identify the points where reinterpretation occurs, where hermeneutical judgment can be identified. Each occasion for reinterpretation seems to have been intimately related to the life of the community.

Thus far von Rad and Childs have been treated in separate chapters with only a few cross-references to each other. The examination of each naturally leads to a comparison. A general comparison is made here which will cover the basic issues. (See list on next page.)

von Rad

[1] An ancient event when actualized in re-telling is a dynamic form of religion.

[2] The ancient community and the subsequent audiences appropriated parts of the old text to make a new one.

[3] The old written text was considered static unless it was actualized for a new situation.


[5] The risen Lord was the key factor in the opening up of the Old Testament Scriptures to his own

[6] and charisma played a significant role in the occasion of actualization or re-telling as seen in the text, allowing for further examination, thus there is even a canon within a canon.


[8] Ancient views as detected by traditio-historical method and their various levels are of considerable value for the community of faith.

Childs

[1] The divine word exhibited in an ancient event as normative within a community of faith is a dynamic expression of their religion.

[2] The old text contained an inherent dynamic which was recognized by the new community.

[3] The written text is dynamic because of its inherent authority and normativeness.


[5] The inherent dynamic of the text reveals truth which is initially propelled by the authority of the divine word.


[8] The final form of the canonical text has value for the community of faith.
From the above comparison it can be argued that von Rad and Childs are not in real disagreement but are simply viewing the same material from different perspectives. The sections which follow will test this hypothesis via an examination of the two scholars' views on Scripture in general and of their understanding of the use of the Old Testament in the New in particular. To this end the following works will be examined: 'The Actualization of the Old Testament in the New' which is the concluding chapter in von Rad's Theologie and 'The Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian Bible' which concludes Childs's Introduction.30

2. 'Actualization of the Old Testament in the New'31

A. 'Das Buch der Erwartung'32

In this section von Rad argues from both sides of hermeneutical judgment. In his description of the Old Testament Scriptures he points to many layers, beginning with הָעַד and moving through Zion, David, the prophets and others. These layers can be categorized as repeated breaks, new institutions and fresh starts which correspond to Israel's state of constant pilgrimage. Yet this pilgrimage gave rise not to disruption and disappointment, but to a continually broadening sense of


32. Subtitle from von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testaments, Band II S. 341.
expectation. Unfulfilled promises were transmitted from generation to
generation and, according to von Rad, the sense of expectation kept
mounting dramatically:

It is amazing to see how she never allowed a promise to come
to nothing, how she thus swelled Jahweh's promises to an
infinity, and how, placing no limit on God's power yet to
fulfil, she transmitted promises still unfulfilled to
generations to come. In this way she increased God's debt
to her.33

Von Rad says that such mounting eschatological expectations could
not be solved merely by a prisoner king being given back his royal robes
(II Kings 25:27ff). Moreover, these mounting expectations in and of
themselves do not indicate whether the Old Testament is also to be read
as the book which foretells Jesus Christ.34 In pointing to the value of
considering the New Testament as part of this layered record von Rad
observes that

The question before us . . . is this: does not the way in
which comparative religion takes the Old Testament in
abstraction, as an object which can be adequately
interpreted without reference to the New Testament, turn out
to be fictitious from a Christian point of view?35

Von Rad seeks to solve the problem by use of the traditio-historical
method. He concludes that the New Testament is the carrying forward of
this familiar procedure, finding fulfillment, to another stage. It is
an attempt


34. Karl Barth has argued that the Old Testament in all its
expectations 'points straight into the void'; von Rad, p. 341; ET, p.
321 (quoting Karl Barth, Die Kirchliche Dogmatik, I, 2 S. 98; ET, I, Pt.
2, p. 89).

... to understand that the way in which the Old Testament is absorbed in the New is the logical end of a process initiated by the Old Testament itself, and that its "laws" are to some extent repeated in this final reinterpretation.\footnote{von Rad, p. 342; ET, p. 321.}

Thus von Rad evidently believes that there is a certain continuity between the two Testaments. In fact he says there will be 'nothing about any mysterious hermeneutical device'.\footnote{von Rad, p. 342; ET, p. 321.} However, as will be demonstrated later on in this study this is really not the case. No single hermeneutic can be applied to every situation, i.e., to each new layer. But the radicality of Christ, i.e., the role which Jesus Christ is to play in the New Testament and its use of the Old Testament evidently becomes a hermeneutical device in the reinterpretation of the Old Testament for the New Testament -- the final layer (see Diagram H).

Von Rad vacillates here between historical continuity and hermeneutical judgment. The radicality of Christ is the only New Testament hermeneutical method which makes possible a new layer. Thus this New Testament hermeneutic falls into a sequence of various hermeneutical methods which had been used by previous generations to actualize previous material for their own day.

B) 'Inneralttestamentliche Neuinterpretationen'\footnote{Subtitle from von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testaments, Band II S. 343.}

In this second part of the final chapter of his Theologie von Rad discusses the method (die Form) which is displayed in the process of
actualization. He describes the process in the Old Testament whereby in subsequent layers some former things are rejected and some are accepted. [See Diagram I]

**Diagram I**

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religion of patriarchs  → Yahwism  → prophetic religion
                → New Testament

rejected material  → rejected material  → rejected material
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The prophets provide von Rad with his clearest example of the procedure shown in the diagram, for

... the prophets allowed themselves very great freedom in their typological utilisation of the old traditional elements. Here again some things were accepted and others passed over. 39

Typology appears to be a constituent element in this method (die Form) and could therefore, von Rad suggests, be understood to be a hermeneutic practiced by the 'creators of new layers' (authors).

The whole way by which old traditions are actualized in the prophets' predictions, these men's close attachment to the old, their habit of carrying over the old into the new, and their contrasting but connected habit of ignoring some aspects of the old which they believed to be superseded, can only be understood as fundamentally charismatic procedure, or, to put it more exactly, as a (sic.) eclectic process based on charisma (underlining in ET only). 40


Von Rad claims that there is no 'fixed method' for actualizing the traditions because each prophet's use of tradition was determined by changing circumstances and so the underlying hermeneutic, if it exists, is too complex to unravel. As has been shown in Chapter One, von Rad considers charisma to be a kind of hermeneutical device which, as part of the היהון would have exerted a stabilizing influence on each of the various layers. Here again, von Rad vacillates between the historical continuity between layers and the hermeneutical judgment used by the authors. As the following quotation indicates, von Rad sees both techniques, hermeneutical judgment and historical continuity, at work in the writings of the New Testament and earlier.

The purposes of these considerations is not to construct successive stages of the saving history. Indeed, one would have to ask whether this acceptance of the old into the new and the form adopted to actualise it does not actually modify the idea of saving history. All we have tried to do was to shed some light on the hermeneutical side, first on the problems raised by the absorption of the Old Testament into the New and its actualisation there, and second, on the sometimes tacit and sometimes openly expressed thesis that the Old Testament is 'incomplete'; for when the Old Testament and the New are contrasted with each other in the way they are today, it certainly looks as though the divisions we draw are much too rigid. And we must certainly assume in this connexion that the freedom which the Apostles and the writers of the Gospels allowed themselves in taking over, revising, or rejecting Old Testament material was no less than that which Ezekiel already claimed for himself. (Underlining mine.)

Von Rad argues that the New Testament writers appropriated the 'layering' technique of the writers of the Old Testament as their own model for incorporating the Old Testament in the New. The prophets were

bound to definite traditions, but in re-telling them they performed a kind of dialectical exercise to give them new content. In the writing of the New Testament

... a new name was once again proclaimed over the ancient tradition of Israel: like one who enters into an ancient heritage, Christ the Kyrios claimed the ancient writings for himself.42

Thus the New Testament writers recognize the radicality of Christ by giving the old terms a new theological frame of reference. For example, אֱוֹדֵ֣י נָּשִׁ֣י, read as יהוה in the Old but written in the New Testament context as יְהֹוָ֣ה, would be heard and understood not as יהוה but as יְהֹוָ֣ה. By adaptation and actualization each layer has been able 'to preserve the continuity of its history with God and prevent it from disintegrating into a series of unrelated acts'.43 However, this is surely not accidental nor is it mere continuity. Is there not here a good measure of hermeneutical device — especially the radicality of Christ in the New Testament? Is not von Rad employing both historical continuity and hermeneutical judgment?

Von Rad concludes this second part with a question which has relevance for Chronicles, i.e., whether it is valid to compare New Testament layering with the layering in the Old, since in the Old Testament the writers were 'working with' oral tradition while in the New the writers were using a fixed text, i.e., the Old Testament. The Apostles, to be sure, had 'holy Scripture', but they took amazing liberties in their use of it. If the Apostles could do this with the

42. von Rad, p. 348; ET, p. 327.
fixed text of the Old Testament, i.e., holy Scripture, would not the Chronicler be 'permitted' to use texts that were not yet fixed? Perhaps the principle employed by the Apostles was the radicality of Christ but, in von Rad's estimation, there was no such valid principle for the Chronicler. One wonders whether he would therefore consider the 'temple principle' in Chronicles to be a defective hermeneutic by which to actualize the monarchical traditions for the post-exilic era, or whether he would consider the Chronicler's writing to be a kind of history and not an attempt at actualization [to use von Rad's terminology]. Yet it appears from the remarks which are peculiar to the Chronicler, that he was indeed 're-telling', actualizing old events for a new situation, i.e., the post-exilic circumstances of 'no king, but a rebuilt temple'. This leaves open the question of whether the Chronicler was really actualizing tradition in an illegitimate manner or for an improper new event. One also wonders whether he indeed lacked charisma, as von Rad implies.

C) 'Die charismatische Interpretation im Neuen Testament'\(^44\)

In this final section von Rad essentially deals with the New Testament as a new saving event, the full and final reinterpretation.

The inter-testamental period was a time of hermeneutical flux in which three groups arose which understood the Old Testament differently: the Jewish scribes, the Qumran writers, and the New Testament writers. By

\(^{44}\) Subtitle from von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Band II S. 349.
adopting the position of the New Testament writers von Rad is obviously accepting and appropriating the radicality of Christ as a hermeneutical key. For him

Even a cursory glance at the New Testament reveals that right down to its latest writings it is absolutely permeated with a sense of wonder at the advent of a tremendous new event, an overwhelming awareness of standing at a new beginning from which entirely new horizons of God's saving activity have become visible: the kingdom of God is here.45

Furthermore,

The new event — the preaching of Jesus, his death and resurrection — led to an understanding of the Old Testament fundamentally different from that of the scribes and also of the Qumran sect.46

As a consequence the Old Testament

... was no longer read as solely dominated by the law, but by saving history. In other words, the Old Testament was now read as a divine revelation which was the precursor of Christ's advent, and was full of pointers towards the coming of the Lord; and this led to a completely new interpretation of the Old Testament. (Underlining mine)47

These citations indicate without a doubt that von Rad recognizes that the hermeneutic of the radicality of Christ was at work in the formation of the New Testament. He regards the era of the early Church as an era of God's activity. Just as he had spoken of charisma in connection with the activity of the prophets, so he now declares that a 'charismatic

47. von Rad, p. 349; ET, pp. 328-329. The process described here would be applicable to the development of the Old Testament itself according to Childs's canon process, i.e., previous normative material is recognized as continuing as a norm for a new generation.
process is undoubtedly at work'. As was noted in Chapter One, he regards the Chr. by contrast as having been part of scribal religion and void of charisma, thereby implying that a similar 'charismatic process' did not, or could not occur at the time of the Chr. The Chr.'s backward-looking focus on the temple is not of the same order as the radicality of Christ, but then neither would the wisemen's focus on wisdom. The charismatic process did not operate on the basis of hindsight but on the basis of the needs of the contemporary moment, when old data had to be made relevant for a new age. The absence of the prophetic movement, which von Rad identifies as the cause for the death of Yahwism, is not a sufficient explanation in all circumstances since von Rad has already demonstrated that the wisdom movement, certainly not prophetic in nature, possessed charisma -- hence the possibility of Heilsweisheit.

On the basis of the Christ-event, the New Testament appropriated the Old Testament not only by contrasting the new with the old but also

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48. von Rad, 352, n. 16; ET, p. 331-332, n. 17; von Rad says, '. . . das alles hängt doch mit dieser charismatischen Art der Vergegenwärtigung zusammen'.
by showing how the new fulfills the old. Israel's history is thrust forward again -- another break and fresh start. The 'ever more powerfully concentrated expectation' of the Old Testament, according to von Rad, 'reaches its last hermeneutic modification and its full and final interpretation.'49 He points to such examples as the Magnificat and the Benedictus (Luke 1:46-55 and 68-70) which he uses to illustrate the 'hermeneutic process by which statements made in the Old Testament were taken up in Christianity'.50 In a further example, Matthew 11:28-30, both the text and its wisdom background are shown to be understood by Jesus as he utilized the Old Testament:

Jesus enters authoritatively into the realm to which these Old Testament expressions belong and claims for himself the form and content of this final Old Testament offer of salvation.51

To sum up, von Rad, in using the traditio-historical method as a means of understanding the processes at work in the creation of the New Testament, has acknowledged the continuity in the New Testament of that hermeneutical method which he had previously identified as being at work in the formation of the Old Testament. To some extent he has also acknowledged the historical continuity of at least some ancient traditions. However, the significant factor in this final layer, the New Testament, is the hermeneutical judgment, i.e., the radicality of

49. von Rad, p. 353; ET, p. 332. Von Rad's claim would preclude any on-going process of Nacherzählung during the history of the early church, the Medieval period, the Reformation, or the present day. However, the implications of von Rad's writings as a whole would lead one to conclude otherwise. Nacherzählung could continue indefinitely.


51. von Rad, p. 355; ET, p. 334. Von Rad must see Jesus as a charismatic figure or as one possessing רוח הקודש.
Christ. Without the Christ-event, only the hermeneutical approaches of the scribes and the Qumran community would have remained. These would not have engendered the dynamism so characteristic of the New Testament, which had such a profound effect on subsequent generations.

3. 'The Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian Bible'\textsuperscript{52}

In this, the final chapter of Childs's \textit{Introduction}, he immediately states that he wrote the book in order to provide an analysis of the growth of the biblical tradition in relation to its function as religious literature within a community of faith. To this end he seeks to answer the following questions:\textsuperscript{53} For which community does the Old Testament function as religious literature? Is it for Jews alone or also for Christians? Can the answer to this question be found in historical continuity or hermeneutical method? In what sense is the Hebrew Bible also the Scripture of the Christian Church?

Childs shows in each chapter of his \textit{Introduction} the implications of canonical analysis of the books of the Old Testament for theological issues. These can be summarized as follows:

1. A long and complex process of canonical shaping
2. The decisive role of the tradents
3. The collection, transmission and ordering of the tradition

\textsuperscript{52} Childs, \textit{Introduction}, pp. 659-671; although this concluding chapter (XLIV) in Childs is not identical in content to von Rad's (Part III, Chapter A), the similarity is sufficient to warrant its use in a comparison of the two scholars.

\textsuperscript{53} Childs, p. 661.
4. The incorporation of the experiences of the Jewish community into Scripture itself
5. Creation of Scripture did not arise from the community's own experience
6. The response by the community to the authority of the divine word testifying to the continuing divine initiative within the tradition which is incorporated into the message itself.54

The first three points emphasize the importance of continuity (i.e., the connection and relationship of each level of development to those preceding), as a contributing factor to the final form of Scripture. Historical continuity has especial significance for Childs's canon process. The final three points give some insight into how Childs understands the composition of Scripture and the role of Scripture in the community. It is not totally clear what Childs means in point six.

What was incorporated into the message? Was it the community's response or the authority of the divine word? The exposition of his method in Chapter Two of this study indicates that he would probably prefer the latter interpretation.

To return to the issue of continuity, Childs indicates that he would prefer the latter interpretation,

that the Christian Old Testament has taken over as its Scripture Hebrew tradition which is largely in the same form which the shaping process of the Hebrew canon gave it.55

54. Childs, p. 663.
55. Childs, p. 663.
Although some critics argue in favour of discontinuity (and Childs elsewhere addresses their concerns directly), Childs seeks to demonstrate the strong measure of continuity in canon process which exists within the Scriptures. He maintains that the length of the development and the extent of the shaping process enhance the continuity between Jewish and Christian Bibles. He also points to the fact that the New Testament does not repudiate or alter the shape of the canonical Scriptures of the synagogue. The interpretation of texts caused disputes, but the shape of the text did not.

He also contends that the heart of the argument for the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures for the Church was based on the decisive shape which the synagogue gave to those Scriptures during the period of their growth. By way of contrast he notes several items which were not at the core of this problem: any occasional controversies between Jews and Christians in the first century, discussions with respect to the closing of the canon or the extent of its boundaries, and the question of whether the Scriptures had been mediated through Israel as an historic community. Hence the extent of the historical continuity is of great


57. Childs, p. 664.
importance in Childs's opinion for the use of the Hebrew Scriptures by the Christian community.

Childs as was mentioned above also addresses the question of discontinuity. In so doing he discusses the issues of text, scope and order, treating these in light of the role of Scripture as hermeneutical judgment.

The first issue, text, centers on whether the Masoretic text or the Septuagint should be considered authoritative. Childs devotes an entire chapter to this problem and deals with it from a canonical perspective. He stresses above all that unlike the Samaritans with their Pentateuch, the early Church did not claim to have a better text (the Septuagint) than the Jews. Rather, they sought to establish the claims of Jesus on the basis of the Jewish Scriptures regardless of their current form in the first and second centuries A.D., bearing in mind that the Septuagint was dependent on a normative Hebrew text.

For the early Church

... the theological issue at stake [was] the maintenance of a common Scripture, between church and synagogue as witness to Jesus Christ, which is threatened if the Hebrew text is abandoned as the normative Old Testament text by the church.

If this statement implies only textual continuity, then there would be little, if any, disagreement between Childs and the advocates of discontinuity. However, for Childs the authority of the Hebrew text

58. See M. Öming's discussion of the Masoretic text versus the Septuagint in his Gesamtbiblische Theologien der Gegenwart, p. 199.


points at least to historical continuity and quite possibly even to theological continuity. Therefore the very validity of the claims of Jesus is apparently based on the Hebrew text. Childs implies this dependence through equating Scripture with normativeness and hermeneutical judgment.

The second issue, scope of text, concerns the problem of the Apocrypha. In this connection Childs points out that the Jews as the bearers of the sacred tradition played a decisive role in the shaping of the text. Their criteria for selection are, for the most part, obscure: literary or aesthetic judgments were of little consequence; political, social and religious factors figured much more prominently. The important factor here is the shaping role which the Jews played. Shaping involves a normative text which when combined with the divine word and community results in canon process (see Diagram D). Childs also believes that the scope of the Hebrew canon is normative for the Christian Old Testament. Different sets of normative religious traditions are brought by Jews (midrashim, Mishnah, Talmud) and Christians (gospel of Christ) to the Hebrew canon.

Christians confess to understand the Old Testament from the perspective of the New, but the New serves to fulfill the Old, not to replace or destroy it. The expansion of the Christian Bible to include both an Old Testament and a New separates the Christian faith from the Jewish, but does not sever the common link with the Scriptures of Israel.  

Although Childs acknowledges the normative role of religious traditions when they are brought to bear on the text, he still stresses the matter of textual continuity: 'that the scope of the Hebrew canon has also a

61. Childs, p. 666.
normative role for the Christian Old Testament'. 62 Continuity acts as an hermeneutic for Christians in their reading of the Old Testament.

In dealing with the third and final issue, the order of the text, Childs demonstrates what might be regarded as either an inconsistency or flexibility. In acknowledging the plurality of the ordering of the books in the second and third divisions of the Hebrew canon, Childs abandons his appeal to normativeness ('now too strong a word') and argues instead for the 'priority' of the tripartite division. 63 He notes that the Septuagint was old and rivalled the tripartite division in Palestine. It is hard to understand how Childs through his Introduction can argue for the Masoretic text as normative but opt for the order of the Septuagint. He declares that 'the order of the Hebrew canon has no historical or theological claims for the Christian Bible' 64 and that

the order of the Christian Old Testament varies considerably within the church, but shares in common both a dependence on the Septuagint and a disregard for the tripartite division of the Hebrew canon. 65

All this of course begs the question as to how this disjunction came about. To be consistent with his method Childs would have to argue that it is the outcome of canonical traditions under the strong influence of canon. Yet this is evidently not the case since the early Church opted for the Septuagint order and Childs argues for the Masoretic text.

63. Childs, pp. 666-667.
64. Childs, p. 667.
elsewhere! Perhaps the operative principle is the one which von Rad followed in his approach. Von Rad's approach certainly seems to be the more consistent of the two.

The main difference between the two versions is that the Masoretic text classifies Joshua through Kings as Former Prophets and Daniel as one of the Writings while the Septuagint places the former among the historical books and the latter among the Prophets. As to the significance of this change in order, Childs observes that

The chief point to be made is that Christians did not create a new order for their Old Testament, but chose an order from among the variety of options which best supported the Christian claim of a different understanding of the Old in terms of the New. (underlining mine)66

One would, however, expect the order of the constituent elements of the text to be retained along with the text itself, and especially if the traditions left important shaping characteristics on the Old Testament. However, for example, the order of materials in the Writings section is not fixed, while the place of the Former Prophets does not change. And Childs, moreover, gives no indication as to why he does not attribute the ordering of the books to canonical traditions. Childs argues that there is no theological claim, i.e., hermeneutical judgment, by the Hebrew canon upon the Christian Bible but asserts that by assigning Daniel to the prophets the Christians made a 'different theological interpretation'.67 That is not textual continuity. Neither is it a hermeneutic based on the radicality of Christ. It is rather merely a

demonstration that the Masoretic text lost out to the priority of the Septuagint.

The disjunction between text and order could indicate that canon process had developed two 'acceptable' traditions: the tripartite order of the Hebrew Bible and the re-ordered sequence of the Septuagint. Evidently the communities of faith that existed prior to the radicality of Christ (the Christian hermeneutical judgment) could differ in how they chose to carry the ongoing process forward. The Christians merely adopted one of those traditions, viz., the Septuagint, and added new data in developing the New Testament, i.e., canon process as Childs defines it.

Childs then proceeds to set forth objections to the arguments of two authors, A.C. Sundberg and H. Gese.68 Two of his three objections to Sundberg's ideas reiterate his preference for textual continuity. In the first he contends that the use of Old Testament eschatology and apocalyptic by the New distinguishes Christian theology from that of rabbinic Judaism. New Testament theology (except for the reference to Enoch in Jude) does not base its ideas on the Apocrypha but rather on the Hebrew canon. In the second he observes that New Testament theology

controversy 'turns always on the interpretation'\textsuperscript{69} of Old Testament passages, hence, the controversy with rabbinic tradition and not with canonical text. One wonders, however, if Childs has overlooked the discontinuity in Jesus' teaching as evidenced in the refrain, 'You have heard it said, but I say...'. Perhaps Childs can still advocate the continuity of the text, but he ought to have borne in mind the radicality of Jesus's use of the Old Testament.

Childs criticizes Gese for making a sharp distinction between the Christian Old Testament and the Jewish Bible, arguing that

\textit{... the New Testament writers received the Hebrew tradition in its canonical form and did not stand outside the Jewish community in a new tradition-building process.}\textsuperscript{70}

Yet one wonders whether the New Testament writers did, in fact, remain in the same tradition-building process? Is the New Testament merely one alternative among many rabbinic writings? The use of the Old Testament by the New seems to indicate the use of a radical element, namely, the acknowledgment of the radicality of Jesus. Childs appears to be more concerned here with historical and textual continuity than with hermeneutical judgment.

Childs suggests that Gese's problem stems from his having employed the methodology developed by von Rad in his \textit{Theologie}, for Childs believes that

\textit{... a major problem with von Rad's Old Testament Theology is that he has failed to deal with the canonical forces at work in the formation of the traditions into a collection of Scripture during the post-exilic period, but rather set up}

\textsuperscript{69} Childs, \textit{Introduction}, p. 668.

\textsuperscript{70} Childs, p. 669.
the New Testament's relation to the Old in an analogy to his description of the pre-exilic growth of Hebrew tradition. 71

Nacherkzählungen is not canon! Childs has failed to deal with the phenomenon of hermeneutical judgment. Notice his comments on Gese:

[Gese] contends that the Christian Old Testament has its integrity only in reference to the New Testament. The formation of the New Testament brought the Old Testament to its historical conclusion and to its theological fulfillment. [Gese] envisions a unified process of tradition-building which extends from the Old Testament to the New Testament and stands in discontinuity with the Hebrew canon and Judaism. 72

Is not Gese here considering the text of the Christian Bible as the same as the text of the Jewish Bible as far as literature is concerned, and regarding the two as different only when a Christian, as opposed to a Jew, reads that text? If this is the case, then it follows that when hermeneutical judgment, i.e., the radicality of Christ, comes into play the Old Testament reads differently; it is brought to 'its historical conclusion and to its theological fulfillment'. 73 Evidently Childs's attempt to use canonical process and stress textual continuity prevents him from attaining a clear understanding of the function of the New Testament as a new phase in hermeneutical understanding, which derives from the person of Jesus.

Childs concludes his Introduction by suggesting that a delicate balance between the elements of continuity and discontinuity best summarizes the distinction between the Christian and the Jewish Bible.

71. Childs, p. 669.
72. Childs, p. 662.
73. Childs, p. 662.
He does not want a mediating position but a theological dialectic. And in his final paragraph he emphasizes the radicality of Christ!

The threat which is posed by overemphasizing the continuity between the Old Testament and the Hebrew Scripture is that of destroying the integrity of the Christian Bible. The Christian church confesses to find a witness to Jesus Christ in both the Old Testament and the New. Its Bible does not consist of the Hebrew Scriptures plus an appendix called the New Testament. Rather, the form of the Christian Bible as an Old and New Testament lays claim upon the whole Scripture as the authoritative witness to God's purpose in Jesus Christ for the church and the world. By reading the Old Testament along with the New as Christian Scripture a new theological context is formed for understanding both parts which differs from hearing each Testament in isolation. The Old Testament is interpreted by the New, and the New is understood through the Old, but the unity of its witness is grounded in the One Lord.  

Childs, in his theory of canon process, has argued for textual and historical continuity, but in the final paragraph of his Introduction, he seems to rest his case on hermeneutical judgment, the radicality of Christ. It is therefore doubtful whether the canonical text is as foundational to his argument as he would have us believe. The person of Christ seems to play a much more essential role, for in Childs's own words, 'the unity of its witness is grounded in the One Lord', the final hermeneutical judgment for the Canon.

In Summary. The primary aim of this study has not been to provide a thorough analysis of the systems of Childs and von Rad or to offer a response to criticisms laid by various scholars. Rather, I have sought to understand the development of their methods and to identify the assumptions or building blocks on which their systems rest. Von Rad,

74. Childs, p. 671.

75. Childs, p. 671.
although renowned for his use of tradition criticism has been shown here to recognize in the development of the Old Testament the essential role of מתחילה and Charisma. Childs, who has been understood to refer to canon as the final state of the sacred Scripture, viz., the Massoretic text, has been shown to utilize the normativeness in the ancient materials as they were passed along, collected, adopted, etc., in order to describe the process by which authority was recognized and adhered to in any reshaping of the received material.

Childs's method leaves a number of issues unresolved, such as the transfer of normativeness from the examples of the New Testament and Chronicler to all other Old Testament material prior to the Chr. Von Rad's system, on the other hand, is very inclusive in its treatment of the Old and New Testament — especially if the principle of מתחילה and Charisma are not arbitrarily omitted for the short time subsequent to the exile.

In addition, it was demonstrated that the methods of von Rad and Childs are quite similar (see Diagrams D and E). Strengths can be recognized in both methods with von Rad's being the stronger of the two. Perhaps an integration of the two would produce the best method. Such an integration would serve to bring together not just two scholars' methods but two long-standing, but opposing traditions, i.e., the 'Lutheran' and the 'Calvinist'. However, in the final analysis, since von Rad can no longer defend himself or adapt his method, and since Childs has become a prominent if not warmly accepted scholar, the scholarly community will have to continue to assess Childs's works for a good many years. If he challenges us to recognize normativeness and to
attempt to actualize the norm for today, his search for a method will have realized his goal of making a positive contribution to the Christian community of faith.

The Appendices which follow seek to examine a number of phenomena from the Books of Chronicles and their parallels according to the methodologies of Gerhard von Rad and Brevard S. Childs. Each Appendix includes the same outline of parts: [1] the Biblical texts which are to be examined are listed; [2] the specific phenomena of the text are described; [3] the context of the text/narrative is identified; [4] the phenomena are explained according to von Rad's system; and [5] the phenomena are explained according to Childs's system.
PART FOUR

APPENDICES
Text: 1 Chronicles 14:8-17 || 2 Samuel 5:17-25

Phenomena of the Text:

[1] Chr. uses the phrase כח ישראלי (1 Chron 14:8 || 2 Sam 5:17) which, as explained by H.G.M. Williamson in Israel in the Books of Chronicles, shows the Chr.'s attempt to portray a unified Israel.

[2] Chr. changes לם כנinsula (2 Sam 5:20) to דירי כנinsula (1 Chron 14:11) which would seem to take the emphasis away from Yahweh acting against the enemies on David's behalf, in order to show David himself as cooperating with God in defeating the enemies; this would reflect the change from holy war to David's mechanized war.

[3] Chr. changes את ייהוה (2 Sam 5:19, 23, 24, 25) to אלוהים ייהוה (1 Chron 14:10, 14, 15, 16); this is a serious change in that Chr. moves from a specific nomenclature for Israel's God to a general name; it is not immediately clear why Chr. would make this change; note, however, that Chr. uses ייהוה in verse 17.

[4] Chr. makes numerous other changes in this passage which appear to be minor; the point is that there are numerous changes in the text.

[5] Chr. adds a verse at the end (1 Chron 14:17) - 'And the fame of David went out into all lands, and the LORD brought the fear of him upon all nations'; Chr. adds a conclusion which reflects the result of his military victories.
Context of the Narratives

[1] 2 Samuel 5:11-25 - Beginning with 2 Sam 3:1-5, the writer reports that sons were born to David, a sign of blessing for any about-to-be-king; the defection and murder of Abner, one who was an obstacle to David's rise to the throne; David is then made king; after this, he captures Jerusalem - defeating some enemies, obtains a future location for the Ark; and then, in the text in question, he further consolidates his kingdom by defeating the Philistines. This is followed by narrative telling of David bringing the Ark to Jerusalem.

[2] 1 Chronicles 14:8-17 - Beginning with 1 Chron 3:1-4, which is parallel to 2 Sam 3:1-5, Chr. places the report of David's sons prior to a long list of genealogies of the tribes of Israel which leads finally in chapter 11 to the report that David is made king of 'all Israel'; this is followed by the report of his capture of Jerusalem and two lists of his mightiest warriors; then we have the text in question, the further consolidation of his kingdom, followed by the Ark being brought into Jerusalem with the Levites ministering before the Ark.

Explanation according to von Rad's System

In order to give strength to the position of the Levites in the temple, the narrative context of 1 Chron 14:8-17 is developed. It does not focus on the problems of coming to the throne as in 2 Samuel, but rather moves quickly to establishing David's position as king - and creator of functions within the temple cult. It is an example of the ancient community appropriating parts of the old text to make a new one.
A portion of tradition is being employed by Chr. Chr. represents the community of faith. The post-exilic functioning of the temple would be the evidence of God's action on behalf of Israel.

The changes made by Chr. in the text, whether the many small word changes or the use of אֱלֹהִים instead of יהוה, are insignificant since the community of faith is free to discard or alter the text as they see fit.

This is a fine example of Nacherzählung. Historical continuity is portrayed by a subsequent community of faith. Chr. re-tells an old tradition for a new occasion, i.e., temple worship.

Explanation according to Childs's System

The position of the Levites in the temple is the focus of the text and illustrates the post-exilic community's use of existing tradition. The general context of the text in question includes the use of Psalms 96, 105 and 106 as well as parts of Samuel. Childs would argue that the use of these texts in Samuel and the psalms illustrates the recognition of normative literature by Chr. However, the changes which Chr. makes in the text, viz., שֵׁבֶט instead of יהוה, and נַפְס instead of דָּוִד, are serious enough changes to imply that the Chr. was not totally impressed with the normative nature of the text.

Although this illustrates to some extent canon process (normativeness), the Chr. in the act of Vergegenwärtigung demonstrates a freedom to change what ought to be fixed in a normative text.
APPENDIX #2


Phenomena of the Text:

[1] Chr. changes Abraham (Ps 105:6) to Israel (1 Chron 16:13); in Psalm 105 Abraham could be parallel to Jacob; if Chr. is aware of parallelism, it might be feasible to change Abraham to Israel, thus making the parallel refer to one and the same person; if so, the change could be considered as a correction of the text.

[2] A Qal perfect (Ps 105:8) becomes a Qal imperative (1 Chron 16:15); the result changes 'God remembering his covenant', to a command to 'the reader to remember the covenant'.

[3] Chr. changes focus of verb from 3rd person (105:12) to 2nd person (1 Chron 16:19)

[4] Chr. changes אלוהי ישוענו to אלהים nieu (1 Chron 16:35) [LORD our God to God our salvation]

Context of the Narratives

[1] Samuel does not record this material. The context involves bringing the Ark to Jerusalem. Samuel provides thirteen verses to describe this event. Subsequent to bringing the Ark to Jerusalem both Samuel and Chronicles record the divine promise to the Davidic line. It is in the middle of bringing the Ark to Jerusalem that Chr. inserts the text in question, 1 Chronicles 16:4-42.
Verses 4-7 serve as an introduction to the three psalms he quotes; verses 37-42 serve as a conclusion. This material Chr. inserts between 2 Samuel 6:19a and 2 Samuel 6:19b.

[2] Psalms 96, 105, and 106 are all from the fourth section of the Book of Psalms [90-106]. Psalm 96 is one of the Enthronement Psalms. A more general description would be 'Psalms celebrating the Kingship of Yahweh'. Their setting was the Feast of Tabernacles - probably somewhat like a New Year Festival. LXX provides a title: 'When the house was built after the captivity. A song of David'. This psalm may have been used during the post-exilic period in the hope that the rebuilt temple would become the house of prayer again. Psalm 105 offers praises to the Covenant-God for his faithfulness to his promises. It recites the salvation-history of Israel, beginning with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and concluding with the Settlement in Canaan. It may be described as Geschichtspsal. [Psalms 105 and 106 may be poetical adaptations of older prosaic recitals of the sacral history, in the amphictyonic worship of pre-Davidic times (W. I. Wolverton, QJT, 10(1964), p. 169).] Mowinckel [The Psalms in Israel's Worship, II, p. 200] suggests that Chr.'s use of these psalms probably reflects their cultic setting and usage in his own time. Psalm 106 basically describes Israel's ingratitude to Yahweh. It is interesting that Chr. only used verses 1, 47 and 48 - the positive expressions within the psalm. It is assumed that these psalms, although not likely written by David, were written prior to the Books of the Chronicles.
Explanation according to von Rad's System

Assuming these psalms may have had an earlier existence, and that they became part of the cult prior to the time of Chr, they would be examples of old texts being actualized for a new situation. In the retelling a dynamic form of religion is maintained in the cult. Chr. would include these psalms in his text as a recognition of their usage by the community of faith.

Explanation according to Childs’s System

If these psalms were part of the post-exilic community’s cultic practice, according to Childs Chr. would be acknowledging the psalms inherent authority as recognized by the community of faith. When Chr. came to employ the text of 2 Samuel 5-7, it was only natural to insert current cultic practice between 2 Samuel 6:19a and 6:19b. Thus Chr. would have shown the normativeness of these psalms along with the 2 Samuel material.
APPENDIX #3

Text: 1 Chronicles 17:1-27 || 2 Samuel 7:1-29

Phenomena of the Text:

[1] The word 'king' in the Samuel text (7:1, 2) is changed to 'David' by Chr. (17:1, 2) which implies more specificity than the general term 'king'.


[3] Chr. changes 'with all the sons of Israel' in Samuel to 'all Israel' which is a term characteristic of Chr. as shown by H. G. M. Williamson.

[4] The phrase 'I will give you rest from all your enemies', which appears to be a Dtr. phrase, is not used by Chr. He uses instead the simple term 'I will subdue all your enemies'.

[5] אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה is found five times (2 Sam 7:18, 19, 20, and 28) and אֱלֹהֵי אֲלָחוֹן once (2 Sam 7:22); but Chr. is not consistent in his use of these terms or even in his own substitutes for them. E.g., אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה twice becomes יהוה אלהים (vv 16, 17), once becomes יהוה אלהים (v 17), once becomes יהוה אלהים (v 26), and once is dropped (v 18); יהוה אלהים becomes יהוה (v 20).

[6] There are scores of other very minor differences.

Context of the Narratives

[1] In Samuel material moves quickly from bringing the Ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:12-23) to the Divine promise to David's line (2 Sam 7). These are followed by various wars which show the strength of David's kingdom
under his leadership. Then unfolds the difficult stories of Bathsheba and Absalom.

[2] In Chronicles the same order is followed until the capture of Rabbah begins. Here the Bathsheba/Absalom material is excluded and the capture of Rabbah is concluded.

Explanation according to von Rad’s System

Chr. re-tells the story of David for a new generation, but in reiterating the Divine promise to David, he excludes material which would have tarnished the character of David, i.e., the Bathsheba/Absalom material. It is difficult to accept that post-exilic Israel would not know about Bathsheba/Absalom. However, according to the method of Nachezählen, the community of faith subsequent to the exile appropriated only parts of the old text (Samuel), i.e., the positive, hopeful aspects concerning the Davidic line, in order to actualize that good part for a new situation.

Explanation according to Childs’s System

Assuming that the Spirit of God plays an important role in safeguarding the truth; and assuming the normative quality of the Promise to David; Chr. includes the concepts of Ark, Divine promise and consolidation of David’s kingdom in his new document. The divine word exhibited in an ancient event as normative within a community of faith is recognized as a dynamic expression and hope for their own religion. The old text contained an inherent dynamic which was recognized by the new community. The inherent dynamic of the text reveals truth which is
initially propelled by the authority of the divine word. The old promise becomes new as it is remembered by the Chr.
APPENDIX #4


Phenomena of the Text:

[1] Chr. provides specific details [whether authentic or not cannot be verified without other texts] where the Samuel text is general; e.g., '...the Ammonites sent and hired the Syrians of Beth-rehob, and the Syrians of Zobah', (2 Sam 10:16a) becomes '...the Ammonites sent a thousand talents of silver to hire chariots and horsemen from Mesopotamia, from Aram-maacah, and from Zobah' (1 Chron 19:6).

[2] In 2 Sam 10:6b reference is made to 20,000 foot soldiers, the king of Maacah with 1,000 men of Tob and 12,000 men, while 1 Chron 19:7 refers to 32,000 chariots and the army of the king of Maacah.

[3] In 1 Chron 19:8 Chr. generalizes by referring merely to 'kings', while 2 Sam 10:7 refers to 'Syrians of Zobah and of Rehob, and the men of Tob and Maacah'. It appears that Chr. is more interested in the issue of monarchy, i.e., David defeating other kings, than in specific places.

[4] The Syrians are the subject of the verb in 2 Sam 10:17b ('the Syrians arrayed themselves against David'); however, in 1 Chron 19:17b the text reads, 'when David set the battle in array against the Syrians'. Chr. apparently believes that the context requires David to be featured as leader and initiator.

[5] Numerous other minor differences exist which are not that significant for our purposes here. However, in the final verse of each narrative there is an important difference. In Samuel it is recorded
that 'when all the kings who were servants... (were) defeated... they made peace with Israel, and became subject to them', but Chronicles records that 'when the servants of Hadadezer... (were) defeated... they made peace with David, and became subject to him' [emphasis mine].

Context of the Narratives

The contexts in both Samuel and Chronicles are quite similar. The subjects move from the Divine promise to David to foreign wars and more foreign wars. However, between the accounts of foreign wars (2 Sam 8:1-18 and 2 Sam 10:1-19) the Samuel text includes the account of David's kindness to Mephibosheth (2 Sam 9:1-13). Chr. excludes this narrative concerning Mephibosheth. Chr. may exclude this portion since it records him being given his father's (Saul) inheritance, a permanent place at the royal table, and a staff of servants under Saul's steward Ziba, all by the hand of David. This may have been seen by Chr. as showing David as confusing the single, divinely granted line of rule promised to David. Yet, could this fact, like Bathsheba/Absalom, been unknown by Chr.'s readers?

Explanation according to von Rad's System

If the comments within von Rad's writings are applied here, one must say that Chr. is embellishing the text. If the system of von Rad as described herein is applied, one is still left with the problem of the changed details of the text. Mixing the numbers, or supplying details do not appear to be consistent with the process of Nacherzählen, with actualizing an old text for a new generation. The attributing of
the initiation of the battle to David would fit into the attempt to re-tell the story to enhance the place of David and nurture the hope of post-exilic Israel.

**Explanation according to Childs's System**

This text of Chronicles is on the surface merely a record of military wars and thus of questionable value for this study. However, since Childs's view is based on the re-use of normative material, this passage has significance. Why is it that Chr. is so free to alter this text? [We may be at fault in asking the question since we do not have the original text which Chr. would have used.] This example appears to undercut Childs's view, otherwise, we must find some explanation for the state of this text.
APPENDIX #5

Text: 1 Chronicles 20:1a and 1b-3 || 2 Samuel 11:1-12:3

Phenomena of the Text:

[1] 2 Samuel records that 'David sent Joab, and his servants with him, and all Israel' (emphasis mine) to attack Rabbah. 1 Chronicles simply states that Joab led out the army. It would be unusual for David to not go out in the Spring of the year to battle (2 Sam 11:1 and 1 Chron 20:1); to say that Joab led the army perhaps softens the phrase. Although Chr. does say that 'David remained at Jerusalem'.

[2] 2 Samuel 11:2-27 records David's affair with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah; 2 Samuel 12:1-25 records Nathan's accusation and David's repentance as well as the birth of Solomon. However, none of this material is utilized by Chr.

[3] In recording the defeat of Rabbah, 2 Samuel mentions that Rabbah, an Ammonite city, was also a royal city; Chr. simply writes that 'Joab smote Rabbah and overthrew it'.

[4] David's absence is a problem, since the defeat of the city by Joab would have given him a prominence which David the king should have had. Chr. appears to rapidly record the overthrow of Rabbah and moves to the placing of the crown of the king of Rabbah on David's head. (The account of Joab calling David to come to Rabbah and 'take the victory himself', 2 Sam 12:27-29, is omitted in 1 Chron.)
Context of the Narratives

In both Samuel and Chronicles these texts follow the Divine promise to David. In Chronicles the context concludes quickly with battles with the Philistines, David's census of Israel, and then his charge to Solomon who succeeded him. In Samuel the Bathsheba affair precedes the text and the subsequent chapters detail the grave difficulties which follow David's sin, viz., rebellion and eventual death of Absalom. Chr. does not mention any of these difficult circumstances of David's reign.

Explanation according to von Rad's System

In a new context when the temple has been restored and the cult practiced again, the new community actualized the events which were relevant to their new situation. For this reason, Chr. did not include the accounts of Bathsheba and Absalom since they would not contribute to the new situation, and they were events which would not lend to the strength of David's shaping of the temple cult practices.

Explanation according to Childs's System

In general Childs's system, if it requires a strong sense of normativeness, does not explain the absence of the Samuel material in Chronicles. One could argue that these difficult events in David's life could be used to challenge Israel to a holy life. Why would Chr. ignore normative accounts? To suggest that the accounts were not normative would also put the narratives he did use into question. One could explain this phenomenon in light of *Vergangenwärtigung*, i.e., the
community of faith would need to select what it was going to actualize for itself. Restoration of the temple cult, not adultery and murder, would be of primary interest. Thus the reason to exclude these accounts in Chronicles.
Text: 1 Kings 22:51 - 2 Kings 8:15 || Chronicles, no parallel

Phenomena of the text:
[1] This Elijah/Elisha material is not included in Chronicles
[3] Chr. has deliberately skipped from 1 Kings 22:50 to 2 Kings 8:16 and thereby eliminated the Elijah/Elisha material.

Context of the Narratives:
[1] In this section of Kings (1 Kings 15 - 2 Kings 10) much of the focus is on details of the northern kingdom, the record of those kings, the problems of Ahab and the Elijah/Elisha material.
[2] In Chr.'s account the details of the northern kingdom are ignored except when they involved the southern kingdom. Thus, the material of 1 Kings 15:25 - 16:34 (which covers the reigns of Asa through Ahab) would have little interest to Chr., and the material of 1 Kings 17:1 - 21:29, although it refers often to Elijah, is basically tied into the troubles of the northern kingdom. It may be that the text in question, 1 Kings 22:51 - 2 Kings 8:15 is also tied too closely to the northern tradition.
Explanation according to von Rad's System

In the post-exilic community where 'all Israel' may have been a concept of unity (and unity was certainly an issue), to focus on the 'renegade' north which represented departure from David's line and from the temple cult would be to actualize the wrong kind of tradition. So, in the process of re-telling the tradition, the material not relevant for the new community of faith was jettisoned. Von Rad also might suggest that Chr. carelessly discarded material due to his peculiar use of material as scholars, such as de Wette, Wellhausen, et. al., have assumed.

Explanation according to Childs's System

Childs might be tempted to assume that the jettisoned material was not normative, so the Chr., recognizing that, would not have felt obliged to use it. However, since the Samuel/Kings material probably had gained some recognition in the community of faith (although the final canonical recognition would be later), Childs would have to explain why Chr. would have ignored this recognition by the community. Or, one could argue that this is an indication that the community did not yet recognize the normativeness of Samuel/Kings. Thus Chr. was not obliged to use it, but rather molded the text as he saw fit.
Text: 1 Chronicles 18:15-17 || 2 Samuel 20:23-25

Phenomena of the Text:

[1] 2 Sam 8:18 lists David's sons as priests (the Hebrew text here is believed to be defective; this may be an effort by later editors to adjust the existing text to reflect later practice); 2 Sam 20:23-25, which also list most of the personnel of 2 Sam 8, does not mention David's sons as priests. In 1 Chron 18:17 David's sons are said to be 'the chief officials in the service of the king'.

[2] There are a number of minor differences: David's secretary's name is spelled Seraiah (Samuel) and Shavsha (Chronicles); 2 Sam 20:25 lists Zadok and Abiathar as priests, while 2 Sam 8:17 || 1 Chron 18:16 list Zadok son of Ahitub and Ahimelech son of Abiathar as priests; 2 Sam 20:26 lists Ira the Jairite also as David's priest, but the other two texts do not mention Ira.

Context of the Narratives

The contexts of both 2 Samuel 8 and 1 Chronicles 18 are the same, with the content which precedes and follows being identical. However, the texts in question display an unusual order. If 2 Sam 20 were assumed to be a model for sequence of content (Joab/Jehoshaphat - v. 23; Benaiah/David's sons - v. 24; and Zadok/Ahimelech - v. 25), the same order of content would place the 2 Sam 8 verses in this order: 16, 18, 17; and the 1 Chron 18 verses in this order: 15, 17, 16. One cannot
determine which text was the primary one for Chr., but we probably can determine which one Chr. followed.

**Explanation according to von Rad's System**

The issue of whether or not David's sons were priests is the primary point of interest here. According to von Rad's system the post-exilic community would have noticed that the sons of David (or their descendants) were not serving as priests. So, in a new telling of the tradition, they would not include David's son's as priests. What had become irrelevant would be dropped from the new tradition.

**Explanation according to Childs's System**

Again, if the existing text had the normative character which Childs's system suggests, then one would expect Chr. to perhaps argue for a role for David's descendants in the priestly system of the post-exilic period. However, Chr. drops the word 'priests' and inserts 'the chief officials in the service of the king'. Instead of recognizing normativeness, Chr. leaves David's sons in the list of important leaders, but gives them a general [?] title. Childs's system does not explain this phenomenon adequately.
Text: 1 Chronicles 10:1-14 || 1 Samuel 31:1-13

Phenomena of the Text:
[1] There are numerous minor differences between the texts, e.g., 'tamarisk tree' (1 Sam 31:13) and 'the oak' (1 Chron 10:12), or 'wall of Beth-shan' (1 Sam 31:10) and 'temple of Dagon' (1 Chron 10:10).
[2] Basically, 1 Sam 31:1-13 and 1 Chron 10:1-12 are very similar. But Chr. adds two verses to his record which provide an assessment on the reason for the untimely death of Saul.

Context of the Narratives
[1] The account of the death of Saul concludes the material of 1 Samuel. 2 Samuel then records David's response to Saul's death, David's rise to kingship of Judah, followed by accounts of the confusion between supporters of the Saul 'dynasty' and David. Finally, 2 Samuel 5 records David's rise to kingship of Israel as well as Judah and the consolidation of his kingdom.
[2] In Chronicles the death of Saul is followed by: a record of sons being born to David; David becoming king of Israel; the capture of Jerusalem and the consolidation of his kingdom. Chr. is clearly interested in showing the movement from Saul to David, not in the messy details of the transition.
[3] Chr. does not use 1 Sam 1-30, nor 2 Sam 1:1-2:32. 1 Sam 31 is
basically lifted out of context and used by Chr. just prior to David's rise to kingship over all Israel.

**Explanation according to von Rad's System**

Chr. is demonstrating historical continuity and providing an explanation for the change in dynasties. The old tradition is retained by the community of faith (now with the benefit of the post-exilic perspective), and reflects the strong view concerning adherence to guidance from Yahweh. This could be a hint of 'legalism' or 'scribalism' as described by von Rad in his *Theologie*.

**Explanation according to Childs's System**

The old tradition is being used by Chr., but the divine word in the experience of the exile has functioned as a hermeneutical judgment, i.e., failure to seek guidance from Yahweh results in death - for Saul and the recent fathers of the post-exilic generation. 1 Chron 10:13-14 is the natural conclusion of the narrative concerning Saul. It is actualized as a reminder for a new community of faith.
Text: 1 Chronicles 11 - 17 || 2 Samuel 5 - 7

Phenomena of the Text: not important to the discussion of these texts

Context of the Narratives:

[Chronology of events in Samuel Text]

2 S 5:1-5   David becomes king over Israel
2 S 5:6-10   David captures Jerusalem
2 S 5:11-16  Gifts from Hiram; concubines and children
2 S 5:17-25  Philistines attack, David defeats them
2 S 6:1-11   Fetch ark, Uzzah dies
2 S 6:12-19a Ark to Jerusalem, sacrifices offered
2 S 6:19b-23 Michal, daughter of Saul, angry with David
2 S 7:1-29   Divine promise to David

[1] After the account of the capture of Jerusalem, we have provided the record of gifts from a neighboring king, the acquiring of concubines and children, plus the defeat of the Philistines; all serve to confirm David's kingship.

[2] Having confirmed David in his place, David is then shown to make a place for Yahweh by bringing the Ark to Jerusalem - including the first, ill-conceived attempt at bringing the Ark to Jerusalem.

[3] Michal, Saul's daughter and thus David's tie to Saul (perhaps a sign of authority derived through Saul), is set aside by David - never to have a child to the day of her death, but, by the young women, David had
descendants. Having cleared the ties of David to Saul, the writer then presents the Divine promise concerning David's dynasty.

[Chronology of events in Chronicles Text]
1 C 11:1-3 David becomes king over Israel
1 C 11:4-9 David captures Jerusalem
1 C 11:10-47 Roll of David's mightiest warriors
1 C 12:1-41 Additional roll of David's mightiest warriors
1 C 13:1-14 Fetching the Ark, death of Uzzah
1 C 14:1-7 Gifts from Hiram, concubines and children
1 C 14:8-17 Philistines attack; David defeats them
1 C 15:1-24 Ark taken to Jerusalem, Levites involved
1 C 15:25-16:3 Ark to Jerusalem, sacrifices offered
1 C 16:4-7 Appointment of Levites
1 C 17:1-27 Divine promise to David

[1] After the account of the capture of Jerusalem, Chr. lists the warriors of David - including a list not found in Samuel or Kings. Chr. appears to use military power to confirm David's position.

[2] The first, ill-conceived attempt to bring the Ark to Jerusalem is recorded by Chr., including David's judgment to leave the Ark alone for a period of time. This event is followed immediately by accounts which are signs of confirmation of David's kingship, viz., gifts from Hiram, concubines and children to David.

[3] Then the Ark is taken properly to Jerusalem with involvement by the Levites - David follows the correct procedure.
[4] After the Ark is in place and the Levites established, then Chr. presents the Divine promise to David's house.

[5] Chr. moves the 2 Sam 6:1-11 narrative to an earlier position in his sequence, i.e., prior to the gifts from Hiram.

Explanation according to von Rad’s System

Chr. takes the Samuel text, which basically focuses on general forms on confirmation of kingship, plus the movement of the Ark to Jerusalem, and orders the material to feature David's military might and his establishment of the Ark and Levites in Jerusalem. This illustrates the act of re-shaping the material in order to make a new and more relevant statement for a new generation. Remembering the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem, with the proper guidance and help of the Levites, would not only maintain historical continuity, but also serve to actualize the event for the post-exilic community.

Explanation according to Childs’s System

The major place given by Chr. to the temple cult and its personnel is certainly illustrated by the text in question here. However, Chr.'s use of the Samuel text does not illustrate that he was impressed with the overall thrust of its focus and order. Rather, Chr. adds material on military might and the Levites to develop his own focus and sequence. Childs's recognition of normativeness does not work here, unless Chr. is granted a privilege to create something new. New traditions are possible in Childs's system, but they are generally initiated by the presence of the divine word. Childs could assume here that the divine
word has been spoken through the return from exile and the re-establishment of the temple. Thus the combination of divine word as hermeneutical judgment and normative tradition (although used selectively) would result in a new actualization of the role of the cult.


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