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Jeffrey Lawrence Morrow
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EVANGELICAL CATHOLICS AND CATHOLIC BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP:
AN EXAMINATION OF SCOTT HAHN'S CANONICAL, LITURGICAL,
AND COVENANTAL BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

Dissertation

Submitted to

The College of Arts & Sciences of the

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in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Theology

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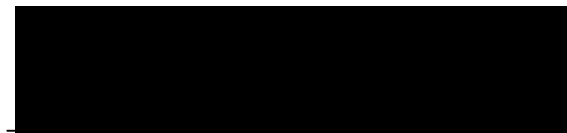
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2007

DEDICATION

To my loving wife Maria and to our wonderful daughter Maia.

ABSTRACT

EVANGELICAL CATHOLICS AND CATHOLIC BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP: AN EXAMINATION OF SCOTT HAHN'S CANONICAL, LITURGICAL, AND COVENANTAL BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

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This dissertation examines Scott Hahn's biblical exegesis as an example of evangelical Catholic biblical interpretation. In the current context, Catholic biblical exegesis is all too often separated from Catholic theology. I argue that evangelical Catholic biblical interpretation, which Hahn exemplifies, is profitable for surmounting this impasse between exegesis and theology. Using Hahn's interpretation of the concept of covenant in Scripture, and his exegesis of the Last Supper and related passages in the Gospels, I demonstrate how Hahn reads the Bible canonically, that is, as one unified whole. Hahn learned from Jewish biblical scholarship, as well as from his evangelical Protestant teachers, to respect the Bible as a text, and as the word of God. From Catholic biblical exegetes Hahn learned to appropriate patristic and medieval exegesis as well as the historical critical method, and retain a profound respect for the

Bible as the word of God. Hahn argues for a liturgical reading of Scripture. He maintains that the liturgy is a privileged site for biblical interpretation, and that the Bible's content is likewise often liturgical. I argue that Hahn's canonical, liturgical, and covenantal biblical exegesis helps point the way beyond the current impasse in Catholic biblical studies. Catholic Bible scholars need to take Scripture's canonical unity seriously, and the Bible should be read using the traditional senses of Scripture. Finally, Hahn's call for a liturgical biblical hermeneutic has important implications for a theological reading of Scripture. In short, Hahn's biblical interpretation utilizes traditional Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant exegesis in a way that helps Catholics read the Bible theologically, from the heart of the Church, and within the living stream of the Sacred Liturgy.

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I owe numerous individuals a debt of gratitude for their assistance in various stages of this dissertation. Correspondence with a number of scholars helped point me in the right direction throughout my research, especially Drs. Jon Levenson, Marvin Wilson, Walter Kaiser, Meredith Kline, and Edwin Yamauchi. I also benefited from conversations with Drs. James VanderKam, Maureen Tilley, Michael Cuneo, and Peter Steinfels. I owe a special thanks to Professor Andria Chiodo for looking over my English translations from Italian, to Dr. Elke Hatch for looking over my English translations from German, and to Dr. Maureen O'Meara for looking over my English translations from French. My translations are better for their help. Comments on drafts of papers, portions of which have been included here, by a number of professors, including especially Dr. Sandra Yocum Mize, have also been helpful. Drs. Vincent Branick, Dennis Doyle, and William Trollinger have also helped in a special way with very precise criticisms of portions of this dissertation dealing respectively with the Bible, my last two chapters, and evangelical Protestantism. I have found their guidance and comments to be indispensable.

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A good portion of the research and writing of this dissertation was conducted while my wife and I participated in the Summer Scholars' Research Program at Tantur Ecumenical Institute in Jerusalem, the summer of 2005, and I am indebted to all of the Tantur staff, and especially

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University of Dayton
Feast of the Immaculate Conception
December 8, 2006
Jeffrey L. Morrow

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	1
The Impasse in Contemporary Catholic Biblical Scholarship.....	1
Evangelical Catholics.....	7
The Scott Hahn Phenomenon.....	10
Significance.....	18
Dissertation Overview.....	19
CHAPTERS	
1. Kinship and Covenant, Kinship By Covenant: Covenant as Scripture's Unifying Theme in the Thought of Scott Hahn.....	28
Introduction.....	28
Covenant as the Interpretive Key to Scripture.....	33
Covenant versus Contract: The Difference Between Marriage and Prostitution.....	34
ברית as the Substance and Content of Covenants.....	37
Kinship-Type Covenants.....	40
Treaty-Type Covenants.....	42
Grant-Type Covenants.....	44
Covenant in the Old Testament.....	45
Adam, Eve, and Creation.....	46
Noah.....	48
Abram/Abraham.....	50
Moses.....	56
The Golden Calf and Covenant Renewal: Covenant Demotion.....	58
Ezekiel and the Laws that Were "Not Good".....	60
David.....	63

The New Covenant in the New Testament.....	66
Jesus and the Aqedah in Galatians.....	68
The Aqedah as the Gospel.....	71
Paul and Ezekiel.....	73
Covenant, NOT Testament.....	75
Jesus as High Priest Fulfilling the Broken Covenant in Hebrews 1-9.....	77
The Aqedah, Isaiah's Suffering Servant, and the Jesus Connection.....	80
Conclusion.....	83
 2. "It is Finished": Scott Hahn's Reading of the Last Supper.....	86
Introduction.....	86
The Date of the Last Supper: The Synoptics and John.....	88
Essenes.....	89
Holy Tuesday in the Early Church.....	92
The Passover Connection: Jesus as the Bread of Life.....	96
The Bread of Life Discourse as a Passover and Eucharistic Narrative.....	97
Jesus as the Lamb of God.....	98
Our Daily Bread and the Manna.....	98
The Multiplication of Bread.....	100
Repetition, Precision, and Emphasis.....	103
Exodus of Disciples.....	105
Jesus' Hour in John.....	106
The Fourth Cup.....	109
The Passover Liturgy.....	109
Traditional Passover Liturgy.....	110
The Synoptic Last Supper in Light of the Traditional Passover Liturgy.....	112
The Synoptics in Light of John: A Canonical Perspective on Jesus' Last Seder.....	115
The Centrality of the Passover in John.....	117
"It is Finished".....	118
Theological Implications: Eucharistic Kingdom.....	120

On the Road to Emmaus: Jesus Present in the Eucharist.....	120
From Aqedah to Pesach: The Sacrificial Nature of the Eucharist.....	122
Jesus' Kingdom as Davidic and Eucharistic.....	124
Conclusion.....	129
3. Scott Hahn's Evangelical Sensibility: Bible as the Inspired Word Of God.....	131
Introduction.....	131
The Rise of Evangelicalism.....	133
"Evangelical" Protestant Characteristics.....	141
Biblical Inerrancy.....	141
Atoning Death.....	144
Faith Alone.....	145
Scott Hahn as an Evangelical Protestant Biblical Exegete.....	146
Hahn and Evangelical Biblical Scholarship.....	150
The Evangelical Protestant Connection.....	151
The Jewish Connection: Max Margolis (1866-1932) and Cyrus Gordon (1908-2001).....	152
Margolis: "A Matchless Scholar".....	153
"A Real Cyrus".....	156
Training "a Generation of Evangelical Old Testament Scholars".....	160
Adam, Eve, and the Dragon: Traditional Jewish Exegesis.....	163
Margolis, Gordon, Kline, Huguenberger, and Hahn.....	168
Noah's Nakedness: An Example from Hahn's Work.....	171
Conclusion.....	173
Appendix to Chapter 3: On Inerrancy.....	175
4. Scott Hahn as a Catholic Exegete.....	178

Introduction.....	178
The Ebb and Flow of Catholic Biblical Scholarship.....	179
125 Years of Sulpician Biblical Scholarship.....	192
Henri Hyvernât: Scholar of the Ancient Near East and Christian Orient.....	192
Edward Arbez: "The Foremost Sulpician Scripture Scholar of His Generation".....	194
The Johns Hopkins Connection.....	194
W.F. Albright: THE Dominant American Ancient Near Eastern Scholar.....	197
Scott Hahn and Catholic Biblical Exegesis.....	200
Dennis McCarthy, the Covenant, and Hahn.....	202
Raymond Brown: "The Premier Johannine Scholar in the English-Speaking World".....	204
Brown and Hahn on Historical Criticism.....	206
Brown and Hahn on the Last Supper.....	209
Hahn's Retrieval of Patristic and Medieval Exegesis.....	213
Hahn and Jesus' Atonement.....	222
Hahn and Biblical Inerrancy.....	226
Conclusion.....	237
 Appendix to Chapter 4: Augustin Cardinal Bea on <i>Dei Verbum</i>	240
 5. Scott Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic.....	243
Introduction.....	243
Hahn's Hermeneutics.....	245
Narrative Criticism.....	245
Canonical Reading.....	246
Historical Criticism.....	247
Catholic Liturgical Interpretation.....	248
Canon and Covenant Meeting in the Liturgy: Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic.....	255
The Liturgical Context of Scripture.....	255

Liturgical Canon.....	256
Liturgical Hermeneutics as the Church's Primary Hermeneutic.....	257
The Liturgical Content of Scripture: An Example of Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic.....	259
Liturgical Creation in Genesis.....	260
Liturgical Liberation in Exodus.....	264
Animal Sacrifice.....	265
David's Liturgical Kingdom.....	270
Cosmic Temple.....	272
Liturgical Link Between the Old and New Covenant: the New Testament Viewed Through Liturgical Lenses.....	274
Salvation as a New Liturgical Genesis Made Possible by Jesus the New Liturgical Adam.....	274
Salvation as a New Liturgical Exodus.....	275
The Church as a New Liturgical Kingdom.....	276
Liturgical Eschatology.....	278
Conclusion.....	280
6. Bridging the Fiery Brook: Hahn's Promise for Surmounting the "Impasse" in Catholic Biblical Studies.....	282
Introduction.....	282
The "Crisis" in (Catholic) Biblical Scholarship.....	287
Pope Benedict XVI and His Vision of "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis": Historical Criticism's Non-Neutrality, or Historical Criticism's Relocation of Commitment.....	289
The Politics of Historical Criticism's Hegemony: How "Enlightenment Biblical Criticism Became State Supported Biblical Scholarship".....	295
Spiritual Interpretation of the Bible.....	303
"The Bible is Full of Mysteries".....	305
Reading Scripture, Reading Christ: Wilken's Account of Traditional Exegesis.....	311
How Hahn's Exegesis Promises to Help Surmount	

the Impasse.....	316
Using the Historical Critical Method Faithfully.....	317
Moving On: The Liturgical Hermeneutic.....	320
Potential Drawbacks: Why Hahn's Hermeneutics Have Not Already Been Adopted.....	326
Conclusion.....	328
CONCLUSION.....	330
WORKS CITED.....	336

Introduction

The Impasse in Contemporary Catholic Biblical Scholarship

Over the past several years a number of scholars have pointed to an impasse in contemporary biblical exegesis. The Second Vatican Council called for biblical study to be the "soul of sacred theology" (*Dei Verbum* 24).¹ But, much of contemporary biblical scholarship makes it difficult for biblical exegetes to speak to theologians and vice versa. Bible scholarship and theology are currently regarded as two separate fields, having little or no need to interact with one another. As I heard one Bible professor remark, "The Bible has nothing to do with theology." Thus we are confronted with the separate exegesis feared by Maurice Blondel.² In the words of Hans Urs von Balthasar, "The figure which confronts us in Holy Scripture is more and more dissected in 'historical-critical' fashion until all

¹All citations from the Second Vatican Council taken from Norman P. Tanner, S.J., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils Volume Two: Trent to Vatican II* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990). My own translation from, "anima sacrae theologiae."

²Maurice Blondel, *The Letter on Apologetics and History and Dogma*, trans. Alexander Dru and Illyd Trethowan (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994 [1964]), esp. 238, 256, 258-259 n. 1, 259, 263-264, 274-275, 277, 282 n. 1, and 286-287.

that is left of what was once a living organism is a dead heap of flesh, blood and bones."³

Within a Catholic context biblical scholar Luke Timothy Johnson asks the question, what is distinctively *Catholic* about contemporary Catholic biblical scholarship? This provocative question has sparked many debates over the role of modern biblical criticism, especially within the context of Catholic theology. The most notable debate has been between Johnson and Roland Murphy (1998).⁴ Johnson joins other scholars in seeing tensions between theology and biblical exegesis, and in noting unrecognized limits of modern biblical criticism.⁵ Because it has devoted itself to studying one "sense" of Scripture, i.e., the literal-historical sense, and emphasized the search for underlying sources of each Scriptural text, thereby fragmenting

³Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics Volume I: Seeing the Form*, trans. Erasmo Leiva-Merikakis, ed. Joseph Fessio, S.J. and John Riches (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982 [1961]), 174.

⁴See, e.g., Luke Timothy Johnson, "The Crisis in Biblical Scholarship," *Commonweal* 120, no. 21 (December 1993) : 18-21; Idem, "So What's Catholic About It? The State of Catholic Biblical Scholarship," *Commonweal* 125 (January 1998) : 12-16; Idem, "The Glass is Half Full/Empty," *Commonweal* (27 March 1998) : 30; Idem, "An Inexhaustible Text," *Commonweal* (17 July 1998) : 26-29; Idem, "Imagining the World Scripture Imagines," *Modern Theology* 14, no. 2 (April 1998) : 165-180; Idem, "How Not to Read the Bible," *Commonweal* 126, no. 13 (16 July 1999) : 22-26; Roland E. Murphy, "Historical Criticism," *Commonweal* (27 February 1998) : 4 and 29; and Idem, "What Is Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship?—Revisited," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 28 (1998) : 112-119. Also see Carolyn Osiek's recent Society of Biblical Literature Presidential Address, "Catholic or catholic? Biblical Scholarship at the Center," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 125, no. 1 (Spring 2006) 5-22, esp. 15-17. She criticizes Johnson on 16 n. 23.

⁵See, e.g., Luke Timothy Johnson and William S. Kurz, S.J., *The Future of Catholic Biblical Scholarship: A Constructive Conversation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2002); Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, ed., *Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse*, Society of Biblical Literature Global Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship 9 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005); and Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993).

the Bible, modern biblical criticism inhibits Catholic biblical scholars from using Scripture theologically.

Hence, a retrieval of the spiritual sense of Scripture could provide an important theological tool for Bible scholars who wish to move beyond the current impasse.⁶ This call for the retrieval of patristic and medieval exegesis has in fact been growing in the academy. Indeed, ever since the publication of Henri de Lubac's four volume *Exégèse médiévale* (1959-1964) a growing number of scholars have attempted to carry on de Lubac's work of *ressourcement*.⁷ These scholars desire to appropriate patristic and medieval exegesis for contemporary theology.⁸ Robert Louis Wilken is one example of this trend; few scholars have worked to recover the traditional senses of Scripture to the degree that he has.⁹ Wilken has

⁶Sometimes I will use the singular "sense" to describe the literal "sense" or the spiritual "sense" of Scripture. Technically, these are the two "senses" of Scripture. At other times I will use "senses" to denote the traditional two senses of Scripture (literal and spiritual), as well as the three derivative "senses" of the spiritual sense: allegorical, tropological, and anagogical. See *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2nd ed. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000 [1994]), §§ 115-117.

⁷Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Ecriture*, 4 vols (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1959, 1961, and 1964). For English translations of the first two volumes, see Idem, *Medieval Exegesis Volume I: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc, with a foreword by Robert Louis Wilken (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1998); and Idem, *Medieval Exegesis Volume 2: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. E.M. Macierowski (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000).

⁸See, e.g., Robert Louis Wilken, "In Defense of Allegory," *Modern Theology* 14, no. 2 (April 1998) : 197-212; Stephen E. Fowl, ed., *The Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Classic and Contemporary Readings* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); and David C. Steinmetz, "The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37 (1980) : 27-38.

⁹In addition to Wilken's "In Defense of Allegory," above, see his, "Interpreting the New Testament," *Pro Ecclesia* 14, no. 1 (Winter 2005) : 15-25; Idem, "Allegory and the Interpretation of the Old Testament in the 21st Century," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 11-21; Idem, "Cyril of Alexandria, Biblical Exegete," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity Volume II*, by Charles Kannengiesser, 840-869 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Idem, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought: Seeking the Face of God* (New Haven: Yale

demonstrated the importance of retrieving the spiritual sense of Scripture for theology and for the life of the church.¹⁰

Such retrieval alone, however, may not be sufficient. The Pontifical Biblical Commission's 1993 document entitled, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," affirms the importance of retrieving the traditional senses of Scripture, but, it likewise advocates using historical criticism. The PBC document states that, "The historical-critical method is the indispensable method for the scientific study of the meaning of ancient texts."¹¹ In the same section, the PBC document explains that because of the human element in Scripture, "its proper understanding not only admits the use of this method but actually requires it." The PBC document acknowledges that the historical critical method has limits, but conveys that a wholesale rejection of the method is not an option.

In its affirmation of positive aspects present in both the historical critical method and traditional exegesis, the PBC document accords with what Pope Benedict XVI wrote, as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, concerning

University Press, 2003), esp. xvii, 43-45, 50-79, and 312-321; Idem, "Interpreting Job Allegorically: The *Moralia* of Gregory the Great," *Pro Ecclesia* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2001) : 213-226; Idem, "Wilken's Response to Hays," *Communio* 25 (Fall 1998) : 529-531; Idem, foreword to *Medieval Exegesis Volume I*, by de Lubac; Idem, "In Dominico Eloquio: Learning the Lord's Style of Language," *Communio* 24 (Winter 1997) : 846-866; Idem, "Interpreting the Bible: Three Views," *First Things* 45 (August-September 1994) : 44-46; and Idem, "Another Look at the 'Spiritual Interpretation' of the Bible," *Una Sancta* 22 (1965) : 33-37.

¹⁰I have not capitalized "church" here because Wilken is referring to Christianity in general, not solely the Catholic Church.

¹¹Pontifical Biblical Commission, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993), in *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings*, ed. and trans. Dean P. Béchar, S.J., 244-317, with a foreword by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002), § 1A.

biblical exegesis.¹² In his 1988 Erasmus Lecture, Ratzinger presented a paper on contemporary biblical scholarship, which was published the year the PBC began working on its document in 1989. The then-head of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Ratzinger argued that Catholic biblical exegesis was in a "crisis." He claimed that historical criticism had replaced the Church's traditional exegesis, but conceded that there is no going back.

Yet, while he acknowledged that returning entirely to the model of patristic and medieval exegesis is not the solution, Ratzinger challenged the hegemony of historical criticism in contemporary exegesis. Contrary to the claims of the academy, he showed that historical criticism is not a neutral method. As scholars like Johnson and Jon Levenson would later do, Ratzinger criticized some of the presuppositions embedded in modern historical criticism. In an interview published in the same volume as his opening address, Ratzinger stated that, if patristic exegesis may be called Exegesis A, and historical criticism may be labeled Exegesis B, then what we need is an Exegesis C. Such Exegesis would blend the best aspects of methods A and B.¹³

¹²Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: On the Question of the Foundations and Approaches of Exegesis Today," in *Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: The Ratzinger Conference on Bible and Church*, ed. Richard John Neuhaus, 1-23 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989).

¹³Paul T. Stallworth, "The Story of an Encounter," in *Biblical Interpretation in Crisis*, ed. Neuhaus, 107-108.

This dissertation examines evangelical Catholic biblical exegesis as an aid in surmounting the current impasse in Catholic biblical scholarship. The dissolution of the Catholic subculture plays a dominant role in this story because it forced U.S. Catholics to deal more directly with the dynamics of religious pluralism. Evangelical Catholics respond to the dynamics of religious pluralism in a way analogous to evangelical Protestants.¹⁴ Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby point out that, "...American Catholics inhabit several different mental universes that appear to be inexorably out of touch with one another."¹⁵ Evangelical Catholics inhabit a unique mental universe.

Although David O'Brien appears to be the first to use the term "evangelical Catholic," he uses it to refer specifically to those Catholics within the U.S. associated with the Catholic Worker Movement, like

¹⁴William L. Portier, "Here Come the Evangelical Catholics," *Communio* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2004) : 35-66. A new generation of Catholic theologians has begun to identify themselves within Portier's framework of post-subculture "evangelical Catholics," particularly among moral theologians. See, e.g., David M. McCarthy, "Shifting Settings From Subculture to Pluralism: Catholic Moral Theology in an Evangelical Key," *Communio* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2004) : 85-110; and the essays in William C. Mattison, III, ed., *New Wine, New Wineskins: A Next Generation Reflects on Key Issues in Catholic Moral Theology*, with a foreword by William L. Portier (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

¹⁵Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby, "Preface: Working on Being Right," in *Being Right: Conservative Catholic in America*, ed. Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby, vii-xii (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1995), ix. Weaver and Appleby ask a pointed question, which in its very asking shows the diversity of expressions Catholicism has taken in the context of the U.S.: "Why is it no longer enough, as it was in 1955, for someone to say that he or she is a Catholic? Why do we now, in 1995, meet Catholics who are 'recovering,' 'communal,' 'cradle,' 'practicing,' 'Tridentine,' 'conciliar,' 'feminist,' 'orthodox,' 'Roman,' 'American,' 'disgruntled,' 'liberal,' or 'conservative'?" (Ibid, xi). We might add to this list, "evangelical."

Dorothy Day, and with the Charismatic Renewal.¹⁶ The evangelical Catholics to whom I refer more closely resemble William Portier's evangelical Catholics, who are primarily under-forty. Unlike Portier, however, I emphasize evangelical converts to Catholicism, those Scot McKnight labels Evangelical Roman Catholics.¹⁷

Evangelical Catholics

With the dissolution of the Catholic subculture in the United States Catholics have felt the full effects of religious pluralism and have responded to its dynamics.¹⁸ Pockets of evangelical Catholics have begun to emerge, blending the evangelical ethos often associated with evangelical Protestants with traditional Catholic devotion and theology. These Catholics have adopted an evangelical style of worship and witness as a response to religious pluralism in the United States, and thus, evangelical Catholics are, in a very real sense, products of religious pluralism. Similar trends have been found in other places where pluralism is found. In 1983, Evangelical J.I. Packer wrote:

If when I was a student you had told me that before old age struck I should be reviewing a popular Roman Catholic book on the new birth which used Campus Crusade material, carried an official *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*, and was already in its fourth printing in three years, I doubt whether I would have believed you. But that is what I

¹⁶David J. O'Brien, *Public Catholicism*, 2nd edition (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), 189-191.

¹⁷Portier, "Here Come the Evangelical Catholics," 35-66; and Scot McKnight, "From Wheaton to Rome: Why Evangelicals Become Roman Catholic," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 45, no. 3 (September 2002) : 451-472.

¹⁸On the important role of the dissolution of the Catholic subculture, see, e.g., Peter Steinfels, *A People Adrift: The Crisis of the Roman Catholic Church in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003), 32-37.

am doing now. Again, if at that time you had predicted that one day an Anglican bishop would tell me how the last Roman Catholic priest to whom he talked quizzed him hard as to whether Anglicans really preached the new birth as they should, I would probably have laughed in your face. But this month it happened. Things are not as they were!¹⁹

This emergent Catholic community in the United States has been bolstered by Protestant converts to Catholicism, like former professor at the evangelical Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary Thomas Howard, former evangelical minister Marcus Grodi, and the formerly Dutch Reformed Peter Kreeft. In their theological work, these evangelical Catholics bring aspects of evangelical Protestant biblical hermeneutics to contemporary and traditional Catholic exegesis. This study critically examines evangelical Catholic biblical scholarship to investigate the potential contributions such scholarship might make to the impasse Johnson and others detect in Catholic biblical scholarship. As a case study, I use Scott Hahn's treatment of the notion of covenant in the Bible, the Last Supper, and his liturgical hermeneutic. Hahn is a particularly interesting study because, as with Portier's younger evangelical Catholics, he does not fit neatly into the liberal-conservative dichotomies so prevalent in academic and popular discourse. As with many evangelical Catholics, Hahn is criticized from both sides. He has been criticized as a

¹⁹J.I. Packer, review of *The Born-Again Catholic*, by Albert Boudreau, *Eternity* (December 1983) : 92.

conservative apologist in the pages of *America*, and he has been denounced as a liberal "feminist" in *New Oxford Review*.²⁰

Hahn also fits within an important third stage of evangelical Catholic relations in the U.S. since the 1950s. In the 1950s and early 1960s, there existed some isolationism and some animosity between evangelicals and Catholics. Things began to change in the mid-1960s when the situation became more one of rapprochement. In this second stage, roughly from the 1960s through the 1990s, there was a period where evangelical and Catholic relations were becoming friendlier, although tension persisted. An example of this warmer attitude is Billy Graham's invitation to Catholic priests to join him in ministry.²¹

Since the 1990s, however, there have been numerous examples of mutual engagement, representing an important third stage in evangelical and Catholic relations. The pages of *Pro Ecclesia* and *First Things* as well as the various "Evangelicals and Catholics Together" joint statements represent one aspect of this change in attitude, although for the last two this teamwork often appears politically motivated. But most of the mutual

²⁰See Richard R. Gaillardetz, "Do We Need a New(er) Apologetics?" *America* 190, no. 7 (1 March 2004) : 34-38; New Oxford Notes, "Scott Hahn, the Feminist," *New Oxford Review* 72, no. 1 (January 2005) : 22-23; Edward O'Neill, "Scott Hahn's Novelties," *New Oxford Review* 71, no. 6 (June 2004) : 23-35; Monica Migliorino Miller, "The Gender of the Holy Trinity," *New Oxford Review* 70, no. 5 (May 2003) : 27-30 and 31-34; and New Oxford Notes, "Burn, Baby, Burn!" *New Oxford Review* 69, no. 8 (September 2002) : 23-25.

²¹Mark A. Noll and Carolyn Nystrom, *Is the Reformation Over? An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Roman Catholicism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2005), 17-24, 34, 37-40, 49, 55-74, and 200-207. Pages 200-207 discusses the role of evangelical converts to Catholicism in evangelical Catholic relations. On pages 203-205 Noll and Nystrom discuss Scott Hahn and his wife Kimberly Hahn as examples.

engagement between evangelicals and Catholics has occurred informally, outside of the ordinary ecumenical channels. This third stage represents an evangelical Catholic confluence. The work of Kevin Vanhoozer is but one example of this stage. In his book, *The Drama of Doctrine*, he considers himself to be a combination of evangelical, orthodox, and catholic. He includes a subsection entitled, "The Vision: A Catholic-Evangelical Orthodoxy."²² Hahn fits within this third stage context of mutual engagement. An example of this is his role as co-editor of a work that is part of an evangelical series through Zondervan entitled, "Scripture and Hermeneutics Series."²³ The analysis of Hahn's work in this dissertation will therefore contribute to a better understanding of the cultural phenomenon which this third phase of evangelical Catholic relations represents.

The Scott Hahn Phenomenon

I have chosen Scott Hahn as a case study of approaches to evangelical Catholic biblical exegesis for three reasons. First, Hahn has become a central figure in the current confluence of evangelicals and Catholics.²⁴ This is specifically important in terms of this present study,

²²Kevin J. Vanhoozer, *The Drama of Doctrine: A Canonical-Linguistic Approach to Christian Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), xii and 25. See pages 27-30 for his explanation of what he means by "Catholic-Evangelical Orthodoxy."

²³Craig Bartholomew, Robin Parry, Scott Hahn, Christopher Seits, and Al Wolters, ed., *Canon and Biblical Interpretation*, Scripture and Hermeneutics Series (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2006).

²⁴On the contemporary confluence of evangelicals and Catholics, see, E.g., Noll and Nystrom, *Is the Reformation Over?*; Phillip Luke Sinitiere, "Catholic Evangelicals and

since, as Markus Bockmuehl has observed, Catholics and evangelicals are "the two branches of Christian biblical scholarship that are now arguably in the ascendancy and producing some of the most vigorous new biblical research."²⁵ As a prolific evangelical convert to Catholicism, Hahn plays an important role among younger evangelical Catholics. He is by far the most widely known and influential of recent evangelical converts to Catholicism. With over 1,000,000 audio-cassettes, videos, and books sold, we catch a glimpse of the ever-widening horizon of the Scott Hahn phenomenon. Hahn's numerous articles have appeared in popular periodicals like *St. Anthony Messenger*, *Our Sunday Visitor*, *Crisis*, *Lay Witness*, *Envoy*, *This Rock*, and *New Covenant*. His twenty-eight books have been published by Doubleday, Ignatius Press, *Our Sunday Visitor*,

Ancient Christianity," in *Vatican II: Forty Years Later*, The Annual Publication of the College Theology Society Volume 51, ed. William Madges, 340-367 (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2005); William M. Shea, *The Lion and the Lamb: Evangelicals and Catholics in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Thomas C. Oden, *The Rebirth of Orthodoxy: Signs of New Life in Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002); Colleen Carroll, *The New Faithful: Why Young Adults are Embracing Christian Orthodoxy* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2002); and Thomas P. Rausch, ed., *Catholics and Evangelicals: Do They Share a Common Future?* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2000). See also the comments by Pope Benedict XVI, while he was still known as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, in his letter to Marcello Pera, where he writes in the context of the U.S., "The evangelicals, who used to be the most relentless enemies of Catholicism, are not only gaining ground on the traditional communities, but they are also discovering a new commonality with Catholicism." For these comments, and their context, see Joseph Ratzinger and Marcello Pera, *Without Roots: The West, Relativism, Christianity, Islam*, trans. Michael F. Moore, with a foreword by George Weigel (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 112. This confluence is happening among Postliberal Protestants as well. See, e.g., Jason Byassee, "Going Catholic: Six Journeys to Rome," *Christian Century* (22 August 2006) : 18-23; and the responses, especially, Bruce Marshall, Letter to the Editor, *Christian Century* (31 October 2006) : 42; and Rusty Reno, Letter to the Editor, *Christian Century* (31 October 2006) : 42.

²⁵Markus Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word: Refocusing New Testament Study*, Studies in Theological Interpretation (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2006), 158.

Emmaus Road, Charis, Midwest Theological Forum, and Zondervan.²⁶ In addition he has books in the works and forthcoming from Brazos Press, Doubleday, and Ignatius Press.

²⁶He has 28 books if you include the 9 short Scripture commentaries which form part of the Ignatius Catholic Study Bible, which will eventually be included in one large volume. His published books are: *Reasons to Believe: How to Understand, Explain, and Defend the Catholic Faith* (New York: Doubleday, 2007); *The Letters of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, Timothy, and Titus: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007); *Ordinary Work, Extraordinary Grace: My Spiritual Journey in Opus Dei* (New York: Doubleday, 2006); *Canon and Biblical Interpretation: The Letter of Saint Paul to the Philippians, Colossians, & Philemon*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005); *Understanding the Scriptures: A Complete Course on Bible Study*, The Didache Series Part II (Chicago: Midwest Theological Forum, 2005); *The Letters of Saint Paul to the Galatians & Ephesians: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005); *Letter and Spirit: From Written Text to Living Word in the Liturgy* (New York: Doubleday, 2005); *The First and Second Letters of Saint Paul to the Corinthians: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004); *Swear to God: The Promise and Power of the Sacraments* (New York: Doubleday, 2004); *Catholic for a Reason III: Scripture and the Mystery of the Mass* (ed. with Regis J. Flaherty; Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2004); *Catholic for a Reason II: Scripture and the Mystery of the Mother of God*, 2nd ed. (ed. with Leon J. Suprenant, Jr.; Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2004); *Scripture Matters: Essays on Reading the Bible From the Heart of the Church* (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2003); *Lord, Have Mercy: The Healing Power of Confession* (New York: Doubleday, 2003); *Living the Mysteries: A Guide for Unfinished Christians* (with Mike Aquilina; Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 2003); *The Letter of Saint Paul to the Romans: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003); *The Gospel of John: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003); *The Acts of the Apostles: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002); *First Comes Love: Finding Your Family in the Church and the Trinity* (New York: Doubleday, 2002); *Understanding "Our Father": Biblical Reflections on the Lord's Prayer* (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2002); *Hail, Holy Queen: The Mother of God in the Word of God* (New York: Doubleday, 2001); *The Gospel of Mark: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001); *The Gospel of Luke: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001); *The Gospel of Matthew: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (with Curtis Mitch; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000); *The Lamb's Supper: The Mass as Heaven on Earth* (New York: Doubleday, 1999); *Catholic for a Reason* (ed. with Leon J. Suprenant, Jr.; Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 1998); *A Father Who Keeps His Promises: God's Covenant Love in Scripture* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Charis, 1998); and *Rome Sweet Home: Our Journey to Catholicism* (with Kimberly Hahn; San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993).

He has written the foreword to the English translation of two of Pope Benedict XVI's books. His conversion story on audio-cassette has sold over 100,000 copies. His *The Lamb's Supper* has sold over 200,000 copies. And his *Rome Sweet Home* (co-authored with his wife) has sold over 300,000 copies.²⁷ Over 26,000 students from 25 different countries around the globe have enrolled in Hahn's free online Bible study classes, available from his St. Paul Center for Biblical Theology website. These students study online from a variety of global regions, including India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Jamaica, Iraq, and even east Siberia. In addition to many other languages, these Bible studies are available in English, Spanish, Danish, Russian, and Vietnamese.²⁸ Hahn is currently the Pope Benedict XVI Chair of Biblical and Liturgical Proclamation at Saint Vincent Seminary. He also retains his position as Professor of Theology and Scripture at Franciscan University of Steubenville. Hahn was the first lay person to hold the Pio Cardinal Laghi Chair of Catholic Theology and Scripture at the Pontifical College Josephinum. He is also the President and Founder of the St. Paul Center for Biblical Theology (which hosts a popular Catholic website), a Co-Founder of the Fellowship of Catholic University Students, a Co-Founder of the Coming Home Network, and Chairman of the Board for Catholics United for the Faith.

²⁷Scott Hahn, interview by author, 22 March 2006, telephone #1.

²⁸See the comments in "New Learning 'Tracks' Announced," online at: <http://www.salvationhistory.com/news/NewTracks.cfm>, accessed on November 13, 2006.

Hahn also co-hosts a regularly scheduled television show on the popular Catholic television network, EWTN, and is frequently featured on the network's other shows. He has appeared on NBC's "Dateline," and has begun to appear regularly on Catholic radio. Hahn earned his B.A., *magna cum laude*, with a triple major in Theology, Philosophy, and Economics, from Grove City College in 1979. He earned his M.Div., *summa cum laude*, in Systematic Theology, from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in 1982. Accepted into Ph.D. programs at both the University of Notre Dame as well as the University of Aberdeen, Hahn chose to attend Marquette University instead, where he earned his Ph.D., *summa cum laude* and Phi Beta Kappa, in Systematic Theology. He was recently awarded an honorary doctoral degree from The Pontifical Catholic University of Puerto Rico. A number of Church leaders have teamed up with Hahn in his work with the St. Paul Center for Biblical Theology. Archbishop Charles J. Chaput, O.F.M., Cap., serves as the Center's Episcopal Advisor, and Rev. Michael Scanlon, T.O.R., serves as the Center's Chaplain. A host of scholars serve as the Center's Distinguished Fellows, including: Rev. James Swetnam, S.J., who works at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome; Robert Louis Wilken, the William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of the History of Christianity at the University of Virginia, as well as a former President of both the American Academy of Religion and the North American Patristics Society; Rev. Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J., a former

President of the North American Patristics Society; and Michael Waldstein, the President of the International Theological Institute in Austria.

Secondly, and even more importantly for his value as a case study, is Hahn's engagement with contemporary biblical scholarship. Hahn is a biblical scholar who reads the Bible theologically. Hahn has published articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, and *Currents in Biblical Research*, and his articles have been printed in scholarly edited volumes published through E.J. Brill and Zondervan. In fact, he contributed an article to "the first-ever published compilation of essays by multiple authors devoted exclusively to the Epistle to the Hebrews."²⁹ Hahn's dissertation entitled, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," has been accepted by David Noel Freedman to be published in book form, after revision, in the Anchor Bible Reference Library, where it will sit beside other works in that series written by Raymond Brown, John J. Collins, Roland Murphy, and a host of other scholars. Hahn engages critical scholarship, but, following the norms set forth in the 1993 PBC document, he incorporates from other sources such as traditional rabbinic, patristic, and medieval interpretation.

²⁹Scott W. Hahn, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death: Διαθήκη in Heb 9:15-22," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, ed. Gabriella Gelardini, 65-88, Biblical Interpretation Series Volume 75, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Ellen van Wolde, with a foreword by Harold W. Attridge (Leiden: Brill, 2005). This claim is made in a book review published by the Society of Biblical Literature. See C. Patrick Gray, review of *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, ed. by Gabriella Gelardini, *Review of Biblical Literature* (2006), online at: http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/4895_5107.pdf.

In this treatment of Hahn as a case study of evangelical Catholic biblical scholarship, three concerns will require examination. First, it will be important to discover whether or not, and to what degree, Hahn is able to transcend the eighteenth-century norms which govern much of evangelical biblical hermeneutics. For those following these eighteenth-century norms the Bible appears to be an encyclopedia whose unmediated facts await cataloguing.³⁰ Secondly, it is important to assess the degree to which Hahn's exegesis is distinctly Catholic. Thirdly and most importantly, this dissertation will consider how Hahn's reading of the Bible is theological in a way that bridges the gap between contemporary biblical studies and theology.

The final reason for my selection of Hahn comes from personal interest. I first encountered Hahn's works as an undergraduate at Miami University. The only religious tradition with which I was familiar growing up was Judaism. I encountered the Jewish tradition, however nominally, in the home, attending synagogue, and at Hebrew school.³¹ As an undergraduate I entered the Christian narrative as an evangelical Protestant working closely with the para-church organization Campus

³⁰George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), esp. chapters 6-7, and 13.

³¹My mother never converted to Judaism. Living with my father I attended a Conservative synagogue and Hebrew school, was selectively kosher, solemnly celebrated the major holidays (e.g., Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah, Passover, etc.), and had a bar mitzvah. I was "nominal" in that I was agnostic, was highly selective in following *halakha*, and, since my mother is not Jewish, according to the canons of the majority of contemporary Judaism, neither, technically, was I.

Crusade for Christ. With Campus Crusade for Christ I quickly rose to leadership positions in Miami's thousand-plus-member movement, leading Bible studies, holding apologetically oriented open forum discussions, and serving on overseas mission trips to Spain, Italy, Kosovo, and twice to Macedonia.

Although I had become convinced of the core evangelical Christian claims concerning Jesus, much of the Christianity I encountered was foreign to my religious sensibilities, formed in part by the rhythms of the Judaism which I had encountered most of my life. Hahn's work functioned in at least two ways for me. Hahn wrote and spoke using evangelical Protestant language, reading the Bible in ways familiar to evangelicals. At the same time, the Catholicism on which he wrote seemed more in continuity with Judaism than the evangelicalism I was then encountering. Hahn once wrote, "The Catholic faith is like a lion; it doesn't need us to defend it so much as it needs us to unlock its cage and let it out."³² Hahn was one of the figures who unlocked the lion's cage for me. His biblical and historical treatments showing Old Testament contexts for New Testament themes and the Jewish roots of Catholic practices and beliefs greatly influenced my conversion to Catholicism.

³²Scott Hahn, foreword to the 4th edition of *Catholic Evidence Training Outlines*, compiled by Maisie Ward and Frank Sheed (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Catholic Evidence Guild, 1992 [1932]).

It was my experience at Miami University which also first exposed me to evangelical Protestant biblical scholarship. In fact, evangelical Protestant works, like those of F.F. Bruce and Kenneth Kitchen, were very important influences in my initial conversion to Christianity. At Miami I studied with ancient historian Edwin Yamauchi, a well-known evangelical Protestant biblical scholar and authority on Gnosticism, who is the 2006 President of the Evangelical Theological Society. My interest in pursuing this dissertation is partially a result of my conversion, first to evangelical Protestant Christianity, and then to Catholicism. As both an evangelical convert to Catholicism, and as an under-forty Catholic who resembles Portier's description of evangelical Catholics, I locate myself in both Portier's and McKnight's narratives. They are talking about me. They are not just talking about me however. My wife and most of my closest friends fit into one or both of Portier's and McKnight's categories.

Significance

This dissertation is an attempt to enter the discussion concerning the present state of Catholic biblical exegesis. I argue that Scott Hahn offers one alternative that blends the Church's traditional exegesis with contemporary critical methods, as he relies upon historical criticism, narrative criticism, and a canonical reading. It is my contention that evangelical Catholics, like Hahn, might make a profitable contribution to overcoming the impasse described at the outset of this introduction

because they reclaim the Bible as theological. My argument is that Hahn's exegesis can function heuristically in pointing us in a direction of once again allowing Catholic biblical exegetes and Catholic theologians to interact. This dissertation is in historical theology with an emphasis on biblical hermeneutics and the history of biblical exegesis, in the specific context of the United States. As such, it can also contribute to a better understanding of the current evangelical Catholic confluence currently underway in the U.S. Hahn is a unique American site where Jewish, evangelical Protestant, and Catholic exegesis meet. In his appropriation and blending of these exegetical traditions, Hahn's exegesis holds promise for surmounting the current impasse in Catholic biblical scholarship.

Dissertation Overview

Chapter 1: Kinship and Covenant, Kinship By Covenant: Covenant as Scripture's

Unifying Theme in the Thought of Scott Hahn

Biblical theologians and scholars have historically viewed the covenant as a central theme in Scripture.³³ These scholars self-identify as Catholic (e.g., Dennis McCarthy), Protestant (e.g., George Mendenhall),

³³See, e.g., Christopher J. Baker, *Covenant and Liberation: Giving New Heart to God's Endangered Family*, European University Studies Series 23 Theology Vol. 411 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1991), 38; L. Krinetzki, *L'Alliance de Dieu Avec les Hommes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970), 110; Jakob Jocz, *The Covenant: A Theology of Human Destiny* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1968), 9 and 13; F.C. Prussner, "The Covenant of David and the Problem of Unity in O.T. Theology," in *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship*, ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 31 and 41; and J. Severino Croatto, *Historia de la Salvación: La experiencia religiosa del Pueblo de Dios* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Paulinas, 1966), 28 (an expanded edition of *Idem, Alianza y Experiencia Salvífica en la Biblia* [Buenos Aires: Ediciones Paulinas, 1964]).

Jewish (e.g., Nelson Glueck), and even Jewish Feminist (e.g., Tikva Frymer-Kensky).³⁴ Walther Eichrodt, to take one example among many, suggested that covenant be viewed as a unifying theme of the Old Testament. Under the concept of covenant, Eichrodt placed his principle categories of "God and the People," "God and the World," and "God and Man."³⁵ Additionally, many of the other rival positions for a central theme in Scripture may be subsumed under the concept of "covenant."³⁶ This would make sense since, as Alan Segal has noted, "The root

³⁴See, e.g., Dennis J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, New edition (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981); George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Presbyterian Board of Colportage Western Pennsylvania, 1955); Nelson Glueck, *Das Wort hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche gemeinschaftsgemäße Verhaltungsweise*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 47 (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1927); and Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Studies in Bible and Feminist Criticism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2006), 133-134. For an English translation of Glueck's work, see Nelson Glueck, *Hesed in the Bible*, trans. Alfred Gottschalk, with an introduction by Gerald A. Larue, ed. Elias L. Epstein (New York: KTAV, 1975 [1927]).

³⁵Walther Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments I* (Stuttgart: Ehrenfried Klotz Verlag, 1959), 33; and James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 313 and 337-338. For an English translation of Eichrodt's work, see Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament Volume I* (London: SCM Press, 1961).

³⁶Barr, *Concept of Biblical Theology*, 337-344, esp. 337-338. Theodore C. Vriezen saw the relationship, or communion, between God and humanity as the Old Testament's central theme. See Theodore C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970 [1966]), 160. Samuel Terrien saw "God's elusive presence," as the core theme. See Samuel Terrien, *The Elusive Presence: Towards a New Biblical Theology* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978). For Walther Zimmerli God's name was the major unifying theme. See Walther Zimmerli, *Grundriss der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972)—for an English translation, see Idem, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978). Rudolf Smend proposed Wellhausen's phrase, "Yahweh the God of Israel, Israel the people of Yahweh," as the central theme of the Old Testament. See Rudolf Smend, *Die Mitte des Alten Testaments* (Munich: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1986), 104-117. For H.-D. Preuss, the central theme of the Old Testament is "Yahweh's electing action on Israel in history for community with his world, which is at the same time an action that places obligation upon this people...." See H.-D. Preuss, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 1991 and 1992)—for English translations see Idem, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995 and 1996).

metaphor underlying Hebrew society is expressed in the word *covenant*...."³⁷ Steven McKenzie explains that covenant was so central to Israelite religion and later Judaism because, "covenant is the principle image used in the Bible to express the relationship between God and humans."³⁸ Scholars ascertain that covenant was central not only for ancient Israel, but especially for Second Temple Judaism. N.T. Wright observes that, "Covenant theology was the air breathed by the Judaism of this period."³⁹ On the other hand, some have criticized this notion. Following Julius Wellhausen, these scholars have concluded that the idea of covenant is a late development.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, as the Feminist Jewish biblical scholar Tikva Frymer-Kensky recently wrote:

"Covenant" is in the air again. The concept had enormous popularity in the early and mid-twentieth century, when it was hailed as the key to biblical theology. But its popularity among modern thinkers waned as biblical theologians abandoned their attempt to find one central principle of the Bible and began to concentrate instead on discovering the multiplicity of biblical voices and complexity. Now, however, the idea of "covenant" is reemerging as an important paradigm for our contemporary understanding of the intricate interrelationships between humanity, Israel, and God....Covenant in the Hebrew Bible...is a rich and

³⁷Alan F. Segal, *Rebecca's Children: Judaism and Christianity in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 4. Writing further, Segal explains that, "Israelite history...sees the past as a paradigm for the present. Past events are consciously used as liturgical models for the covenantal meaning of human destiny" (12).

³⁸Steven L. McKenzie, *Covenant* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000), 8. Later McKenzie writes that, "covenant is the main biblical image for the distinctive relationship of the people of Israel with God" (9).

³⁹N.T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God Volume One: The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 262. Earlier Wright claims that, "Covenantal ideas were...fundamental to the different movements and currents of thought within second-temple Judaism" (261), and that, "The idea of covenant was central to Judaism in this period" (260).

⁴⁰Barr, *Concept of Biblical Theology*, 313, and 337-344.

diverse concept, and its many nuances give it potential importance for contemporary thinking about God and humanity.⁴¹

The first chapter of this dissertation contains an exposition of Hahn's exegesis of select passages in Scripture concerning God's covenants with various individuals, and with the People of God. Hahn examines various Old Testament texts, primarily concerning the covenants with Abraham, Moses, and David, as well as Galatians and Hebrews concerning the New Covenant in Jesus. Hahn maintains that the idea of covenant is a central theme uniting the Old and the New Testament. Hahn's background as a former Presbyterian minister might account for his focus on covenant, since the concept of covenant is central to Calvinist traditions of Christianity.⁴²

Catholics, on the other hand, have also discussed the idea of "covenant" being a central thread running through Scripture. In fact, the two Christian groups James Barr isolates as maintaining "covenant" as a central theme in Scripture, are Calvinists and Catholics.⁴³ Representative of these Catholic scholars is Lawrence Boadt, who comments that, "All of biblical history may be called a theology of the covenant....Covenant theology not only applies to the moment on Mount Sinai, it provides the

⁴¹Frymer-Kensky, *Studies in Bible*, 133-134.

⁴²Barr, *Concept of Biblical Theology*, 42, where Barr writes, "The insistence on the key role of covenants as a theological organizer is manifest in Calvinist tradition....It is particularly in the Calvinist tradition...that there is the custom of referring to 'the' covenant as a basic theological datum...."

⁴³*Ibid*, 259. On the same page he notes that, "the interest of Roman Catholic scholars in the emphasis on covenant has been very noticeable."

framework for understanding God's earlier promises to Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob...."⁴⁴ Before he was elected Pope Benedict XVI, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger highlighted the central theme of covenant in Scripture in his book, *Many Religions—One Covenant*.⁴⁵ Ratzinger argued that God's relationship with humanity is the Bible's content, and, furthermore, that, "in asking about the covenant, we are asking whether there can be a relationship between God and man, and what kind of relationship it might be."⁴⁶

The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC) likewise discusses the central role of the "covenant" in the Bible throughout its pages, e.g., "The nuptial covenant between God and his people Israel had prepared the way for the new and everlasting covenant in which the Son of God, by becoming incarnate and giving his life, has united to himself in a certain way all mankind saved by him...."⁴⁷ In fact, the CCC includes two separate index headings for covenant, and the index cites 81 different paragraph sections dealing with the theme of covenant.⁴⁸ Regardless of

⁴⁴Lawrence Boadt, *Reading the Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 174.

⁴⁵Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Many Religions—One Covenant: Israel, the Church, and the World*, trans. Graham Harrison, with a foreword by Scott Hahn (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999 [1998]), esp. 47-77.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 75. On page 77 he writes, "In this context, covenant would be the response to man's imaging of God; it would show us who we are and who God is. And for God, since he is entirely relationship, covenant would not be something external in history, apart from his being, but the manifestation of his self, the 'radiance of his countenance'."

⁴⁷CCC, § 1612.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, §§ 62, 64, 72, 73, 121, 204, 238, 346, 357, 522, 527, 610, 611, 612, 613, 662, 709, 759, 762, 778, 781, 796, 839, 840, 859, 992, 1091, 1093, 1102, 1116, 1129, 1145, 1150,

the origins of Hahn's views concerning covenant, they set the stage for understanding the rest of his exegesis, particularly because this covenantal understanding is an important step Hahn makes in reading the Bible canonically and hence theologically.

Chapter 2: "It is Finished": Scott Hahn's Reading of the Last Supper

The second chapter is an exposition of Hahn's exegesis of New Testament passages concerning the Last Supper. Hahn argues for a eucharistic reading of the Bread of Life Discourse in John chapter 6, in the story about the Road to Emmaus in Luke chapter 24, in the Synoptic Last Supper accounts, as well as in John's account of Jesus' passion and death. This chapter shows how Hahn's canonical reading helps the Bible be read theologically as Scripture. The chapter also demonstrates how Hahn relies upon the redaction criticism of scholars like Raymond Brown. Hahn's canonical reading functions in much the same way that Brown's redaction criticism functions, namely, to focus on the text in its final form.

Chapter 3: Scott Hahn's Evangelical Sensibility: Bible as the Inspired Word of God

The third chapter examines the evangelical Protestant exegetical tradition that Hahn learned from his teachers, primarily at Gordon-Conwell

1151, 1152, 1156, 1179, 1182, 1217, 1222, 1223, 1334, 1337, 1339, 1348, 1365, 1410, 1539, 1541, 1542, 1544, 1612, 1846, 1964, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2070, 2077, 2171, 2176, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2567, 2569, 2571, 2607, 2614, 2713, 2771, 2787, 2795, 2801, 2810, 2829, and 2841. The two sections are entitled, "Covenant, New," and "Covenant, Old." The Index also instructs to look up "New Testament" and "Old Testament."

Theological Seminary. In tracing Hahn's exegetical lineage, Meredith G. Kline and Gordon Paul Hugenberger stand out as evangelicals who taught Hahn the most about biblical exegesis. Kline received his training from his doctoral advisor, the Jewish scholar Cyrus Gordon, and Gordon in turn was schooled by his Jewish mentor Max Margolis. This chapter shows how working with Kline, and with Kline's student Hugenberger, exposed Hahn to Gordon's and Margolis's teachings, which in turn affected how Hahn reads the Bible. The above scholars respected the authority inherent in the biblical text and hence allowed Hahn to regard and interpret Scripture as the Word of God.

Chapter 4: Scott Hahn as a Catholic Exegete

The fourth chapter examines what Catholic scholars taught Hahn about how to read the Bible. The chapter begins with an overview of the ebb and flow of Catholic biblical scholarship. Hahn learned to appropriate historical criticism from reading Raymond Brown and Dennis McCarthy among other Catholic biblical exegetes. Hahn is indebted to historical critics, particularly source critics and redaction critics, for his reading of Scripture, but he does not accept all of their conclusions or methodological presuppositions. Additionally, Hahn learned about the spiritual sense of Scripture from reading patristic and medieval authors, as well as from reading twentieth century theologians like Henri de Lubac.

This chapter will end by considering how Hahn's Catholicism changed his views on several traditional Protestant convictions.

Chapter 5: Scott Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic

The fifth chapter examines what Hahn calls a liturgical hermeneutic. Hahn learned from source criticism that the Bible's *Sitz im Leben* is the liturgy, and hence argues that the primary setting for interpreting Scripture is the Church's liturgy. Furthermore, he maintains that much of the Bible's content is liturgical. The majority of Christians throughout history have learned Scripture through the liturgical juxtaposition of passages, not by reading the Bible as a book on their own. The liturgical context of Scripture provides a unique ecclesial hermeneutic for biblical interpretation and is an important step toward reading the Bible theologically.

Chapter 6: Bridging the Fiery Brook: Hahn's Promise for Surmounting the "Impasse" in Catholic Biblical Studies

The sixth and final chapter discusses the contemporary debate over biblical scholarship, including criticisms leveled against modern biblical criticism. This chapter summarizes the positions of Pope Benedict XVI, John Milbank, Jon Levenson, as well as Robert Wilken, and then situates Hahn in this broader context. This chapter shows how Hahn's exegesis promises to help Catholic biblical exegetes and theologians move beyond the current impasse in contemporary Catholic biblical scholarship. Hahn is able to do this by employing the following: 1) the Church's traditional

senses of Scripture; 2) a limited appropriation of the historical-critical method; 3) a canonical reading; and 4) a liturgical hermeneutic. Hahn blends what he has learned from Jewish, evangelical Protestant, and Catholic exegesis. The result is a uniquely American product: evangelical Catholic biblical exegesis.

Chapter 1

Kinship and Covenant, Kinship By Covenant: Covenant as Scripture's Unifying Theme in the Thought of Scott Hahn

I. Introduction

When teaching students about the Bible, the same questions inevitably arise. Why would God wipe out creation with a flood? Why would Abraham be asked to kill his only son? What is the point of animal sacrifices and why would God ask for them? What is all this stuff about eating the body and drinking the blood of Jesus? The difficulties underlying these inquiries give some sense of the challenge in reading the Bible theologically and, of course, the students questions are primarily theological rather than historical critical, and there is a long tradition of interpretation regarding the above questions. Scott Hahn's focus on the theme of covenant provides one way to address these questions and to read the Bible theologically. Hahn is not alone in his considerations of covenant. For example, the well-known and respected historical theologian Yves Congar reflects the importance of covenant in Scripture when he writes:

Jesus did not give his disciples a course of philology, nor did Philip give one to the eunuch; *they revealed to them the economy of the covenant as fulfilled in Christ*. That is the meaning of Scripture....The content and

meaning of Scripture was God's covenant plan, finally realized in Jesus Christ...and in the Church.¹

In this chapter I will examine Hahn's work on the topic of covenant.

In his foreword to the English translation of Joseph Ratzinger's, now Pope Benedict XVI, *Many Religions—One Covenant*, Scott Hahn writes, "The covenant...is the principle that unites the New Testament with the Old...."² Hahn insists that the concept of covenant is *the* central unifying theme of the Bible and the most important concept in Scripture, and for this reason, covenant plays a central role in Hahn's biblical exegesis.³ For Hahn, covenant is such a central topic because it deals with God's relationship with humanity. Thus, his reason is deeply theological; at the heart of theology is the relationship between God and humans beings. This chapter therefore examines the role of covenant in Hahn's reading of Scripture, showing how Hahn reads the Bible canonically, that is, as one book. This canonical interpretation involves reading the diverse books of Scripture in light of the other Scriptural texts in their final canonical form.

¹Yves M.-J. Congar, O.P., *Tradition & Traditions: The Biblical, Historical, and Theological Evidence for Catholic Teaching on Tradition* (Needham Heights, Massachusetts: Simon & Schuster, 1966 [1960]), 68-69.

²Scott Hahn, foreword to *Many Religions—One Covenant: Israel, the Church, and the World*, by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, trans. Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1999 [1998]), 14.

³He emphasizes this fact in a number of places. E.g., Idem, *Letter and Spirit: From Written Text to Living Word in the Liturgy* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 54 and 69; Idem, *Swear to God: The Promise and Power of the Sacraments* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 62; Idem, *Lord, Have Mercy: The Healing Power of Confession* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 97; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises: God's Covenant Love in Scripture* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Charis, 1998), 23; and Scott Hahn and Kimberly Hahn, *Rome Sweet Home: Our Journey to Catholicism* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), 15-16.

Hahn's use of this canonical reading enables him to make connections between similar themes, like covenant, in Scripture.⁴

This chapter begins first with a brief discussion of Hahn's view of the covenant as an interpretive key to Scripture. Hahn maintains that covenants and contracts are distinct from each other, and he isolates three different types of covenants: kinship, treaty, and grant. Kinship-type covenants involve two parties swearing an oath to one another. In treaty-type covenants only the subordinate party swears an oath to the sovereign. Grant-type covenants are unique in that only the sovereign swears an oath. The sovereign's oath in grant-type covenants is unconditional and is for the benefit of the subordinate party.

The second section of this chapter examines Hahn's interpretations of how specific covenants function in the Old and New Testaments. Hahn begins with the creation accounts in Genesis and moves to the covenants with Noah, Abram/Abraham, Moses, David, and finally the New Covenant with Jesus. Hence the subsections under this section include the following:

- 1) Genesis Creation Accounts: Hahn interprets the first Genesis creation account as entailing God's covenant oath

⁴The "canonical critical method" is associated with a hermeneutical movement beginning in the early 1970s, especially at Yale University. Brevard Childs spearheaded this informal movement in contemporary biblical studies, particularly in his works from the 1970s and 1980s, e.g., Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970); Idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); and Idem, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985). In some ways, this contemporary hermeneutic is similar to the traditional Christian practice of "reading Scripture in light of Scripture."

with creation. He focuses on the role of the number seven as both a liturgical number and as a number signifying a covenant.

2) Noah: Hahn reads the accounts concerning Noah with an eye to the covenant God makes with Noah. He interprets this covenant as a grant-type covenant because God alone provides a symbol of the covenant oath, i.e., the rainbow.

3) Abram/Abraham: Hahn maintains that all three types of covenants are found in the Abrahamic texts. The covenant of Gen. 15 is a kinship-type, the covenant of Gen. 17 is a treaty-type, and, finally, the covenant of Gen. 22 is a grant-type.

4) Later Old Testament Covenants: Hahn argues that three later Old Testament covenants correspond to the three covenants with Abram/Abraham. As with Abram's kinship-type covenant in Gen. 15, the covenant with Israel at Mount Sinai in Exodus is also a kinship-type covenant. As Abram's covenant in Gen. 17 was a treaty-type covenant, so the covenant with Israel on the Plains of Moab in Deuteronomy is a treaty-type covenant. Finally, as Abraham's covenant in Gen. 22 was a grant-type covenant, so the covenant with Israel through the House of David is a grant-type covenant.

5) Jesus: Hahn reads Galatians and Hebrews as depicting Jesus' fulfillment of the previous Abrahamic and Israelite covenants.⁵

Hence, with these five examples, Hahn sees the concept of covenant as "a central thread woven throughout Scripture."⁶ This entire chapter, then, is a selective exposition of Hahn's exegesis, i.e., all interpretations discussed in this chapter are Hahn's, and this is merely a report of his interpretations.⁷ By showing how Hahn reads these specific covenants as building on top of one another throughout both Testaments, I am trying to elucidate how Hahn reads the texts canonically.

⁵Throughout this dissertation, I will occasionally include a block of text such as this one, which is single-spaced, but in 12 point font. These are not direct quotations, but instead are my summaries of specific material from Hahn or other scholars. If the blocks of text are in 10 point font, then they are direct quotations.

⁶Hahn, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 23.

⁷This applies both to interpretations of history as well as of Scripture.

This chapter will focus on Hahn's dissertation because it represents his largest sustained work on the covenant in Scripture and provides the basis for much of his later work. Hahn entitles his doctoral dissertation, "Kinship By Covenant," a title which bears a striking resemblance to Frank Moore Cross's paper presentation, "Kinship and Covenant in Ancient Israel."⁸ The subtitle, "A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," communicates the breadth of Hahn's 749 page work. His dissertation is a mammoth text, containing a 1,216-source bibliography that does not include all of the sources he cites in his footnotes. His dissertation has 1,243 footnotes, utilizing sources in Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, and Spanish, and it took him the better part of a decade to research, write, and complete.⁹

⁸Scott Walker Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments" (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1995). Cross's work was originally presented at the 1991 Harvard Biblical Colloquium, and Hahn made use of this early unpublished text in his own dissertation in 9 different places (beginning with page 28, see 28 n. 10). Cross has since published the paper as a chapter in his book, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 3-21, which Hahn cites in at least 3 of his other books. Indeed, Hahn devotes over a full page to this chapter in his recent survey of covenant literature from 1994-2004, wherein he praises Cross's work with the words, "The significance of Frank Moore Cross's essay 'Kinship and Covenant in Ancient Israel' (1998) to contemporary covenant scholarship is out of proportion to the study's relatively modest length" (Scott Hahn, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments: Some Current Research (1994-2004)," *Currents in Biblical Research* 3, no. 2 [2005] : 264). Although the title of Hahn's dissertation is very similar to the title of Cross's paper, the two titles were independent of one another. In fact, Hahn had developed the title for his dissertation proposal years before Cross delivered his paper (Scott Hahn, communication with author, July 1, 2006, telephone).

⁹In actuality, the dissertation contained over 100 pages more than it currently does at the time of his public defense. One of the rare mixed blessings Hahn had while working on this dissertation, was that he taught a number of undergraduate- and

II. Covenant as the Interpretive Key to Scripture

Hahn believes covenant is a hermeneutical key to Scripture. For this reason, much of his research and writing involves exploring the details of ancient Near Eastern covenants. This section will first address how Hahn distinguishes between covenant and the related idea of contract. Secondly, this section will discuss the connection between the familial nature of covenants and sacrifice. Finally, this section will examine the different types of ancient Near Eastern covenants that Hahn isolates in Scripture: kinship, treaty, and grant.¹⁰

masters-level courses directly related to the topic of his dissertation throughout most of the decade while he was completing his doctoral work. David Noel Freedman, general editor for the Anchor Bible series published through Doubleday, has already accepted Hahn's dissertation for publication in the Anchor Bible Reference Library, where Hahn will join the ranks of Bible scholars of international repute, some of whom have published more than one volume in this series, including: Raymond Brown (5 books), John Collins, John Meier (3 books), Joseph Blenkinsopp, Francis Moloney, Jacob Neusner, James Charlesworth (4 books), David Noel Freedman, Alan Segal, Bruce Chilton (3 books), James Crenshaw, Lawrence Schiffman, Amihai Mazar, Ephraim Stern, David Dungan, Jonathan Goldstein, Brian Peckham, Shimon Gibson, Gregory Mobley, Susan Ackerman, and Bentley Layton. Scott Hahn, interview by author, 30 August 2005, Steubenville, Ohio, notepad, at Hahn's home in Steubenville, Ohio.

¹⁰Covenant plays such a central role in Hahn's understanding of Scripture that many of his books contain chapters with "covenant" in the title. In *Rome Sweet Home* (1993), we find chapters entitled, "New Conceptions of the Covenant" and "Teaching and Living the Covenant as Family." In *A Father Who Keeps His Promises* (1998), we encounter, "Kinship by Covenant," "Creation, Covenant and Cosmic Temple," "Shape Up or Ship Out: A Broken Covenant Renewed with Noah," and "Israel's Calf-Hearted Response: The Mosaic Covenant at Mount Sinai." In *Hail, Holy Queen* (2001), there is a chapter entitled, "Venerators of the Lost Ark: Israel and the Bearer of the New Covenant." In *First Comes Love* (2002), we meet a chapter with the title, "The God Who Is Covenant." In *Lord, Have Mercy* (2003), we find the chapter, "The Themes from Deliverance: Confession as Covenant." In *Swear to God* (2004), there are the chapters, "What's the Big Idea?: The Meaning of Covenant (and Everything Else)" and "Do You Solemnly Swear?: Sacraments as Covenant Oaths." Finally, in *Letter and Spirit* (2005), we read the chapter entitled, "Covenant: The Bond of Unity."

Covenant versus Contract: The Difference Between Marriage and Prostitution

Whereas Hahn understands covenants to be familial, contracts are merely juridical. In reaching this conclusion, Hahn builds upon the work of a number of scholars of the Bible and the ancient Near East. Three scholars who stand out in his work are George E. Mendenhall, Dennis J. McCarthy, and Frank Moore Cross.¹¹ These scholars all see a connection between "the language of kinship" and "the language of covenant" in West Semitic tribal societies, such as that of the ancient Israelites.¹² Both Hahn and Cross depend upon the work of William Robertson Smith which highlights the connection between kinship language and covenant language.¹³ Hahn's and Cross's use of Smith is not uncritical, yet both remain convinced of Smith's conclusions regarding the kinship nature of covenants in the ancient Near East.¹⁴ This kinship understanding, and thus

¹¹Especially George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Presbyterian Board of Colportage Western Pennsylvania, 1955); Idem, "The Suzerainty Treaty Structure: Thirty Years Later," in *Religion and Law: Biblical-Judaic and Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Edwin B. Firmage, Bernard G. Weiss, and John W. Welch, 85-100 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990); Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, rev. ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978); Idem, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions* (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox, 1972 [1967]); and Cross, "Kinship and Covenant in Ancient Israel," later published in Idem, *From Epic to Canon*, 3-21.

¹²Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 3. Hahn follows Cross in seeing as significant that the Israelites were a West Semitic people that shared certain cultural norms with other West Semitic peoples.

¹³W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1885); and Idem, *The Religion of the Semites* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1889).

¹⁴Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 26-27 n. 3; and Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 3 n. 1. Criticisms abound of Smith's work as a whole. See, e.g., Alasdair MacIntyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry: Encyclopaedia, Genealogy, and Tradition: Being Gifford*

familial context, of covenant allows Hahn to distinguish between covenant and contract.

Hahn explains that, "More than a legal contract, a covenant is a sacred family bond."¹⁵ Elsewhere Hahn echoes this point in reference to the traditions of the ancient Near East: "More than a contract, more than a treaty, a covenant created a family bond between persons or between nations."¹⁶ Hahn elaborates, "In the cultural and political development of West Semitic peoples, the institution of covenant became the means to integrate foreign (non-kin) individuals or groups within the familial structure of society."¹⁷ In other words, covenants were used to bring individuals or groups into kinship relationships where previously no such relationships had existed.¹⁸ Covenants, furthermore, dictated roles, responsibilities, and obligations.¹⁹

Lectures Delivered in the University of Edinburgh in 1988 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), 19, 27, and 179-180; and J.W. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979), 33.

¹⁵Scott Hahn, "Introduction: The Mystery of the Family of God," in *Catholic for a Reason*, ed. Scott Hahn and Leon J. Suprenant, Jr., 1-13 (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 1998), 10. We see Hahn emphasize this point, elsewhere, e.g., Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 54-55; Idem, "Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah: Διαθήκη in Galatians 3:15-18," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (January 2005) : 86; Idem, *Hail, Holy Queen: The Mother of God in the Word of God* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 26; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 27; Idem, "Salvation History," St. Joseph Communication, 5 audiocassette series; and Hahn and Hahn, *Rome Sweet Home*, 30.

¹⁶Scott Hahn, *Understanding "Our Father": Biblical Reflections on the Lord's Prayer* (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2002), 20-21.

¹⁷Idem, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments," 264-265; and Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 3-21.

¹⁸Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 55; and Idem, "Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah," 86.

¹⁹Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 34-36; and Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 4-5.

Alasdair MacIntyre sees a similar function for kinship in classical heroic societies. See Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 122-130. In fact, MacIntyre writes that, "The key structures are

Hahn uses Cross's analysis throughout his study, particularly focusing on Cross's conception of kinship as the foundation of ancient West Semitic society. In one passage with this emphasis, Cross notes:

The social organization of West Semitic tribal groups was grounded in kinship. Kinship relations defined the rights and obligations, the duties, status, and privileges of tribal members, and kinship terminology provided the only language for expressing legal, political, and religious institutions.²⁰

In discussing further issues concerning kinship and covenant, Cross points out that, "Often it has been asserted that the language of 'brotherhood' and 'fatherhood,' 'love,' and 'loyalty' is 'covenant terminology.' This is to turn things upside down. The language of covenant, kinship-in-law, is taken from the language of kinship, kinship-in-flesh."²¹

The familial language underscores the distinction Hahn sees between a covenant and a contract. He compares the difference to that between marriage and prostitution (and adoption versus slavery). Whereas covenants involve an exchange of persons who enter into kinship relationships, contracts involve only an exchange of goods, services, property, etc.²² Marriage and adoption, as in covenants, create new family relationships. Prostitution and slavery, as in contractual

those of kinship and of the household. In such a society a man knows who he is by knowing his role in these structures..." (122).

²⁰Cross, *From Epic to Canon*, 3.

²¹*Ibid.*, 11.

²²Hahn, *Swear to God*, 61; *Idem*, "Adam's Family Values," *Scripture Matters* 4, no. 3, in *Envoy* 5, no. 3 (2001) : 4, between *Envoy's* pages 32 and 33; *Idem*, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 26; *Idem*, "Salvation History,"; *Idem*, "Scott Hahn Conversion Story: A Protestant Minister Becomes Catholic," St. Joseph Communication, audiocassette; and Hahn and Hahn, *Rome Sweet Home*, 27 and 30.

arrangements, create temporary relationships, but do not extend the boundaries of kinship.

חסד as the Substance and Content of Covenants

That covenants are familial in nature does not minimize the role of sacrifices, oaths, and curses that are contained in all covenants. In ancient Near Eastern societies, covenants, and their attendant sacrifices, oaths, and curses, constituted how family relations were extended. A key concept for Hahn in understanding the difference between familial covenants and legal contracts then is the idea of חסד, "goodness," "kindness," or "love."²³ In his discussion, Hahn relies primarily on Nelson Glueck's *The Word Hesed in the Language Used in the Old Testament When Humans and God are in a Covenant Relationship*.²⁴

For Glueck, "חסד embodies the actual substance of the covenant."²⁵ He elaborates, "Hesed is the requirement and effect of a berit [covenant], it makes up the actual substance of a berit, but is not yet

²³See the entry in Francis Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1997 [1906]) for the full span of possible meanings for חסד.

²⁴My own translation from Nelson Glueck, *Das Wort hesed im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche gemeinschaftgemäße Verhaltensweise*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 47 (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Töpelmann, 1927). The only available English translation renders the title simply, *Hesed in the Bible*. See Idem, *Hesed in the Bible*, trans. Alfred Gottschalk, with an introduction by Gerald A. Larue, ed. Elias L. Epstein (New York: KTAV, 1975 [1927]).

²⁵Idem, *Das Wort hesed*, 11. My own translation from, "daß חסד die eigentliche Substanz des Bundes ausmacht."

a berit, even if a berit cannot exist without hesed."²⁶ In fact, Glueck proposes that in the context of covenants, **חסד** may be translated as "covenant fidelity."²⁷ **חסד** did not connote pleasant feelings relatives had for one another, but rather involved duties and obligations between family members.²⁸ As Glueck explains, "Hesed was not simply love, which was dependent on the subject alone, but at the same time fidelity, duty."²⁹ In the specific context of covenants, Glueck concedes the possible translation of **חסד** as love, but cautions, "One should however remain conscious that by 'love' one means a particular kind, which coincides with fidelity and duty and through it corresponding to the conditions of the covenant."³⁰

Obligations and duties were thus a part of family life, especially family life established and enlarged by a covenant, and were not antithetical to the kindness, love, and goodness, represented by **חסד**.

Glueck elaborates:

The duties and rights established through a covenant are changed through **חסד** to deeds that are befitting. Hesed is the actual core of a berit [covenant] and can almost be called its content. The possibility of the establishment and continued existence of a covenant was founded

²⁶Ibid, 33. My own translation from, "Hesed ist die Voraussetzung und Wirkung einer berith, macht die eigentliche Substanz einer berith aus, ist aber noch nicht eine berith, wenn auch eine berith nicht ohne hesed sein kann."

²⁷Ibid, 42 and 46. My own translation from, "gemeinschaftgemäße Treue."

²⁸Ibid, 3-8, 12-13, 25, 32, 38, and 67.

²⁹Ibid, 5. My own translation from, "Hesed war nicht nur Liebe, die vom Subjekt allein abhängig war, sondern zugleich Treue, Pflicht."

³⁰Ibid, 38. My own translation from, "Man muß sich aber dessen bewußt bleiben, daß es sich um eine ganz bestimmte 'Liebe' handelt, welche mit Treue und Pflicht übereinstimmt und dadurch den Bedingungen der Gemeinschaft entspricht."

on the existence of חסד. Where in the Old Testament חסד and ברית show up together, they are not understood as complete synonyms, but are in a mutual condition of one another.³¹

As others have pointed out before, "A covenant is a bond-in-blood," so it involves family, but it also involves sacrifice, obligations, oaths, and curses.³² Covenant also describes the relationship Israel had with God, and חסד, including duties and obligations, was the way God and Israel related to one another in this covenant family.³³ Glueck explains:

The covenant between Yahweh and the Patriarchs, which was confirmed through an oath, had hesed as the result, which constituted the content of each berit [covenant] as well as each covenant relationship. חסד itself could as well be the object of an oath. The core relationship between ברית and חסד and שבועה is also documented in the Jewish liturgy in the Zichronot prayer of the New Year....There we read:

וקיים לנו...את הברית ואת
החסד ואת השבועה אשר נשבעת
לאברהם

חסד is contained in ברית and as with ברית could be instituted by an oath, as is here again shown. ברית and חסד and שבועה are closely related to each other....³⁴

³¹Ibid, 12-13. My own translation from, "Die durch einen Bund entstandenen Pflichten und Rechte werden durch חסד in entsprechende Taten umgewandelt. Hesed macht den eigentlichen Gegenstand einer berith aus und kann fast als ihr Inhalt bezeichnet werden. Die Möglichkeit des Entstehens und Bestehens eines Bundes beruhte auf dem Vorhandensein von חסד. Wo im Alten Testament חסד und ברית zusammen vorkommen, sind sie nicht ganz als Synonyma aufzufassen, sondern als einander gegenseitig bedingend."

³²The quotation is from O. Palmer Robertson, *The Christ of the Covenants* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1980), 14-15, which Hahn uses throughout his work. Hahn also uses Steven McKenzie's study on the covenant, which likewise emphasizes the familial context of covenants. See Steven L. McKenzie, *Covenant* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 2000), 11-24, in his first chapter entitled, "Family Ties: The Origins of Covenant in Israel."

³³Glueck, *Das Wort hesed*, 25, 32, and 38-39.

³⁴Ibid, 38-39. My own translation from, "Die Bundesgemeinschaft zwischen Jahwe und den Patriarchen, welche durch einen Eid befestigt war, hatte hesed zur Folge, der den Inhalt jeder berith wie jedes Gemeinschaftsverhältnisses ausmachte. חסד konnte auch selbst Gegenstand eines Eides sein. Das innere Verhältnis zwischen ברית und חסד und שבועה wird noch in der jüdischen Liturgie bezeugt im Gebet Zichronoth für den Neujahrstag....Wir lesen dort:

וקיים לנו...את הברית ואת החסד ואת השבועה אשר נשבעת לאברהם

So, the familial and loving context of ancient Near Eastern covenants does not preclude obligations, sacrifices, oath-swearing, and curses, but in fact requires them, as Hahn's discussion of three ancient Near Eastern covenant types will demonstrate.

Kinship-Type Covenants

Following Johannes Pedersen, Hahn sees the covenant as foundational for family solidarity throughout the ancient Near East.³⁵ Ancient Near Eastern Families were based on extended kinship networks at numerous levels. Following the research of a number of ancient Near Eastern scholars, Hahn isolates three types of covenants that he uses as a framework for understanding the various biblical covenants.³⁶ These three types of covenants are all based upon a kinship understanding like the one Pedersen describes. The three covenant types are: kinship, treaty, and grant. Kinship-type covenants are those where "kinship bonds are extended to bind two parties in a mutual relationship which is based upon a joint commitment under divine sanctions."³⁷ These covenants have several crucial aspects. Shared meals, for example, are very important for

חסד ist in ברית enthalten und konnte wie ברית durch eine Eid zustande gebracht werden, wie e shier wieder bewiesen wird. ברית und חסד und שבועה sind eng miteinander verwandt...."

³⁵Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, volumes 1-4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), esp. 131-132, 193, 199, 245, 258, 268-279, 308-309, 344-345, and 347.

³⁶E.g., Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel*; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*; Cross, *From Epic to Canon*; and Moshe Weinfeld, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament in the Ancient Near East," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90 (1970) : 184-203.

³⁷Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 27.

kinship-type covenants. Oath-swearing is a *sine qua non* of these covenants and indeed of covenants in general. As will be seen in the other two covenant types, oath-swearing is crucial but performed differently.

Thus, Hahn asserts the people of Israel became a part of God's family through making a covenant with God. Through a covenant, kinship bonds could be extended to those not biologically sharing kinship. Oath-swearing became the means of extending kinship through covenants, and such oath-swearing implied a form of divine sanctions. Oaths signified the means by which families were enlarged beyond those members already sharing a consanguineous relationship, and they always implied curses for failure to keep the covenant. Such curses were usually ritualized in some form of sacrificial symbolic action reinforcing the oath and implying the curse.³⁸

³⁸Ibid, 27, 27 n. 8, 32, 34-36, 38, 56, 58, 60, and 68-70; Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 56; Idem, *Swear to God*, 67-70 and 142; and Pedersen, *Israel*, 193, 199, 245, 258, 268-279, and 344-345. Following McCarthy, Hahn explains that, "while an oath may be sworn without a covenant being made, a covenant cannot be made apart from oath-swearing" ("Kinship By Covenant," 57 n. 13). Hahn is relying here upon Dennis J. McCarthy, "Twenty-Five Years of Pentateuchal Study," in *The Biblical Heritage in Modern Catholic Scholarship*, ed. John J. Collins and John Dominic Crossan, 34-57 (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1986), esp. 47; Idem, "Compact and Kingship: Stimuli for Hebrew Covenant Thinking," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays: Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5-7 December, 1979*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, 75-92 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1982), esp. 83 n. 27; and Idem, "Covenant-Relationships," in *Questions disputées d'Ancien Testament*, ed. C. Brekelmans, 91-103 (Leuven: Leuven University, 1974).

Treaty-Type Covenants

Treaty-type covenants build upon kinship-type covenants, and Hahn follows Mendenhall's comparison with Hittite suzerain-vassal treaties in his discussion of treaty-type covenants; the Hittites provide only one example of treaty-type covenants, which are found in a variety of other ancient Near Eastern contexts.³⁹ The six points involved in treaty-type

³⁹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 55; and Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel*. Characteristics present in treaty-type covenants are found throughout the ancient Near East, e.g., variations of the format are found in the Eannatum Treaty from Sumer, the Naram-Sin Treaty, a treaty from Ebla, Ur-Nammu Laws from the Third Dynasty of Ur, Lipit-Ishtar Laws, parts of Hammurabi's Laws, in documents from Alalakh, and three Sefiré Aramaic treaties. The British Egyptologist Kenneth A. Kitchen, Personal and Brunner Professor Emeritus of Egyptology and Honorary Research Fellow at the School of Archaeology, Classics, and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool, includes seven detailed summary tables of what he maintains are ancient Near Eastern parallels to the covenant patterns in Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Joshua, in K.A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003), 284-288 and 292-293. Kitchen divides the treaties into 6 categories: 1) Archaic Treaties, c. 2500-2300 B.C.E. (from the East: Eannatum/Umma and Naram-Sin/Elam; from the West: Ebla/Abarsal); 2) Early Law Codes, c. 2100-1700 B.C.E. (late 3rd millennium: Ur-Nammu of the Third Dynasty of Ur; early 2nd millennium: Lipit-Ishtar and Hammurabi of Babylon); 3) Early Treaties, c. 1800-1700 B.C.E. (several [some unpublished] treaties from Mari and Tell Leilan, as well as 2 Old Babylonian treaties); 4) Intermediate Treaties, c. 1600-1400 B.C.E. (from Northern Syria: at Alalakh; Hittite: from Anatolia and Cilicia); 5) Middle Treaties and a Covenant, c. 1400-1200 (over 31 Hittite treaties with Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt, including bilingual texts [Hittite with Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Egyptian]); and 6) Late Treaties, c. 900-650 B.C.E. (from the East: 10 Mesopotamian treaties and oath documents; from the West: 3 Sefiré treaties in Aramaic). In Kitchen's tables, he details the parallels he finds between these texts with the traditional treaty-type format. I used the following sources to access English (and in one case a German) translations of these documents: For the Eannatum Treaty, Jerrold S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions Vol. I, American Oriental Society Translation Series I (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1986), 33-39; for the Ur-Nammu Laws, J.J. Finkelstein, "The Laws of Ur-Nammu," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 22, no. 4 (1969) : 66-82; for the Lipit-Ishtar Laws, Martha Tobi Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 23-35; for Hammurabi's Laws, M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws: Texts, Translation, and Glossary* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); for the Ebla/Abarsal treaty, Edmond Sollberger, "The So-Called Treaty Between Ebla and 'Ashur,'" *Studi Eblaïti* 3 (1980) : 129-155; for the Naram-Sin Treaty, W. Hinz, "Elams Vertrag mit Narām-Sin von Akkade," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 58 (1967) : 66-69; for some of the Hittite treaties, Gary M. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); for some of the Assyrian (Mesopotamian) treaties, Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, ed. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press,

covenants as described by Mendenhall and McCarthy and adopted by Hahn are as follows:

- 1) Preamble: the suzerain is identified by the suzerain's titles and ancestry.
- 2) Historical Prologue: earlier "favours" the suzerain has granted to the vassal are listed.
- 3) Stipulations: an enumeration of various stipulations, such that the vassal is aware of the rules the vassal must follow.
- 4) Documentary Clause: provides a place for the treaty to be kept, and also provides for later periodic public readings.
- 5) Invocation of Oath by Witnesses: Witnesses, often divine, invoke an oath.
- 6) Dual Sanctions: blessings for obedience and curses for breaking the covenant, often implied by the oath.⁴⁰

Kinship language is retained in treaty-type covenants. The major difference between kinship-type and treaty-type covenants is that in the former both parties swear an oath, whereas in the latter, only the subordinate party swears an oath. Furthermore, in treaty-type covenants, the subordinate oath-swearing party follows strict stipulations not found in kinship-type covenants.⁴¹

1988); for the Sefiré treaties, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, 2nd ed., *Biblica et Orientalia*; *Sacra Scriptura antiquitatibus orientalibus illustrata*, 19 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995); and for the Egyptian treaty of Ramesses II with Hatti, K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated, Notes and Commentaries*, Volume 2: *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 79-85.

⁴⁰Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 55 n. 7; Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel*, 32-34; Dennis J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, new edition (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981), 51-53, 67-68, and 76-77; and Idem, *Old Testament Covenant*, 11-13.

⁴¹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 75.

Grant-Type Covenants

Hahn describes four primary characteristics that typify grant-type covenants in the ancient Near East:⁴²

- 1) The suzerain initiates the covenant by swearing an oath to the vassal. Although by itself not unique, what makes this oath distinct from other oaths found in different covenants is that this one obliges the suzerain to help or bless the vassal.
- 2) Only blessings are sworn on behalf of the vassal; no curses are sworn against the vassal for potential disobedience. The only curses that may be sworn are against the vassal's enemies.
- 3) The oath the suzerain swears is unconditional, i.e., the suzerain swears to bless or help the vassal no matter what happens in the future. The suzerain may also confer a special name on the vassal at this point.
- 4) The covenant extends beyond the vassal's lifetime to the vassal's descendants for an indefinite amount of time in the future. Also, as with treaty-type covenants, grant-type covenants retain the "father-son" familial language found in kinship-type covenants.⁴³

Hahn believes that the Old Testament exhibits these three ancient Near Eastern covenant types (kinship, treaty, and grant) because the Old Testament texts were written in an ancient Near Eastern cultural milieu. In that Hahn sees the New Testament building upon the Old Testament, he

⁴²Hahn's discussion of grant-type covenants is indebted to the work of Moshe Weinfeld. Especially, Weinfeld, "Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament," 184-203; and Idem, "Covenant Terminology in the Ancient Near East and Its Influence on the West," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93 (1973) : 190-199.

⁴³Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 145-149. Other scholars that Hahn uses note this tendency to use kinship language in covenants more broadly speaking, e.g., Jon D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 40. See also Hahn, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments," 269, where, contra Gary Knoppers, Hahn points out that one thing grant-type covenants certainly have in common is that, "the suzerain's oath...serves as a guarantee of the reward for loyalty." See Gary N. Knoppers, "Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants and the Davidic Covenant," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996) : 670-697.

believes the New Testament implicitly incorporates these categories as well. Hahn uses these distinctions between covenant and contract, and between the three types of covenants (kinship, treaty, and grant) as a framework for reading the biblical covenants in the Old and New Testaments.

III. Covenant in the Old Testament

Although Hahn focuses most of his writing concerning covenants on the biblical accounts of the covenants God made with Abram/Abraham and Moses, he begins some of his works with a discussion of the accounts of the covenants God made with Creation. By beginning here, Hahn is able to show how with each covenant, membership in God's family extends to more and more people.⁴⁴ God begins with a couple (Adam and Eve), extends the divine kinship relationship through covenant to a family (Noah), then to a tribe (Abraham), then to a nation (Moses), then to a kingdom (David), and finally to a worldwide international church (Jesus).⁴⁵ Each successive covenant expands the boundaries of the family of God. Hahn summarizes these extensions:

- 1) God brings Adam and Eve together in the covenant of marriage and promises to save humanity from sin.
- 2) In his covenant with Noah and his family, God promises never to destroy humanity again by a flood.

⁴⁴Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 59; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 32.

⁴⁵Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 62-64; Idem, *Swear to God*, 106-109; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 32-35; and Idem, "Scott Hahn Conversion Story."

3) In his covenant with Abraham, God promises to turn Abraham's descendents into a nation and to bless all nations through Abraham's "seed."

4) God calls Moses to save the Israelites from slavery in Egypt, and makes a covenant with them, making them his nation.

5) In his covenant with David, God promises to make David's dynasty everlasting.

6) God fulfills all of his promises and covenants in the new covenant made with Jesus, so that all nations may be united through Jesus into God's family.⁴⁶

Adam, Eve, and Creation

Hahn argues that the creation accounts in Genesis are to be understood covenantally. He finds a parallelism within the first Genesis creation account. God creates structure and order on the first three days and he creates living creatures to dwell in the structure on the last three days. In the first Genesis creation account, the seventh day was meant to be a Sabbath signifying the intimate covenant with creation.⁴⁷ Hahn explains:

This is why God gave the Sabbath to his people, and why they had to "remember" and "keep" it (see Ex 20:8); for it was the sign of the covenant between God and creation that God's people were called to mediate....our work and worship were...meant to go hand in hand.⁴⁸

In Hahn's view, God swears a covenant oath with creation in the very blessing of the Sabbath as the seventh day, and this provides the pattern that sets the model for later biblical covenants.⁴⁹ Hahn makes this

⁴⁶Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 31-32.

⁴⁷Ibid, 44-45 and 47-49.

⁴⁸Ibid, 49; and Idem, *Swear to God*, 101.

⁴⁹Idem, "Worship in the Word: Toward a Liturgical Hermeneutic," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 108 n. 20; and Idem, *Swear to God*, 65 and 102-103. In *Letter and Spirit* (60), Hahn maintains that, "The seventh day itself is God's Great Oath," following the early Jewish interpretation found, e.g., in *Sifre Deuteronomy*.

connection to covenant because of the similarity between the word seven and the word oath. The Hebrew word for seven, **שֶׁבַע**, is related to one of the most common Hebrew words for swearing an oath, **שָׁבַע**. To swear an oath, **שָׁבַע**, is literally to "seven oneself."⁵⁰

This kind of connection is typical for Hahn who believes etymological relationships and word plays based on Hebrew roots provide valuable insight into the culture's original understandings. In his book *Swear to God* Hahn mentions various passages involving the number seven and oath throughout the Old Testament. God's personal name, **יְהוָה**, only appears in the Genesis text after the seventh day of creation, which Hahn reads as God making a covenant with creation.⁵¹ Noah sacrifices seven clean animals. Abraham sacrifices seven lambs with Abimelech at Beer-sheva ("well of seven" or "well of the oath"). Jacob

⁵⁰Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 61; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 51; Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 60-61; Idem, *Swear to God*, 102; and Idem, *First Comes Love: Finding Your Family in the Church and the Trinity* (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 54-55.

⁵¹Idem, "Worship in the Word," 106-109; Idem, *First Comes Love*, 55-56; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 49 and 52-55. Since 18th century France, when King Louis XV's surgeon Jean Astruc distinguished two different authors in the Pentateuch based upon the two most common names for God, **יְהוָה** and **אֱלֹהִים**, it has become axiomatic that the reason for **יְהוָה** not being used until after the seventh day of creation is because a different author than that for the first creation account wrote the second creation account, hence one of the major reasons for distinguishing between two creation accounts. Hahn's view here does not necessarily conflict with this distinction, since he is approaching the question from a canonical perspective, and thus from the texts' final canonical form. In fact, Hahn himself is careful to use traditional source-critical designations in his academic works, although his non-academic works reveal that he takes issue with many of the traditionally held source-critical conclusions. He uses source criticism, but not source critical conclusions. See, e.g., his comments in Idem, *Scripture Matters: Essays on Reading the Bible from the Heart of the Church*, with a foreword by Bishop Donald W. Wuerl (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2003), 16, 137-158, and 162-164 n. 4, 165, 165-167 n. 7, and 177.

works for seven years (twice) to marry Laban's two daughters. Likewise, in 2 Chron. 15:11-19, seven is united with the Sabbath rest, liturgical celebration, an oath, and sacrifice.⁵²

Noah

The covenant found in the creation accounts extends in the accounts concerning Noah. Hahn sees Noah as a new Adam because Noah refounded God's "family," and Hahn believes the flood account echoes the first creation account in Genesis. Hahn therefore envisions a new creation beginning with Noah and his family.⁵³ He explains it thus:

Chosen by the Father to embody—and deliver—the remnant of the human race, Noah was called to refound God's family, like a new Adam. Interestingly, the description of God's flood-judgment is notably similar to the pattern of divine Creation in the opening chapters of Genesis. In both cases, a new world would emerge from the chaotic waters of "the deep" (see Gn 1:2; 7:11). The number "seven" also stands out prominently in both accounts. As the sign of God's "rest" at Creation, it is closely linked to Noah (whose name means "rest" or "relief," see Gn 5:29). Likewise, Noah was ordered to take seven pairs of clean animals into the ark (see Gn 7:2), which he did, before closing the door: "After seven days the waters of the flood came upon the earth" (Gn 7:10). And in the seventh month, the ark came to "rest" upon Mount Ararat (see Gn 8:4). After a long wait, Noah sent out a dove every seven days (see Gn 8:10-12), until his family was finally able to disembark. After disembarking, Adam's divine commission was repeated for Noah: "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth" (Gn 9:1). God also restored Noah to Adam's former position of dominion over the beasts (see Gn 9:2). Finally, the Father renewed the creation covenant with Noah (see Gn 9:9), revealing to him the sign of the new covenant: "I set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth" (Gn 9:13).⁵⁴

Hahn additionally sees a parallel with Gen. 3 and the account of the flood as well as with Noah's nakedness: both involve nakedness and a

⁵²Idem, *Swear to God*, 103-104. Whenever a text quoted uses underlining or bold font to show emphasis, I have changed them to italics, in this dissertation. Compare this with Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 61.

⁵³Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 84-85.

⁵⁴Ibid.

garden, or vineyard (Hahn compares Cain with Canaan).⁵⁵ The account concerning Ham's descendents depicts these descendents as the primary enemies of later Israel: Egypt, Canaan, Philistia, Assyria, and Babylon. The history of ancient Israel and its neighbors is depicted as one large family feud.⁵⁶

Following the works of Weinfeld and Meredith G. Kline, Hahn maintains that the covenant God made with Noah is a grant-type covenant.⁵⁷ Hahn isolates five characteristics of the covenant in the Noachide accounts that support this identification: 1) The covenant is based upon God's promise, symbolized by the rainbow, which Hahn sees as an implicit oath symbol. 2) God pledges blessings unconditionally. 3) God's sworn blessing implies an unconditional obligation that God will have to fulfill no matter what happens (9:11, 15). 4) Noah's descendents are explicitly included in this oath (9:9). 5) This covenant is founded on Noah's loyalty to God in the midst of a "corrupt generation" (6:1-5). Hahn

⁵⁵Ibid, 85. For his account of Ham's sin of "seeing his father's nakedness," where Hahn argues that it involves Ham's incestuous relations with his mother while Noah is drunkenly asleep, see Ibid, 85-89 and Idem, "Genesis," St. Joseph Communication, 7 audiocassette series, but especially Hahn's recent *Journal of Biblical Literature* article, where he makes his full case: John Sietze Bergsma and Scott Walker Hahn, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20-27)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124, no. 1 (Spring 2005) : 25-40.

⁵⁶Hahn, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 90; and Idem, "Genesis."

⁵⁷Weinfeld, "Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament," 186; Idem, "Gen 7:11; 8:1-2 Against the Background of Ancient Near Eastern Tradition," *Die Welt des Orients* 9 (1978) : 242-248; and Meredith G. Kline, *Kingdom Prologue*, Vol. 2 (South Hamilton, Massachusetts: Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 1985), 113-114.

further explains that this "covenant grant is explicitly passed down to the next generation in Noah's primary heir, Shem."⁵⁸

Abram/Abraham

The Genesis accounts of Abram/Abraham prove central in Hahn's argument that the covenant is the unifying theme and key to understanding Scripture. The final Abrahamic covenant in Gen. 22 becomes the main covenantal lynchpin connecting the Old and New Testaments, since the New Testament's account of Jesus' new covenant is patterned on this covenant. Hahn reads three covenants between God and Abram/Abraham in Genesis, which build upon the promises God makes to Abram in Gen. 12:1-3.

Each of the three promises links to a blessing. 1) God promises to make Abram into a great nation and to bless him. 2) God promises to make Abram's אַבְרָם (name) great, that Abram will be a blessing, and that God will bless those who bless Abram and curse those who curse Abram. 3) All the families on earth will be blessed through Abram. The three covenants found in Gen. 15, 17, and 22 build successively upon these initial promises. The kinship-type covenant in Gen. 15 incorporates the first promise from Gen. 12. The treaty-type covenant in Gen. 17 incorporates both the first and the second promises from Gen. 12. Finally, the grant-type covenant in Gen. 22 encompasses all three promises from Gen. 12.

⁵⁸Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 153. For Hahn's argument concerning Noah's covenant being a grant type, see *Ibid*, 150-153.

These Abrahamic covenants also correspond to the later Sinai, Deuteronomic, and Davidic covenants.

The first covenant God makes with Abram is in Gen. 15. This covenant is based on the first promise God made to Abram in Gen. 12—to make Abram a great nation. Although the exact phrase, גוי גדל (a great nation), from Gen. 12:2, is not in chapter 15, Hahn maintains the concept is implied. He makes his case for reading the blessing as implicit on a number of grounds, e.g.:

- 1) After Gen. 12:12, Gen. 15:14 is the next time the word גוי (nation) is used.
- 2) This covenant involves numerous descendents and land, both of which are necessary to be a nation.
- 3) Much of Gen. 15's theophany has to do with later Israel's time in Egypt and the exodus, when Israel becomes גוי גדל (Gen. 46:3; Deut. 26:6).

Hahn identifies this covenant as a kinship-type covenant because both Abram and God swear an oath implied in the sacrificial animal. Abram's division of the animal represents his oath, whereas the fire passing through the divided animal represents God's oath. Three promises were made to Abram in Gen. 12. Yet here, only the first promise is reaffirmed. In other words, neither the magnifying of Abram's name, nor the mention of blessing all nations through Abram, are mentioned, but only the first promise regarding land.

The next covenant in Gen. 17 includes the promise of nationhood—land, descendents, etc.—(as in Gen. 15), but it also includes the promise

of a "great name," i.e., it incorporates the first two promises in Gen. 12. Gen. 17's covenant expands upon Gen. 15's covenant in the following ways:

- 1) After Gen. 12:2, Gen. 17:5 is the next time where שִׁמְךָ (your name) is present.
- 2) Both Abram's and Sarai's names are changed in Gen. 17. Moreover, their name changes play an important role in this chapter.
- 3) The promise that kings will be among Abraham's descendents (Gen. 17:6 and 16), is part of the promise that God will make Abram's name "great."

This covenant is an example of the treaty-type. Whereas in Gen. 15, both God and Abram had to swear an oath, in Gen. 17, only Abraham swears an oath, which is here symbolically ritualized in circumcision. According to Hahn, Abraham has been demoted to a treaty-type covenant because he slept with Hagar.⁵⁹

Gen. 22 contains the final covenant oath God swears to Abraham. Although divine oaths are found throughout the Pentateuch (e.g., Deut. 32:40 and Num. 14:28), בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי, "I swear by myself," only occurs in Gen. 22:15-18. Oath-swearing to the patriarchs, involving שָׁבַע, is found in numerous passages (e.g., Gen. 24:7; 26:3; 50:24; Exod. 14:5; and more than 25 times in Deuteronomy), but only in Gen. 22:15-18 does God swear an oath to any of the patriarchs.

⁵⁹Treaty-type covenants involve more stipulations than kinship-type covenants, and whereas in kinship-type covenants both parties mutually swear oaths, in treaty-type covenants, only the vassal is required to swear an oath of fidelity to the suzerain.

The promises in the final covenant God swears to Abraham (Gen. 22:17-18) involve the first two promises from Gen. 12, which were successively incorporated into the two previous covenants (Gen. 15 and 17). This ultimate covenant additionally includes the final promise of Gen. 12 of blessing all nations through Abram.⁶⁰

Furthermore, this covenant between God and Abraham at the Aqedah, the "binding" of Isaac in Gen. 22, is a grant-type covenant. Hahn maintains this identification for six major reasons:

- 1) In Gen. 22:16-18 the suzerain's oath occurs at the climax of the Abrahamic narrative, when God swears an oath to Abraham on account of the latter's faithful obedience. God says to Abraham, "I swear by myself..." (Gen. 22:16), in Hebrew, *בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי*.
- 2) The suzerain (God) blesses the vassal (Abraham) and curses the latter's enemies with a five-fold repetition of the word for blessing, *בֵּרַכְהָ* (Gen. 12:1-3 and 22:16-18).
- 3) God also unconditionally binds himself to the manifold promissory oath (progeny, land, "name" or dynasty, etc.).
- 4) The covenant also applies to Abraham's descendants.
- 5) The covenant includes God making Abraham's name great.
- 6) Finally, numerous references to Abraham's virtues are present (Gen. 15:6, 18:19, 22:32; 20:7; 22:16; and 26:5).⁶¹

With Abraham, this final grant-type covenant is at first anticipated with promises that are conditional, and these promises are symbolized by circumcision in the second covenant in Gen. 17. Hahn connects the

⁶⁰Scott W. Hahn, "The Threefold Covenant with Abraham: A Canonical Reading of the Covenant Structure of Genesis 12-22," unpublished paper, the contents of which will be included in the revised book form of his dissertation in the Anchor Bible series (Idem, e-mail to the author, September 15, 2005, number 1).

⁶¹Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 168-170, 183 and 185; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 94.

Abrahamic narratives with the earlier Noachide narratives because, "...God's conditional offer of the covenant grant under a sign all of which is revealed before Abraham complies with the terms of the grant-type covenant that God promises to ratify (i.e., by means of his covenant oath in Gen. 22:16-18)."⁶² On account of their obedience, both Noah and Abraham are rewarded with an official, unconditional, grant-type covenant. The Aqedah is the final climax in the Abrahamic narratives in Gen. 12-22, which Hahn labels, "a momentous turning point in salvation history, shaping all of God's future dealings with Israel and the nations."⁶³

Hahn maintains that the Aqedah in Gen. 22 may be viewed as the climax of a long history of divine covenants, where a final test of "obedient faith" is placed before Abraham. Such a test—אִם—is often involved in the context of covenants.⁶⁴ Examining the Aqedah in the context of an אִם, Hahn reemphasizes the central role of oath-swearing in covenants for the purpose of highlighting an aspect of the Aqedah account: "covenant oaths always entail both blessing and curses. The oath-swearer necessarily calls a curse down upon himself in his pledge. This self-curse may be expressed in the verbal declaration or the ritual

⁶²Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 188-189; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 95.

⁶³Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 190-191.

⁶⁴Ibid, 192-193.

enactment. If it is not verbalized, then it is typically ritualized."⁶⁵ Turning to the Aqedah in search of the ritual enactment of God's self-maledictory curse, implied in God's swearing by himself, Hahn claims:

Seeing how there is no ritual act except for Abraham's sacrificial offering of Isaac, it seems appropriate to look there for any sign of self-malediction....the symbolic gesture of a faithful father offering his only beloved son as a holocaust atop Moriah...in direct connection with God's sworn oath to bless all the nations through Abraham's seed. Thus, it seems reasonable to...[view] the Aqedah as the ritual enactment of the curse of God's covenant oath....it symbolically displays God's conditional self-malediction through the action of Abraham and Isaac....God now binds himself by oath to bless all the nations through Abraham's seed....if God has truly sworn an oath, then he has placed himself under a curse, or he has done nothing....The net effect of God's self-maledictory oath, then, is that God has now assumed sole and complete responsibility to bless the nations through Abraham's seed, even if that means bearing the curse for its non-fulfillment, if that ever became necessary....⁶⁶

In way of anticipation, Hahn explains that the later Deuteronomic covenant will place Israel under curses for disobedience. Nevertheless, God has promised with Abraham to bless Israel even if God has to bear

⁶⁵Ibid, 201. See Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death: Διαθήκη in Heb 9:15-22," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, ed. Gabriella Gelardini, 65-88, Biblical Interpretation Series Volume 75, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Ellen van Wolde, with a foreword by Harold W. Attridge (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 78-79, for Hahn's discussion of biblical and ancient Near Eastern ritual enactments of covenant curses.

⁶⁶Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 201-202. See also, Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 106-110. Although this discussion of oath-swearing and curses appears merely forensic, Hahn maintains that it is familial. He argues that if it were merely juridical and forensic, then the relationship between God and Abraham (and later the people of Israel) would be reduced to a continual exchange of goods and services, blessings and curses. Hahn claims that this is not the case. Rather, Abraham (and later the people of Israel) is actually adopted into God's family, and the covenant—the oath and sacrifice—is the mechanism which brings them into God's family. With the grant-type covenant, Abraham's (and later Israel's, and then the Gentiles' with Jesus) membership in God's family is no longer contingent on their obedience to covenantal stipulations, but rather is guaranteed by Jesus' death and resurrection, and by sacramental participation in these covenantal/sacrificial events.

the curse sworn to Abraham in order to fulfill his promise. Isaac's Aqedah is the "ritual pre-enactment" of God's self-maledictory covenant oath.⁶⁷

Moses

Hahn maintains that Exodus and Deuteronomy portray two distinct covenants. As with the account of God's first covenant with Abram in Gen. 15, the covenant God makes with the people of Israel in Exod. 24 is a kinship-type covenant. With the account of the golden calf, and the later account of Baal Peor, the Israelites are demoted to a treaty-type covenant. This treaty-type covenant is the Deuteronomic covenant forged on the plains of Moab and renewed in the Book of Joshua with circumcision. Hence both treaty-type covenants, namely that of Abram in Gen. 17 and the Deuteronomic covenant, involve the sign of circumcision. Hahn's canonical reading allows him to envision these Abrahamic and Mosaic covenants as connected and related.

Hahn's discussion of the covenant at Sinai in Exodus begins with a consideration of the covenantal ritual followed by Moses' reception of the law on Mount Sinai. Following the work of Thomas Dozeman, Hahn examines this passage using narrative analysis, wherein he detects five distinct elements in the text: introduction, preparation, purification, theophany, and sacrificial ritual.⁶⁸ Both Dozeman and Hahn view the

⁶⁷Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 202-203.

⁶⁸Thomas B. Dozeman, *God on the Mountain: A Study of Redaction, Theology, and Canon in Exodus 19-24* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 1-17, 25, and 58.

sacrificial ritual as the means by which Israel sealed the covenant. Hahn concludes that the animal sacrifices and blood sprinkling illuminate the manner in which the covenant was sealed; this sprinkling is representative of oath-swearing. Hahn maintains that, "a distinctively covenantal meaning is discernible here, which may be illumined by a canonical reading of the Exodus narrative in the light of its Pentateuchal setting and later interpretive traditions."⁶⁹ At the very climax of this covenant the Israelites share a meal (Exod. 24:11). This shared meal occurs right after the blood sprinkling (Exod. 24:8).⁷⁰

Hahn furthermore believes this Sinai covenant in Exodus is tied to the initial covenant God made with Abram in Genesis for the following reasons:

- 1) What God declared in Gen. 15:7—"I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans"—is similar to Exod. 20:2—"I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt."
- 2) Both covenants, in Gen. 15 and at Sinai, deal with the issue of nationhood.
- 3) The verses which lead up to Gen. 15:17-21—the ritual involved in making the covenant—have to do with Israel's later slavery in Egypt and the exodus. The verses that lead up to Exod. 19-24—the ritual involved in making the Sinai covenant—likewise discuss Israel's slavery in Egypt and the exodus.
- 4) The theophany in Gen. 15:12-17 contains similar elements to the theophany in Exod. 19-24. In fact, Gen. 15:12-17 and Exod. 19-24 are the only two instances in the entire Bible with theophanies involving all of the following elements: darkness, smoke, torches, and fire.

⁶⁹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 44.

⁷⁰Ibid, 41-44; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 145, 147, and 149-150.

5) the animals Abram is commanded to sacrifice (heifer, she-goat, ram, turtledove, pigeon) are all listed as "clean" animals in Lev. 3:1, 6; 5:7; 9:3-4, and in the same general order.

6) the boundaries of the land in Gen. 15:18 are nearly the exact same as God promises in Exod. 23:31.⁷¹

The initial covenant forged at Sinai in Exodus is a kinship-type covenant. God becomes Israel's father and Israel becomes God's first-born son. This text resembles Gen. 15's account of Abram's first covenant in that both texts use covenantal kinship language.⁷² As Hahn writes, "Exodus depicts God offering to restore a father-son relationship with Israel, on the condition that they hear his voice and keep his covenant."⁷³ The golden calf incident ruptures this relationship with יְהוָה. Following this incident, God now refers to Israel as "your" people, as opposed to "my" people (Exod. 32:7). This is a result of Israel failing to keep the covenant that they so recently swore with their blood sprinkling and shared meal.⁷⁴

The Golden Calf and Covenant Renewal: Covenant Demotion

Israel is called to be a "kingdom of priests." After the golden calf, however, the expression "kingdom of priests" is never again applied to Israel in the Old Testament. The sacrificial animals in Exod. 24 represent the curses Israel called down upon itself in the Sinai covenant. Moses' implementation of covenant renewal places the Levites in a position of

⁷¹Idem, "The Threefold Covenant with Abraham."

⁷²Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 52-53.

⁷³Ibid, 224.

⁷⁴Ibid, 228 and 232; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 153.

mediation. In Exod. 32 the Levites hearken to Moses' side to enact the covenant curses, killing around 3,000 fellow Israelites by the sword. This is followed by other measures taken for the new covenant renewal program, including the construction of the tabernacle.⁷⁵

Following Kline and McCarthy, Hahn reads the Deuteronomic covenant as a treaty-type covenant.⁷⁶ The Deuteronomic covenant contains all the parts of a treaty-type covenant:

- 1) Preamble: Deut. 1:1-5.
- 2) Historical Prologue: Deut. 1:6-4:49.
- 3) Stipulations: Deut. 5-26.
- 4) Blessings and Curses: Deut. 27-30.
- 5) Arrangements for the Covenant to be Maintained, Provisions for Public Readings, and the Invocation of Witnesses: Deut. 31-34.⁷⁷

Hahn concludes that Exodus and Deuteronomy are "complementary records" of two distinct covenants; the covenant in Exodus was forged at Sinai, whereas the covenant in Deuteronomy was made forty years later on the plains of Moab.⁷⁸ Exod. 19-24 omits any reference to blessings or curses, which are not typically found in kinship-type covenants. Both blessings and curses, however, are central to Deuteronomy which marks the Deuteronomic covenant as a treaty-type covenant.⁷⁹

⁷⁵Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 232-235, 237, 240-241, and 289-290; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 157, and 160-163.

⁷⁶Meredith G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1963), 27-44; McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 157-187; and Idem, *Old Testament Covenant*, 28.

⁷⁷Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 84-85 and 119-120.

⁷⁸Ibid, 89.

⁷⁹Ibid, 89 n. 95.

The Deuteronomic covenant is similar to God's second covenant with Abram in Gen. 17.

1) Gen. 17:1 begins with God's command that Abram "walk before" God, which is a refrain found in Deuteronomy, to walk in the ways of the Lord, e.g., Deut. 5:33; 6:7; 8:2, 6; 10:12; 11:22; 13:4-5; 19:9; 26:17; 28:9; 30:16.

2) Gen. 17:6 is the first indication that Abram will have kings among his descendents. In a similar way, Deut. 17:14-20 is the first place in the Pentateuch where there are provisions for a king.

3) Gen. 17:4-6, 16 begins to show a "multinational perspective." Deuteronomy also brings forth a multinational element to Israel (15:6; 26:19; 28:12-13).

4) Both Deuteronomy and Gen. 17 are treaty-type covenants.

5) Circumcision is important for covenant ratification in both Gen. 17:22-27 and before the Deuteronomic covenant is ratified in Josh. 8:30-35.

6) A sexual element connects the two covenants as well. Between the covenants in Gen. 15 and 17 Abram sleeps with Hagar, and between the covenants at Sinai and Moab (Deuteronomy) Israelites engage in promiscuity (Exod. 32:6 and again in Num. 25) with Baal-Peor.⁸⁰

Ezekiel and the Laws that Were "Not Good"

Because he reads these texts canonically, Hahn is able to read Exodus and Deuteronomy in light of Ezekiel. In a recent *Journal of Biblical Literature* article, Hahn and John Bergsma examine Ezek. 20:25-26, arguing that the laws Ezekiel claims are "not good" pertain to the Deuteronomic Covenant. They maintain that Ezek. 20:18-26 refers to the second generation of Israel in the wilderness (Num. 25 through the end of Deuteronomy), because Num. 25 occurs with the second census, namely the census of the second generation, in Num. 26; Num. 31 indicates that

⁸⁰Idem, "The Threefold Covenant with Abraham."

the second generation is being referred to here.⁸¹ Baal-Peor (Num. 25) is to the second generation what the golden calf was to the first.

Deut. 32:40 states that God will honor all of his promises. Although Lev. 26:33 mentions the possibility of scattering, only this passage in Deuteronomy guarantees that Israel will be scattered. Hahn and Bergsma furthermore see clues to Ezekiel's interpretation of Deuteronomy in the Hebrew words used in both texts. The Hebrew word used for scattering in Ezek. 20:23 is **הפיץ**, which is the hiphil form of **פָּיַץ**, and is the same word that is found in Deut. 4:27, 28:64, and 30:3. The word used in Lev. 26:33, and elsewhere in the Holiness Code, derives from the Hebrew word **זָרָה**. Although Ezekiel uses both terms, and may have both covenant curses in mind, Ezekiel is referring here specifically to the Deuteronomic code.

When describing the laws which are "not good" Ezek. 20:25 uses **חֻקִּים**, the masculine plural. Every other instance where Ezekiel discusses God's laws contains the form **חֻקֹּת**, the feminine plural. The masculine form is found at the introduction of the Deuteronomic code (Deut. 12-26) in Deut. 11:32 and 12:1. Masculine forms of this term are found throughout Deuteronomy.⁸² The masculine form is found twice as many times as the feminine form in Deuteronomy.⁸³ Leviticus, however, only uses the

⁸¹The second generation is responsible for taking vengeance on the Midianites.

⁸²E.g., Deut. 4:1, 6, 40, 45; 5:28; 6:1, 20, 24; 7:11; 16:12; 17:11, 19; 26:12, 16, 17; and 27:10.

⁸³Deut. 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15, 45; 30:10, and 16.

masculine form in two verses (10:11 and 26:46), employing the feminine form in eleven places.⁸⁴

Hahn and Bergsma point to a wordplay based on Deut. 12 in Ezek. 20:27-29. This Ezekiel passage uses the Hebrew word שָׁם , "there," five separate times. This same word occurs seven times in Deut. 12. שָׁם is used in Deut. 12 to underscore that it was "there" in the central sanctuary that the Israelites were to offer sacrifice. In contrast to Deuteronomy's usage, Ezek. 20:28, which employs שָׁם four times, criticizes Israel for offering sacrifices "there" on hilltops and groves, as opposed to the central sanctuary. Furthermore, Ezekiel 20:23-26 "is sandwiched between the rebellion of the second generation [20:21-22] in the wilderness...and the entrance into the land [20:27-29]...." They maintain that Deuteronomic language influenced Ezekiel, and they mention significant differences between Deuteronomic laws and those found in P, the Priestly Source, e.g., the former's sanctioning divorce and extermination of a land's inhabitants.

Finally, one of the most significant differences between D, the Deuteronomist, and P, according to Hahn and Bergsma, is that D treats the blood of sacrificial animals and other ritualistic practices, with less care and concern than P. It is not simply that the Deuteronomic code has lowered the bar, as it were, but rather, it has sanctioned practices which

⁸⁴Lev. 18:4-5, 26; 19:19, 37; 20:8, 22; 25:18; 26:3, 15, and 43.

are seen as defiling. In other words, Deuteronomy actually goes against Levitical regulations, revealing the people's weakness and disobedience.

Hahn and Bergsma conclude that:

The logic of Ezek 20:25-26 now becomes apparent. Ezekiel refers to the Deuteronomic code as "not good laws" and "rules by which they could not live," because, on the one hand, they degraded the pristine Priestly standards and, on the other, they were interwoven with predictions of human disobedience and inevitable divine judgment.⁸⁵

Thus, Hahn distinguishes between two Mosaic covenants in the texts of Exodus and Deuteronomy. The kinship-type covenant at Sinai in Exodus corresponds to the first kinship-type covenant between God and Abram in Gen. 15, while the treaty-type covenant in Deuteronomy corresponds to the second treaty-type covenant between God and Abram in Gen. 17.

David

The last covenant parallel to an Abrahamic covenant is God's covenant with David, which, like the final Abrahamic covenant in Gen. 22, is a grant-type covenant. Once again, Hahn's canonical reading enables him to make a connection between the Davidic covenant and the previous covenants with Israel in the Old Testament. Hahn reads diverse texts concerning David as one complete canonical whole, e.g., the Psalms, 2 Samuel, and 2 Chronicles, and he addresses the Davidic texts in light of how they will be later interpreted in Hebrews 1-9. The

⁸⁵Scott Walker Hahn and John Sietze Bergsma, "What Laws Were 'Not Good'? A Canonical Approach to the Theological Problem of Ezekiel 20:25-26," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123, no. 2 (Summer 2004) : 217. For this entire discussion, See Ibid, 201-218, esp. 202, 204-217, and 205 n. 16.

Davidic covenant is forged by an oath that God swears. God promises to elevate the "son of David" as God's own "firstborn son" (Psalm 89:27), and make him a royal-priest, according to "the order of Melchizedek" (Psalm 110:4).⁸⁶

Hahn detects five major characteristics of the Davidic covenant which lead him to identify it as a grant-type covenant.

- 1) God swears a divine oath to David (e.g., Psalms 89:3-4; 110:4; and 132:11)—נשבעתי לדוד עבדי.
- 2) God's curses in this covenant are only directed against David's foes, and the foes of the Davidic dynasty, whereas God swears only to bless David (e.g., Psalms 2:7-9; 89:20-23; 110:4-6; 132:18; 2 Sam. 22:18-19, 38-46; and 23:5-7).
- 3) God's oath of blessing is unconditional for David, meaning that God takes upon himself all of the covenant obligations (e.g., 2 Sam. 7:9, 11-12, 16; Psalms 89:24-29, and 33-37).
- 4) The obligations which God undertakes extend beyond David to his dynastic descendants in the future (e.g., Psalms 89:4; 110:4; and 2 Sam. 7:12-16).
- 5) The divine covenant's very basis is David's virtue and loyalty to God (e.g., 2 Sam. 22:21-26).⁸⁷

Although this unconditional grant-type covenant is now in place,

Hahn maintains that:

Because the Davidic covenant is not separate from or opposed to the Mosaic covenant, the conditions and curses of the latter still apply in some manner to the recipient of the former....the vassal-son was rewarded for loyal and obedient service which is then presumed to remain in force as abiding obligation for him and his "seed" as future beneficiaries.⁸⁸

Thus, in Hahn's canonical reading of these diverse texts, God promises a future blessing for biblical Israel, although they are still subject to the

⁸⁶Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 294.

⁸⁷Ibid, 307-309.

⁸⁸Ibid, 308 n. 4.

Deuteronomic covenant curses for disobedience to the Deuteronomic covenant.

Hahn proceeds to show similarities between God's covenant made with Abraham in Gen. 22, and God's covenant with David.

- 1) Both are grant-type covenants involving divine oaths for the blessing of all nations through their "seed."
- 2) The three promises involved in the final Abrahamic covenant in Gen. 22 were land, kingship or dynasty implied in making his $\square\psi$ great, and international blessing. The Davidic covenant provisionally fulfills these promises. 1. The Israelites under David and Solomon possess the land promised to Abraham. 2. To magnify one's $\square\psi$, one's name or renown, involves future heirs in dynastic succession. Finally, 3. the fact that the Temple of Solomon included a section for Gentiles, for the "Nations," represented a limited form of international blessing.
- 3) Both Abraham and David are depicted as archetypal "father-figures," with their sons getting grant-type covenants on account of Abraham's and David's faithful obedience (both linked with Jerusalem).
- 4) Abraham and David are the only Old Testament testimonies to Melchizedek's royal priesthood.⁸⁹
- 5) Both covenants take place on Zion (2 Chron. 3:1).
- 6) Abraham's seed was to be a blessing to the Gentiles. The Solomonic Temple was created with Gentiles in mind (1 Kings 8:41-43)—and the Temple had an outer court for Gentile worshippers.

As has been discussed, Hahn's canonical reading enables him to see the covenant as the unifying theme to the Old Testament. Beginning with the creation accounts in the earliest chapters of Genesis, Hahn sees the concept of covenant implied in the first creation account with God's rest on the seventh day, sealing God's covenant with creation. God's

⁸⁹Ibid, 357-358; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 210-213.

covenant family expands from a couple, Adam and Eve, to a family with God's grant-type covenant with Noah.

This covenant family expands to encompass a tribe with three covenants between God and Abram/Abraham: a kinship-type covenant in Gen. 15, a treaty-type covenant in Gen. 17, and a grant-type covenant in Gen. 22. Hahn connects these covenants with three later covenants with Israel: a kinship-type covenant made with Moses and the Israelites in Exod. 24; a treaty-type covenant made with Israel in Deuteronomy; and a grant-type covenant made with the Kingdom of David in diverse Davidic Old Testament texts.

IV. The New Covenant in the New Testament

Hahn believes that covenant also links the Old Testament with the New Testament, as God's covenant expands from an international kingdom with David and the Davidic line, to a universal church with Jesus. Hahn sees Jesus, especially as depicted in Galatians and Hebrews, fulfilling two Old Testament covenants: the final grant-type covenant with Abraham in Gen. 22 and the grant-type covenant with David in the Davidic texts. Jesus cancels the covenant curses from the treaty-type covenant with Israel in Deuteronomy, and through his death blesses all the nations, as was initially promised to Abram in Gen. 12 and renewed in Gen. 22. Hahn examines this new covenant in his academic work primarily using Galatians and Heb. 1-9.

This section therefore will hone in on those two passages, following Hahn's exegesis. In both places, Hahn argues that διαθήκη should be understood as "covenant," rather than "testament," and therefore enables readers to understand precisely how Jesus fulfilled the old covenants in his death on the cross.⁹⁰ Hahn maintains that this is not an atonement theory. Rather, his discussion points to the connection between covenants that bring people into relation with God by means of their sacrifices.⁹¹ The manner in which Jesus fulfills the old covenant is by taking the covenant curses upon himself. Specifically, Hahn identifies the covenant curse ritually pre-enacted in Gen. 22, where a father, Abraham, took his only begotten first born son to sacrifice him on Mt. Moriah, Jerusalem. Similarly, God the Father sacrifices Jesus, his only begotten first born son, atop Golgotha/Calvary, Mt. Moriah in Jerusalem. This fulfills

⁹⁰See his useful summaries of these positions in his recent article, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments," 283-285; and also the summary of his recent essay also pertaining to Heb. 9:15-22 in the context of the Aqedah, in Gabriella Gelardini, introduction to *Hebrews*, 3-4.

⁹¹On the familial rather than the juridical context of Jesus' sacrifice, see especially Hahn, *Lord, Have Mercy*, where he shows the non-juridical familial nature of Jesus' sacrifice, of redemption, and of reconciliation. See esp. pp. 2-39 and 58-144. E.g., on the issue of judgment, Hahn writes, "...God does not preside in our lives like a magistrate in a court. He judges as a father judges, with love. That's a double-edged sword, of course, because fathers will demand more from their children than a judge will demand from the accused; but fathers will also show greater mercy" (10). Writing further, Hahn explains that Jesus "was not our penal substitute," because if he had been we would no longer suffer and die. "He was, rather, our legal representative," and thus his death "endows our suffering with divine power and redemptive value" (99). On the same page Hahn explains how this has to do with the family law of the household, not with the criminal law of the legal courts. Jesus' death not only saves us, it empowers us: "Christians are saved not only from sin, but for sonship—divine sonship in Christ....We are indeed forgiven by God's grace, but not merely forgiven; we are adopted and divinized" (102).

God's promise to Abram/Abraham in Gen. 12 and 22; all nations are blessed through Jesus, who is a descendant of Abraham.

Jesus and the Aqedah in Galatians

The Abrahamic narrative's connection to Jesus is central for Paul's arguments in Galatians. Following Carol Kern Stockhausen, Hahn notes that a number of terms that drive Paul's arguments are derived from the Genesis accounts of Abram/Abraham; words such as seed, righteousness, covenant, circumcision, etc., feature prominently in the Abrahamic narratives.⁹² Paul's use of Genesis texts in Galatians furthermore is contextual in that he uses the "larger narrative context" of the passages cited to make his case.⁹³

Paul draws upon central events in Abram's/Abraham's life as well as central events from Israel's history in general, especially the exodus, wilderness, and exile, to make his argument; Hahn calls this line of argumentation, Paul's "salvation-historical orientation."⁹⁴ Paul relates these various texts concerning Israelite history to one another and engages in a typological interpretation of texts. Paul argues teleologically in the sense that one needs to understand earlier parts of Galatians in the light of later portions.⁹⁵ For example, in Gal. 3:16, τῷ σπέρματί (the seed) is

⁹²Carol Kern Stockhausen, "2 Corinthians 3 and the Principles of Pauline Exegesis," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. C.A. Evans and J.A. Sanders, 143-164 (Sheffield: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Press, 1993), 143-164.

⁹³Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 389-390.

⁹⁴Ibid, 391.

⁹⁵Ibid, 391-392 and 394-395.

one. In Gal. 4:21-31 Paul explains why Ishmael is excluded from "the seed" although he was biologically Abraham's seed and had been circumcised. Paul explains that Ishmael was already expelled by the time God made this promise in Gen. 22.⁹⁶ Hahn examines Paul's argument in detail to show the importance of covenant for Paul in Galatians.

In doing this, Hahn follows a modified form of Hans Dieter Betz's analysis of Galatians as an apologetic letter.⁹⁷ Betz views Galatians in a Hellenistic epistolary grid, including *prescript*, *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *probatio*, *exhortatio*, and *conclusio*.⁹⁸ Hahn's examination focuses on the *probatio*. Hahn modifies Betz' proposal regarding where the *probatio* begins. Hahn follows Betz in seeing the *probatio* end in 4:31, but, whereas Betz argues that it begins in 3:1, Hahn maintains that the *probatio* begins in 3:6, with a climax in 4:21-31.

Though adopting some of Betz' analysis, Hahn agrees with Earl Muller's critique of Betz, namely that Betz slavishly follows the Hellenistic model and neglects important Jewish patterns.⁹⁹ Hahn and Muller extend Betz's suggestion regarding Paul's *propositio* from Gal. 2:15-21 to include

⁹⁶Ibid, 395 n. 48.

⁹⁷Hans Dieter Betz, *Galatians*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979).

⁹⁸Ibid, 14-25; and Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 395-396 and 396 n. 50. 1) Gal. 1:1-5 represents the *prescript*; 2) Gal. 1:6-11 represents the *exordium*; 3) Gal. 1:12-2:14 represents the *narratio*; 4) Gal. 2:15-21 represents the *propositio*; 5) Gal. 3:1-4:31 represents the *probatio*; 6) Gal. 5:1-6:10 represents the *exhortatio*; and 7) Gal. 6:11-18 represents the *conclusio*.

⁹⁹Earl C. Muller, *Trinity and Marriage in Paul: The Establishment of a Communitarian Analogy of the Trinity Grounded in the Theological Shape of Pauline Thought* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 82-83, 395 n. 103, and 416 n. 199. Muller was Hahn's dissertation advisor at Marquette.

3:1-5, which Hahn sees as consisting of five separate rhetorical questions, highlighting the distinction between "hearing with faith" and "works of the law."¹⁰⁰ Hahn thus finds a chiasmic structure in Gal. 3-4:

3:3-9	sons of Abraham	
3:10-13	curse of the law: under the law	
3:14	summary	
3:15-21a		one seed of Abraham, why the law
3:21b-25		"under"
3:26-29		sons of God sons of Abraham
4:1-4a		"under"
4:4b-6		sons of God, why the law
4:7	summary	
4:8-20	curse of the law: in bondage to elements	
4:21-31	sons of Abraham ¹⁰¹	

This chiasmic structure throws emphasis on "divine sonship" as "the center and unifying theme of Galatians, which reflects the fulfillment of God's promise and covenant oath regarding the blessing and inheritance of the 'seed' of Abraham."¹⁰²

Paul begins his *probatio* by citing two passages of the Abrahamic narrative, Gen. 12:3 and 15:6.¹⁰³ Hahn explains the difficulty thus:

Having just declared his militant opposition to circumcision in the *propositio* (Gal. 2:15-21; 3:1-5), Paul must respond to an easily anticipated (but not so easily answered) objection: Granted Abram is justified by faith in Gen. 15:6, he still had to be circumcised in Genesis 17: so all his "sons" should be.¹⁰⁴

This problem contrasts with the one implied in Rom. 4, where Paul seems to think that just showing that Abram was justified before he was circumcised is sufficient to make his point. The Judaizers to whom Paul was responding

¹⁰⁰Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 396-397 and 396 n. 50 and 52.

¹⁰¹Ibid, 397.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³Ibid, 398.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

in Rom. 4 simply thought one needed to be circumcised in order to be justified. In Galatians, however, it appears that the Judaizers concede the point that Abraham was justified by faith—at least this point is insufficient for Paul's argument. Paul must also show why Abraham was circumcised even though he was already justified, since the fact that he was circumcised appears to support Gentiles being circumcised as well.¹⁰⁵ This is where Hahn believes the centrality of covenant in Paul becomes apparent.

The Aqedah as the Gospel

In Galatians, Paul shifts his focus back to the Abraham text, referring to a covenant in Gal. 3:15-17. Hahn argues that this covenant is God's final covenant with Abraham in Gen. 22:16-18, where God swears an oath by himself, taking upon himself the potential covenant curse in order to bless all the nations through Abraham's "seed." The implied Judaizers appear to Hahn to be pushing the covenant forward from the initial covenant of Gen. 15 to that in 17. Instead of returning back to Gen. 15, the initial covenant, Paul goes even further forward, pushing the covenant up to Gen. 22.

Paul thus concedes the method of the Judaizers, in the sense of seeing the Abrahamic covenant as a "forward-moving covenant." Yet Paul shows how the climax of this forward motion is not the second

¹⁰⁵Ibid, 399 n. 55.

covenant found in Gen. 17, but rather the final covenant in Gen. 22 which transcends the covenant in Gen. 17, just as Gen. 17's second covenant transcends the first covenant in Gen. 15.¹⁰⁶ Hahn writes:

we do well to relate the climax of Genesis 12-22 to the Aqedah and the divine oath, since Paul seems intent on using that text to clarify how Christ's death represents the fulfillment of God's covenant plan, precisely as a curse-bearing sacrifice like the one pre-enacted by Abraham and Isaac at the Aqedah, and also to show how the Deuteronomic covenant curses are assumed and exhaustively fulfilled (Deut. 21:23; Gal. 3:13).¹⁰⁷

Paul provides the basis here for his later argument in 3:10-14, by claiming that it was Abraham's fidelity that led to the covenant oath which entrusted the world's salvation to God's fidelity.¹⁰⁸

Hahn has argued that Gen. 12:2-3 included three divine promises to Abram. These three promises were later turned into three different covenants (Gen. 15, 17, and 22). Paul is focusing on the third and final covenant with Abraham (Gen. 22). Hahn maintains that for Paul the Aqedah is the gospel.¹⁰⁹ Hahn even has a subsection heading with the title, "Gal. 3:6-9. God's Promissory Oath to Abraham as 'The Gospel.'"¹¹⁰

Hahn summarizes what he reads as Paul's typological vision:

Paul combines the following principles in Gal. 3:10-14: the promissory/fiduciary (Gen. 12:3; 15:6; Lev. 18:5); the legal/maledictory (Gen. 17:1-21; Dt. 27:26); the benedictory/sacramental (Gen. 22:16-18; Hab. 2:4; Joel 2:28). First, God promises life to Abraham and Israel. (Note how the law promises life in Lev. 18:5; it simply cannot impart the power

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 400-402.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 403 n. 60.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.* Hahn follows Richard Hays on this point. See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 108; and *Idem*, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:4:11* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 204.

¹⁰⁹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 403-404 and 403 n. 60.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 398.

needed to keep that law and attain the life.) Second, God manifests judgment against sin by covenant-oaths with symbolic/explicit curses. (Note that the circumcision covenant comes in the midst of the story of Abram taking Hagar who then bears Ishmael in Gen. 16-17; and how Paul associates this in Gal. 4:21-31 with the most negatively charged notions: flesh, slavery, persecution, disinheritance etc.) Third, God pledges to fulfill his oath to bless the Gentiles (Gen. 22:16-18); by imparting the gift of righteousness via faithfulness (Hab. 2:4) in the power of the Spirit (Joel 2:28). Thus, once again, we suggest that Paul sees the Deuteronomic covenant as somehow foreshadowed or pre-enacted in Abraham's life through the covenant of circumcision. Paul sees both, in turn, being assumed, exhausted, and fulfilled by Christ through his curse-bearing death which sealed the New Covenant according to the divine oath symbolically pre-enacted and foreshadowed in the Aqedah.¹¹¹

Paul and Ezekiel

Hahn argues that Paul makes the same distinction between the Sinai and Deuteronomic covenants that Ezekiel makes. Ezekiel is the only prophet who uses Lev. 18:5 and he does so more than once (20:11, 13, 21). Ezekiel contrasts the law of Leviticus with Deuteronomy (Ezek. 20:25-26). Both Paul and Ezekiel believe Deuteronomy guarantees Israel's exile, but they both also see the promise of a future restoration, which for Paul is in Jesus.¹¹² Hahn thinks that Ezekiel might have influenced Paul's thinking and therefore Paul makes the same distinction between the covenants at Sinai and Moab. Hahn also detects this view in Dan. 9:3-19; thus with Ezekiel and Daniel, he claims to find a tradition of interpretation forming in ancient Israel.¹¹³

Paul's use of Deut. 27:26 comes at the climax of a list of curses which the Israelites self-impose. These curses are found at the end of a

¹¹¹Ibid, 404 n. 61.

¹¹²Ibid, 405-406 and 406 n. 64.

¹¹³Ibid, 408-410, 411 n. 72, 413, 413 n. 75, and 414 n. 77.

long "curse ceremony" on Moab's plains in Deuteronomy, after the second generation's apostasy regarding Baal-Peor. Paul thus shows that the primary cause for Israel's exile comes from the breaking of the Deuteronomic covenant. Deuteronomy began the period of time when the Levites mediated between Israel and God because of Israel's idolatry.

To Hahn, it seems Paul shares a similar interpretive tradition with Ezekiel, particularly in how they both use Lev. 18:5.

- 1) Lexical and grammatical parallels exist between Ezekiel's description in 20:11, 13, and 21 with Lev. 18:5.
- 2) Ezekiel is the only prophet who uses Lev. 18:5.
- 3) Both Ezekiel and Paul use Lev. 18:5 with reference to Deuteronomy's covenant curses (compare Ezek. 20:23-26 with Gal. 3:10 and 13).
- 4) God's oath to Abraham is the background for both Ezekiel's and Paul's use of Lev. 18:5.
- 5) Both Ezekiel and Paul are concerned in their uses of Lev. 18:5 with God's relationship to the Gentiles.
- 6) both Ezekiel and Paul use Lev 18:5 to describe the pattern of sin, exile, and restoration in Israel's history, e.g.: a) Sinai followed by the golden calf and judgment; b) Deuteronomy's curse of exile; and c) God restoring Israel and blessing the Gentiles. Paul cites other Levitical passages that Ezekiel cites, and uses them in similar ways (e.g., Lev. 26:11-12; 2 Cor. 6:16; Ezek. 37:27).¹¹⁴

Hahn believes that Paul uses Deut. 21:23.¹¹⁵ In this judgment, Hahn follows F.F. Bruce who writes:

In the present instance the device is applicable only to the Greek version of these two texts—in the Masoretic text of Deut. 21.23 the hanged man is not said to be אָרוּר (the word rendered "cursed" in Deut. 27.26) but קָלַלְתָּ (קָלַלְתָּ אֱלֹהִים, "a curse of God" or "an affront to God")....In LXX קָלַלְתָּ אֱלֹהִים is rendered καταραμένος (κατατηραμένος) ὑπὸ θεοῦ, whereas Paul uses ἐπικατάρατος, the same verbal adjective as LXX employs to translate

¹¹⁴Ibid, 421-423 and 423 n. 90.

¹¹⁵Ibid, 426.

אָרֹר in Deut. 27.26—the connection between the two texts is thus made closer.¹¹⁶

In other words, both Hahn and Bruce argue that Paul sees Jesus' curse-bearing death as a form of a divine sentence.¹¹⁷ Paul uses Abraham and Israel typologically to explain Jesus. In thinking about Gal. 3, Hahn agrees with Geza Vermes and Jon Levenson, that the Aqedah is the interpretive key to Paul's argument.¹¹⁸

Covenant, NOT Testament

Hahn argues both that διαθήκη in Gal. 3:15-18 should be translated as "covenant," and that in this passage Paul uses the Aqedah to explain Jesus' death on the cross.¹¹⁹ What is at work here, according to Hahn, is an Isaac/Christ typology. Hahn notes that διαθήκη is consistently used in the LXX to translate בְּרִית, and re-iterates that covenants are always ratified by oaths—אֱלֹהִים, שָׁבַע or ὅρκος, ὀρκισμός. Hence Hahn understands Galatians in light of the ideas of covenant and oath.

Hahn argues that a Semitic covenant background fits the passage better than a secular Greco-Roman background. This is supported by Paul's reference to Gen. 22, where the oath God swears to Abraham

¹¹⁶F.F. Bruce, "The Curse of the Law," in *Paul and Paulinism*, ed. M.D. Hooker and S.G. Wilson, 27-36 (London: SPCK, 1982), 30.

¹¹⁷Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 427-428; and F.F. Bruce, *Commentary on Galatians* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1982), 164.

¹¹⁸Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 433 and 437; Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, Studia Post-Biblica, ed. P.A.H. De Boer (Leiden: Brill, 1983); and Levenson, *Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son*.

¹¹⁹Hahn, "Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah," 79-100; Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 439-447; and Idem, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments," 283-284.

involves blessing the Gentiles; this is unlike Gen. 15 and 17, which do not promise blessing to the Gentiles. Since Paul has already alluded to the Aqedah in Gal. 3:8, it makes sense to Hahn that Paul is continuing to refer to Gen. 22 in Gal. 3. Paul's citation in Gal. 3:8 employs the *ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοί*, which may come from Gen. 12:3 in the LXX; the *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* in Gal. 3:8, however, must come from Gen. 22:18 in the LXX.¹²⁰

Hahn maintains that the *ξύλου* of Galatians is not simply the same as in the LXX of Deut. 21:23, but also equivalent to the *ξύλων* of the LXX of Gen. 22:9. He points out that Genesis Rabbah already sees a link between Gen. 22:6-9 and Deut. 21:22-23. In other words, Jesus' death *ἐπὶ ξύλου* in Galatians is what blesses all the *ἔθνη* as God promises at the Aqedah. Given this, Paul sees Abraham's covenant with God as having a sort of primacy over the later Mosaic covenant, and Jesus fulfilled this covenant with his curse-bearing death.¹²¹ As Hahn explains:

The oath of the Aqedah ensured the success of God's plan to bless all the nations through Abraham's seed despite their backsliding. By swearing the oath, God subjected himself to a curse, should Abraham's seed fail to convey that blessing to the Gentiles. After Israel had sworn a covenant with God at Sinai (Exod 24:1-8)—which they promptly transgressed (Exod 32:1-8)—the covenant curse-of-death was triggered (Exod 32:10). This curse was averted only when Moses appealed to God to keep his own covenant oath, sworn to Abraham's seed at the Aqedah (Exod 32:13). God's oath to Abraham preserved the life of rebellious Israel on that and other occasions (Num 14:16, 23). Still, the Mosaic Law stipulated many covenant curses (Deut 28:15-68), all of which were borne collectively by Israel as a nation, with the notable exception of one singular curse-

¹²⁰It cannot come from Gen. 18:18 since that verse is not spoken to Abraham.

¹²¹Hahn, "Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah," 80-87, 89-99, 85 n. 31, 92 n. 64, and 98 n. 84; and idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 448.

bearing provision that was applied only to individuals (Deut 21:23)....Christ's willing consent to crucifixion—prefigured by Isaac—uncovers the deepest dimension of the Aqedah, that is, the pre-enactment of what God alone must do to bring about "the blessing of Abraham" for Israel and the nations, even if it calls for his own sacrificial self-identification with Abraham's "seed" (and "only beloved son")....Christ's curse-bearing impalement "on a tree"—also prefigured by Isaac—reveals God's preemptive strategy and merciful resolution to remove the legal impediment of the Deuteronomic curses that hang over unfaithful Israel (Gal 3:13). In sum, the laws and curses of the Mosaic covenant will not cause—or prevent—the promises and sworn blessings of the Abrahamic covenant from reaching Israel and the nations.¹²²

For Paul, it is not circumcision, but rather baptism, that brings individuals into the blessings promised to Abraham and fulfilled in Christ.

Hahn reads Gal. 3:24-29 as indicating that baptism does six things:

- 1) Baptism justifies (24).
- 2) Baptism frees one from the "pedagogy of the law" (25).
- 3) Baptism makes one a son or daughter of God (26).
- 4) Baptism clothes one with Christ (27).
- 5) Baptism unites those who were divided into one body in Christ (28).
- 6) Baptism makes both Jews and Gentiles Abraham's descendants (29).

Thus, for Paul, baptism becomes the new covenant form of circumcision.¹²³ Through baptism, all may be united in God's family, and baptism facilitates participation in Jesus' death and resurrection. Jesus' curse-bearing death on the cross reconciles with God those who are baptized.

Jesus as High Priest Fulfilling the Broken Covenant in Hebrews 1-9

Hahn interprets Hebrews 1:1-4 as sharing similarities with Psalms 2 and 110, hence introducing Christ within the context of the Davidic

¹²²Idem, "Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah," 98-99.

¹²³Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 463-467.

covenant. Hahn also sees a "royal-priestly element" in this passage since Jesus as the "son of David" is seen as God's "firstborn son" (Psalm 89:27) and is patterned on Melchizedek (Psalm 110:1-4). In Hahn's eyes, Psalm 110 plays a very important role in Hebrews, in that it frames chapter one's main message by its dual citation in 1:3 and again in 1:13.¹²⁴

Hebrews 3-4 envisions Christ as a merciful royal high priest, using Davidic motifs and highlighting the royal nature of this priesthood. Hahn divides the first part of Hebrews 3-4 into two sections (3:1-6 and 3:7-4:13). In the first part, the focus is on the *oikos*, the house, that Jesus builds and rules over. This relates to King David because "house" is often a reference to the Davidic dynasty in intertestamental Jewish literature. As such, it identifies Jesus as the Son of David—employing a triple entendre with the Hebrew word *בית* in 2 Sam. 7:11-13 and 1 Chron. 17:10-13 of family, kingdom, and temple.¹²⁵ As does Mary Rose D'Angelo, Hahn claims that Heb. 3:1-6 is a composite of 1 Chron. 17:14 and 2 Sam. 7:14.¹²⁶

In fulfilling the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants, Jesus as royal high priest and firstborn son has fulfilled all of the promises God made with Israel and bears resemblance to Melchizedek.¹²⁷ Hahn argues that

¹²⁴*Ibid*, 502-507 and 505 n. 24.

¹²⁵*Ibid*, 528-534, 528 n. 61, 529 n. 62, and 534 n. 70.

¹²⁶*Ibid*, 531-532, 536, 532 n. 67, and 536-537 n. 74. Compare with Mary Rose D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Missoula, Minnesota: Scholars Press, 1979), 69.

¹²⁷Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 537, 539-541, 544-545, 547-550, 552, 555, 542 n. 79 and 80, 546-547 n. 87, 549 n. 91, 552 n. 97, 554 n. 98, and 564 n. 116.

Hebrews shares with Second Temple Jewish literature a common Jewish interpretive tradition, which is especially evidenced in the Targums, where Shem is identified as Melchizedek.¹²⁸

This royal priesthood is the royal priesthood that Israel forfeited by the worship of the golden calf at Sinai. Hahn identified that covenant as a kinship-type covenant, followed by Moses' covenant renewals. But with the sin involving the worship of Baal-Peor in Deuteronomy, Israel entered into a treaty-type covenant, the Deuteronomic covenant. The rest of Israel's biblical history is fraught with their experience of the Deuteronomic covenant curses for disobedience. Hebrews therefore depicts Jesus as fulfilling the grant-type covenants God made with Abraham and David, and hence Jesus nullifies the curses from the treaty-type covenant at Moab.¹²⁹

As he argued with Galatians, Hahn believes the Semitic context of covenant is more important for understanding Hebrews than is a secular Greco-Roman context. Again, as with Galatians, Hahn argues extensively that διαθήκη in Heb. 9:15-22 should be translated as "covenant" as

¹²⁸Joseph A. Fitzmyer, SJ, "Melchizedek in the MT, LXX, and the NT," *Biblica* 81, no. 1 (2000) : 63-69; Martin McNamara, MSC, "Melchizedek: Gen 14, 17-20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature," *Biblica* 81, no. 1 (2000) : 1-31; and Florentino García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán," *Biblica* 81, no. 1 (2000) : 70-80.

¹²⁹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 592, 596, 599, 602, 617, 619-620, 598 n. 167, and 600-601 n. 172 and 173.

opposed to "will" or "testament." Hahn, therefore maintains that this is a reference to the Aqedah.¹³⁰

The Aqedah, Isaiah's Suffering Servant, and the Jesus Connection

Covenants usually involve ritually enacted curses representing death. Abraham's covenants (Heb. 6:13-18 and 11:17-19), for example, involved cutting animals in half (Gen. 15:9-10), circumcision (Gen. 17:10-14, 23-27), and the Aqedah (Gen. 22:13). At the Sinai covenant, meanwhile, the Israelites were sprinkled with sacrificial animal blood (Exod. 24:3-8). Hahn maintains that Hebrews is concerned with this broken covenant at Sinai. A death was necessary because of the Gen. 22 curse God called upon himself to bless Israel despite their transgressions. Hahn does not comment about how Jesus' death atones for sin. He focuses instead on the sacrificial, oath, and curse connection between the two covenants by means of which the Israelites and then the Church became incorporated into the Family of God. The use of ancient Near Eastern covenants, oaths, and curses, are all a part of divine condescension for Hahn.

Hahn finds a further link between Hebrews and the Suffering Servant passage from Isa. 53, which he believes to have been joined in early

¹³⁰Ibid, 604-630, 605 n. 179 and 180, 611-612 n. 197, 613 n. 198, 615 n. 201, and 616 n. 202; Idem, "A Broken Covenant and the Curse of Death: A Study of Hebrews 9:15-22," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (July 2004) : 416-436; Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death," 65, 70, and 72-85; Idem, "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments," 284-285; and Gelardini, introduction to *Hebrews*, 3-4.

Jewish thought with the Aqedah. The connection is between Hebrews' use of φέρω for the one who would "bear" or "endure" the curse of death, and the LXX's use of the word ἀναφέρω in Isa. 52:13-53:12 (Isa. 53:3, 4, 11, and 12). There are other shared words used in Hebrews 9 and Isaiah 53 as well:

- 1) φέρω in Heb. 9:16 and Isa. 53:3, 4.
- 2) ἀναφέρω in Heb. 9:28 and Isa. 53:11, 12.
- 3) θάνατος in Heb. 9:15, 16 and Isa. 53:8, 9, 12.
- 4) ἁμαρτίας in Heb. 9:26, 28 and Isa. 53:4-6, 10-12.
- 5) κληρονομ- in Heb. 9:15 and Isa. 53:12.
- 6) καθαρίζω in Heb. 9:22-23 and Isa. 53:10.
- 7) λάος in Heb. 9:19 and Isa. 53:8.

Reading Hebrews in light of Isa. 53 leads Hahn to the conclusion that Christ bears the covenant-curse-of-death as the suffering servant, hence fulfilling the oath God swore at the Aqedah.¹³¹

In summary, Hahn writes:

First, with the breaking of the ("first") covenant, Israel's death becomes legally necessary because of the curses which were attendant to the oath, as signified by the sacrifice. Second, once Israel breaks the covenant, it is divinely renewed—but only symbolically—through Moses, Aaron, the Levitical priesthood, the Tabernacle, and the Day of Atonement. Third, the author thus regards the sacrificial ritual which the priest performed on the Day of Atonement as effecting something less than a real renewal of the covenant; indeed, he describes it as though it was merely symbolic of what Christ effects through his sacrificial self-offering. Fourth, Christ thus fulfills the covenant not only by bearing the curse-of-death but by doing so as a faithful firstborn son of God and royal high priest, thereby fulfilling the vocation that Israel first accepted (Ex. 19-24) and then spurned with the golden calf (Ex. 32). Fifth, the author thus presents the New Covenant as the only true and perfect renewal of the Old; i.e., God establishes just one covenant with us (in a certain sense) which we break and he mercifully renews and faithfully fulfills in Christ. Sixth, in order to do so, however, Christ had to realize—as the high priest of the Old Covenant only acted out on the Day of Atonement: a curse-

¹³¹Hahn, "A Broken Covenant and the Curse of Death," 416-424 and 426-435; and Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death," 65, 71 n. 15, and 72-85.

bearing sacrifice that truly renews and fulfills the covenant. Seventh, the author shows that Israel was in something like a state of suspended animation, almost as though the divine court was adjourned so that the curses of the covenant could be held in abeyance, temporarily deferred until someone could bear the curses redemptively and fulfill the covenant faithfully.¹³²

For Hebrews, the priestly sacrifice of Christ on the cross is to be re-presented by Christ the high priest in heaven, through the Eucharist. The bread and wine Melchizedek offered in Genesis prefigured the Eucharist. The communal sacrificial meal the Israelites ate before God at the Sinai covenant also prefigured the Eucharist. Hahn claims that Hebrews contrasts the sacrifice of the Eucharist with those sacrifices of the old covenant; the latter were merely food and drink, unable to perfect the conscience.¹³³ Jesus' sacrifice is re-presented in the Eucharist, where Jesus the Paschal Lamb is eaten, forging and renewing the familial covenant bonds between God and God's people. This brings Hahn to Jesus' liturgical institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper, where Jesus mentions the new covenant in his blood. Hahn believes Jesus is presented at the Last Supper as the Lamb of God—hearkening back to the Aqedah and Passover Lamb—and thus the Eucharist is a covenant meal which renews the New Covenant.

¹³²Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 614-616. See also Ibid, 589 n. 154; and Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death," 86-88.

¹³³Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 621, 624-625, 628-630, 624 n. 210, 626 n. 215, 627 n. 218, and 628 n. 219.

V. Conclusion

The notion of covenant plays a central role in Hahn's biblical exegesis, and it highlights the way in which the Bible can be read canonically as a theological unity. Hahn discerns three major types of covenants which he finds in Scripture: kinship, treaty, and grant. He then examines what he believes to be God's covenant with Creation, including a covenant couple, Adam and Eve. This is followed by God's grant-type covenant with Noah, extending the covenant to include a family. Hahn reads these early texts in Genesis together with the later covenants that Genesis describes God making with Abram/Abraham. In the Patriarchal Narratives, Hahn finds three distinct covenants God makes with Abram/Abraham: a kinship-type covenant in Gen. 15; a treaty-type covenant in Gen. 17; and a grant-type covenant in Gen. 22. Hahn believes these covenants are paradigmatic for three other major covenants with biblical Israel in the Old Testament.

Hahn next examines God's kinship-type covenant with Moses and Israel at Sinai in Exodus, which Hahn sees as patterned after the kinship-type covenant God made with Abram in Gen. 15. This is followed by what Hahn reads as God's treaty-type covenant with Israel through Moses on the plains of Moab in Deuteronomy, which Hahn reads as patterned after the treaty-type covenant God made with Abram in Gen. 17. Hahn then examines what he reads as a grant-type covenant made with David in

diverse Davidic Old Testament texts, and finally how Jesus fulfills the previous old covenants in the new covenant, according to Hahn's reading of Galatians and Hebrews.

In Hahn's interpretation, Jesus, as God's Son, is sacrificed on a cross at Golgotha, thereby fulfilling the oath God swore to Abraham in Gen. 22 at the Aqedah. Jesus bears the covenant curse upon the cross, and thus blesses all nations. All of this is done by divine condescension whereby God stoops down to relate to humans of a particular culture through their own culture. This explains the use of ancient Near Eastern covenants. Hahn's canonical reading, a reading which views the diverse biblical books as a unified whole, allows him to see the covenant as a link between the Testaments.

More importantly, however, Hahn's canonical and covenantal reading provides a valuable way to read the Bible as a theological text, while making use of historical-critical reconstructions of covenants in the ancient Near East. This chapter's broad picture of Hahn's interpretive key to Scripture provides some sense of how the Bible can be read theologically. The next chapter will focus on Hahn's reading of the Last Supper passages to show precisely how Hahn believes Jesus, as the new Passover Lamb, fulfilled the successive old covenants. While this chapter provided a flavor of Hahn's hermeneutics, the next chapter will serve as a

means of examining his exegesis with a more focused and narrow scope that also results in a theological reading of the Bible.

Chapter 2

"It is Finished": Scott Hahn's Reading of the Last Supper

I. Introduction

The previous chapter was an exposition of Scott Hahn's exegesis from a broad overview, following Hahn's understanding of the covenant through both the Old and New Testaments. This chapter will focus more narrowly on Hahn's exegesis of certain scriptural passages that he uses to understand the Last Supper. Building on the kinds of arguments described in the previous chapter, Hahn claims the specific idea of a new covenant is central to the Synoptic treatment of the Last Supper. He notes that the phrase "new covenant" is used only once in the Old Testament, in Jeremiah 31:31, and it occurs only once in the Synoptic Gospels, at the Last Supper in Luke when Jesus institutes the Eucharist.¹

This chapter will be an exposition of Hahn's biblical exegesis, once again, to show how Hahn reads the Bible canonically as a theological unity. First, I will describe the manner in which Hahn proposes to

¹Scott Walker Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1995), 624 nt. 210; Idem, "The Meal of Melchizedek," *Coming Home Journal* 1, no. 3 (1994) : 27; Scott Hahn and Curtis Mitch, *The Gospel of Luke: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001), 63; and Scott Hahn and Kimberly Hahn, *Rome Sweet Home: Our Journey to Catholicism* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), 44.

reconcile the dating of the Last Supper in the Synoptics and in John. Second, I will examine Hahn's understanding of the Bread of Life Discourse and Jesus' "hour" in the Gospel of John, and discuss how Hahn views these as canonically related to the Synoptic Last Supper accounts. Thirdly, the chapter will exposit Hahn's arguments concerning the Passover's liturgical structure compared to the Synoptic Gospels' Last Supper accounts, and explain how this structure leads Hahn to his conclusion about Jesus. In short, Jesus' sacrifice on the cross actually began in the Upper Room, and his Passover ceremony begun in the Upper Room did not reach completion until his death on the cross. Finally, the chapter will examine two items: First, how Hahn views Jesus' kingdom as a eucharistic Davidic kingdom initiated at the Last Supper, and secondly, some of Hahn's theological conclusions concerning the Eucharist in light of his discussion. In general, the exposition in this chapter will show how Hahn blends his canonical reading with narrative criticism, while also relying upon the redaction critical work of scholars like Raymond Brown. Although he does not accept redaction critical presuppositions, these scholars add to his understanding enabled by canonical, narrative, and redaction criticism. In his canonical reading and selective use of historical critical methods, Hahn provides a theological understanding of these texts.

II. The Date of the Last Supper: The Synoptics and John

The Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of John provide seemingly conflicting and at least *prima facie* mutually exclusive chronologies. In attempting to explain these accounts, scholars have provided numerous reasons for the apparent contradictions. The most common of these explanations is that the respective authors simply wrote with different impressions of when Jesus performed various aspects of his ministry. Arguably the most significant difference in chronology between the four Gospels pertains to the Passover at the time of Jesus' death. Although the Synoptic Gospels appear to agree with John that Jesus died on Friday, they seem to disagree on when Passover began. John seems to envision Passover beginning on Friday evening, whereas the Synoptics imply that Passover began on Thursday evening, at the Last Supper, which they portray as a Passover meal.

Following the work of Annie Jaubert, Hahn maintains that both the Synoptics and John could be harmonized chronologically. Such a conclusion is possible if the Synoptics and John are following two different Jewish calendars, both of which were known to be in use in the first century.² Hahn notes that there is no explicit mention in any of the four Gospels that Jesus' crucifixion took place on the day following the Last

²Annie Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène: Calendrier Biblique et Liturgie Chrétienne* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1957). An English translation may be found in Idem, *The Date of the Last Supper* (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1965).

Supper, despite the Gospels envisioning Jesus' crucifixion occurring on Friday of that week. Hahn concedes that reading the Synoptics gives one the "impression" that Jesus' crucifixion took place on the following day, yet he maintains that the diversity of Judaism during Jesus' time provides a way to understand the two chronologies.

Judaism of the first century had a great deal of diversity; the Jewish liturgical calendar is one instance of this. Jews living in Palestine of the time of Jesus used at least two different calendars. The most common calendar was the one used by the Sadducees and the priests who controlled the Temple. This consisted of a 354-day lunar calendar. The Dead Sea Scrolls, however, evidence another Jewish calendar which was in use by Essenes both at Qumran and also outside of Qumran, including Jerusalem. Hahn's argument here turns on the idea that these calendars placed Passover on two separate days of the same week.

Essenes

The Essene calendar was a 364-day solar calendar. As with mainstream 21st century Judaism, for many of the Jews of Jesus' time Passover began on a different day of the week every year, due to use of a lunar calendar. The solar calendar in use by some Jews, including the Essenes and those at Qumran, in contrast, placed Passover on the same day every year (Tuesday). This solar calendar is recorded in a liturgical

calendar which has been uncovered. In her study which Hahn uses, Jaubert concludes:

In conclusion, at the beginning of the 1st century of our era, there certainly existed *two liturgical calendars*; in the one the festivals were based on the days of the lunar month, the official calendar of which we may find out from the rabbinic Judaism that followed. In the other the festivals were only on fixed days of the week.³

Hahn maintains that if the Last Supper occurred on Tuesday as opposed to Thursday, then the apparent inconsistencies regarding the date of Passover in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Gospel of John would disappear. The Synoptic Gospels may be using the solar calendar shared with the Essenes, which would mean the Passover/Last Supper occurred on Tuesday evening. John, meanwhile, might be using the more widespread lunar calendar, thus dating Passover according to the Sadducees and the slaughter of the lambs at the Temple; this would account for his comments regarding Friday.

What Hahn argues as his "working hypothesis" is that, instead of on a Thursday, it was on a Tuesday that the Last Supper occurred. In addition to the above arguments based on calendar differences, Hahn employs several other arguments in favor of this date. Hahn makes passing reference to archaeological evidence that suggests the Essenes who remained in Jerusalem in the first century lived on what is today Mount

³Idem, *Date de la Cène*, 58-59, my own translation from, "En définitive, au début du 1^{er} siècle de notre ère, existaient certainement *deux calendriers liturgiques*, l'un dont les fêtes étaient fondées sur les jours du mois lunaire, calendrier officiel sur lequel nous sommes renseignés par le judaïsme rabbinique postérieur. L'autre où les fêtes ne tombaient que les jours fixes de la semaine."

Zion. This location is, in fact, where Christian tradition has long venerated the site of the Upper Room used by Jesus for the Last Supper.⁴ Hahn thinks that this archaeological evidence shows that some of the earliest Christians, who were Jews, were living beside Essenes who celebrated Passover according to a different calendar than the Sadducees. This would explain why the Synoptic writers would use a solar calendar, because they were living among other Jews who likewise used that solar calendar.

This dating of Jesus' Last Supper not only reconciles the four Gospel Last Supper accounts, but it also reconciles the apparent contradiction between Jesus' anointing in Bethany in the Synoptic Gospels with Jesus' anointing in Bethany in John. The Synoptic Gospels record Jesus' anointing in Bethany two days prior to the Passover (Mark 14:1), whereas John records this event occurring six days before the Passover (John 12:1). With one of the Gospels beginning the date of Passover with the first evening and another with the first full day, that which was a seeming contradiction may appear in a new light to be seen as simply two different Jewish calendars discussing the same events occurring on the same weekdays.

⁴E.g., Bargil Pixner, "Jerusalem's Essene Gateway: Where the Community Lived in Jesus' Time," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 23, no. 3 (May/June 1997) : 22-31, 64, and 66; Idem, "The History of the Essene Gate Area," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 105 (1989) : 96-104; Bargil Pixner, Doron Chen, and Shlomo Margalit, "Mount Zion: Discovery of Iron Age Fortifications Below the Gate of the Essenes," in *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, ed. Hillel Geva, 76-81 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994); and Idem, "Mount Zion: The Gate of the Essenes Reexcavated," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 105 (1989) : 85-95.

Hahn also claims that this new dating makes the various trials Jesus underwent more realistic. Traditionally, Jesus' five trials (with Annas in John 18:13, 19-23; with Caiaphas in John 18:24; with the Sanhedrin in Luke 22:66-71; with Herod in Luke 23:6-11; and with Pilate in John 18:28-40) were viewed as having occurred between his arrest after the Last Supper (late Thursday night) before his crucifixion (Friday). Hahn mentions that this scenario was complicated by the fact that the Sanhedrin would not have been permitted to meet on a festival's eve (e.g., Passover, according to the Synoptics and this traditional view). With Hahn's proposal of the Last Supper occurring on Tuesday night, however, the five trials would then take place between Tuesday night and Friday morning.⁵ This is a much more logistically realistic picture. With the official Temple Passover not beginning until sundown on Friday evening, coinciding with the Sabbath, trials such as those presented in the Gospels would no longer have been deemed illegal.

Holy Tuesday in the Early Church

Hahn's final argument is the historical evidence that suggests segments of the early Church celebrated a Holy Tuesday and not a Holy Thursday. According to Hahn, the Nestorians adhered to this tradition, and

⁵Tuesday night may have been late enough to actually be early Wednesday morning.

Syriac Christianity further evidences the tradition.⁶ One text which supports his case is the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (5:12-18), a text written in Syriac dating from the second or third century, which mentions that Jesus' Last Supper occurred on a Tuesday evening. Similar statements appear in *De Fabrica Mundi* (3), a third century text that Bishop Victorinus of Pettau wrote.⁷ This Holy Tuesday tradition occurs in the fourth century text *Panarion* (51:26), written by the bishop Saint Epiphanius.

The above texts mention that Jesus was arrested by authorities on Tuesday night. Hahn further notes the evidence in the early Church of some regions traditionally observing Wednesday and Friday of Holy Week as fast days and days of penance. The *Didache* attests to this tradition of fasting, contrasting the heterodox with the orthodox: "but you [who are orthodox] fast on Wednesdays and Fridays."⁸ Both Victorinus and the *Didascalia* explain that this early tradition derived from the fact that Tuesday night (early Wednesday morning) was when Jesus' passion began, and Friday was when his passion ended. In light of how widespread the Holy Thursday tradition became, Hahn thinks it is

⁶Syriac Christianity may actually be the offspring of the earliest Jewish Christianity represented by Jesus' Jewish Christian apostles. See, e.g., G. Rouwhorst, "Jewish Liturgical Tradition in Early Syriac Christianity," *Vigiliae Christianae* 51, no. 1 (March 1997): 72-93; and Jean Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Longman, 1964 [1958]).

⁷Pettau was located in a region of Pannonia currently within the borders of Austria.

⁸My own translation from *Didache* 8:1, "ὁμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν." Greek text from, *The Apostolic Fathers: I Clement, II Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache, and Barnabas*, Loeb Classic Library, with an English translation by Kirsopp Lake (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998 [1912]), 320.

significant that an early Holy Tuesday tradition existed, especially when juxtaposed with the evidence for a Tuesday Last Supper.

Hahn admits that there are a number of difficulties with his reconstruction. For one, Hahn is uncertain as to why Jesus would celebrate a Passover meal that was not in keeping with Temple regulations. One possible explanation is that Jesus might have celebrated the solar-calendar Passover because he knew he would not be able to celebrate the Passover of the Jewish lunar calendar. Furthermore, Jesus, the Essenes, and Jews from Galilee and elsewhere were often in tension with the "official" Judaism represented by the Temple. A second issue is why the Church would celebrate Holy Thursday if the original tradition was Holy Tuesday. One reason may be that the Synoptic Gospels easily lend themselves to a Holy Thursday reading, and thus the Church has interpreted them that way. Yet Hahn does not believe that they require such a reading; he follows Jaubert who states that, "if one applies the tradition preserved in the first account of the *Didascalia* to the accounts of the evangelists, the contradiction between John and the Synoptics resolves itself."⁹

⁹Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène*, 107, my own translation from, "si l'on applique aux récits évangéliques la tradition conservée dans le premier récit de la *Didascalie*, la contradiction entre Jean et les synoptiques se résout d'elle-même."

Hahn emphasizes that these are all merely working hypotheses, but also explains the chronological implications of this hypothesis.¹⁰ He uses Raymond Brown's works. Although he does not subscribe to this particular hypothesis, Brown provides a chart showing what this chronology would look like:

<u>Day</u>	<u>Gospel Account</u>	<u>Nisan Date</u>
Tues. day→	Preparation for paschal meal (Mark 14:12-16)	solar 14 lunar 11
Tues. eve.→	Last Supper paschal meal (Mark 14:17-18; Luke 22:15) eaten before (lunar) 15 th Nisan (John 13:1)	solar 15 (paschal meal)
Tues. night/→ Wed. morn.	Gethsemane; arrest of Jesus Inquiry before Annas (Mark 14:53; John 18:13) Peter's denials; mockery by servants (Luke 22:54-65) Sent to Caiaphas (John 18:24); 1 st Sanhedrin session (Luke 22:66-71)	lunar 12

¹⁰Scott Hahn and Curtis Mitch, *The Gospel of John: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2003), 44; and Scott Hahn, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," *This Rock* 2, no. 4 (October 1991): 9 n. 3. See also the arguments of which Hahn makes use in A. Jaubert, "The Calendar of Qumran and the Passion Narrative in John," in *John and Qumran*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 62-75 (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1972), esp. 62-63, 65, 69-70, 70 n. 36-37, and 73; Idem, *La Date de la Cène*, esp. 9, 13, 18-19, 58-61, 79-91, and 107; Gillian Feeley-Harnik, *The Lord's Table: Eucharist and Passover in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 119; Eugen Ruckstuhl, *Chronology of the Last Days of Jesus: A Critical Study*, trans. Victor J. Drapela (New York: Desclee, 1965 [1963]), esp. 25-27, 54-69, 72-74, 81, and 114; and William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark: The English Text with Introduction, Explanation and Notes* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1974), 498 n. 33, although Lane disagrees with Jaubert. See also, Raymond E. Brown, S.S., *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi)*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 555-556; and Idem, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels Volume Two*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 1366-1369, where he strongly questions such a re-dating, primarily because Brown claims it illegitimately juxtaposes historical aspects of the Gospels with merely literary aspects. Joachim Jeremias likewise argues against Jaubert's re-dating, see, Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. Norman Perrin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977 [1964]), 24-25.

Wed. day→	Mockery of Jesus by authorities (Mark 14:65)	
Wed. night/→ Thur. Morn.	(Jesus in custody of high priest)	solar 16
Thur. Morn.→	2 nd Sanhedrin session (Mark 15:1) Jesus taken to Pilate (Mark 15:1; Luke 23:1) Opening of Pilate trial (Luke 23:2-5) Jesus taken to Herod (Luke 23:6-12)	lunar 13
Thur. P.M.→	Return to Pilate and trial resumed (Luke 23:15ff); adjournment	
Thurs. night/→ Fri. morn.	(Jesus in Pilate's custody) Pilate's wife's dream (Matt. 27:19)	solar 17
Fri. morn→	Pilate trial resumed; Barabbas Pilate sentences Jesus (Mark 15:15) noon before Passover (John 19:14) (Jewish priests slay lambs in Temple precincts) Crucifixion, death, burial by Joseph of Arimathea	lunar 14
Fri. eve.→	Jesus in the tomb Jews eat their paschal meal (John 18:28)	solar 18
Sat. morn.→	Priests and Pharisees ask Pilate to guard sepulcher (Matt. 27:62-64)	lunar 15 (paschal meal)

Brown's chart lays out the hypothetical chronology to which Hahn subscribes.¹¹

III. The Passover Connection: Jesus as the Bread of Life

Hahn argues that Passover is the primary context for understanding the Last Supper. He employs a canonical approach, which allows him to read the Gospel of John in light of the Synoptic Gospels, and to read all the Gospels in light of the Old Testament. Hahn explains that, "the entire succession of events [in the Gospel of John], which began with the Last

¹¹Brown, *Death of the Messiah II*, 1367.

Supper and ended with Jesus' crucifixion, reflects the various themes of the Jewish Passover."¹² Unlike the Synoptic Gospels, John's Last Supper account has no institution narrative involving the bread and wine, body and blood of Jesus. Hahn suggests that John did not have these aspects in his Last Supper account because he already implied them earlier in his Bread of Life Discourse; the Bread of Life Discourse in John 6 is John's account of Jesus' body and blood being found under the appearance of bread and wine.¹³

The Bread of Life Discourse as a Passover and Eucharistic Narrative

In Hahn's view the Bread of Life Discourse in John 6 is central to understanding the canonical New Testament's account of the Eucharist. More than any of the other Gospels, John presents Jesus as the Lamb of God and in the Bread of Life Discourse compares Jesus' body with the manna that God rained down from heaven after the exodus. To Hahn, this passage affirms the concept of real presence in the Eucharist as Jesus repeats the necessity of eating his body and drinking his blood. Specific words having to do with eating change from more general to more precise, giving the impression that Jesus' body is to be chewed, not

¹²Scott Hahn, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises: God's Covenant Love in Scripture* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Charis, 1998), 227-228.

¹³Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 14. Hahn also uses the following works in his discussion here: Raymond E. Brown, S.S. *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 21; and Idem, *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, Anchor Bible Reference Library, ed., updated, and with an introduction and conclusion by Francis J. Moloney, S.D.B. (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 233-234; and Feeley-Harnik, *The Lord's Table*, 112.

merely eaten. Furthermore, in the Gospel of John Jesus never corrected his disciples' literal understanding of his teaching—even when some of them stopped following Jesus at that point.

Jesus as the Lamb of God

John's Gospel presents Jesus as the Lamb of God. John 1:29 reads; "The following day he [John the Baptist] saw Jesus coming to him and he said, 'Behold, the lamb of God, the one who takes away the sin of the world.'"¹⁴ Jesus' identity as the Lamb of God sets the tone of the Gospel, preparing the reader for viewing Jesus as the sacrificial lamb, probably in two contexts: that of the Passover lamb, and that of Deutero-Isaiah's Suffering Servant, which contains Paschal themes.¹⁵

Our Daily Bread and the Manna

Hahn believes that in the Bread of Life Discourse an explicit connection is made between Jesus as bread of life and the manna after the exodus. In John 6:30-51, Jesus' Jewish hearers ask him for a sign like the one Moses gave to their forefathers when God rained down manna from heaven. Jesus compares his body to the manna, explaining that he

¹⁴My own translation from, "Τῇ ἐπαύριον βλέπει τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει, Ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου." All New Testament citations taken from *The Greek New Testament*, 4th revised ed., ed. Barbara Aland, Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, and Bruce M. Metzger (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994 [1983]).

¹⁵Scott W. Hahn, "Worship in the Word: Toward a Liturgical Hermeneutic," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 123; and Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 19. Hahn is here relying in part on the work of Raymond Brown, who maintains that both the Passover lamb and the Suffering Servant were meant to be understood by this designation. See, Raymond E. Brown, S.S., *The Gospel According to John (i-xii)*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980 [1966]), 63; and Idem, *Death of the Messiah II*, 1370, where he maintains that there is a pre-Gospel tradition identifying Jesus as the paschal lamb.

himself is the bread that has come down from heaven. Jesus informs his audience that their ancestors who ate the manna died, but the one who feeds on him will not die, but have eternal life. Matt. 6:11 and Luke 11:3 are further Gospel passages that may reference the manna. The reference may be detected in the phrase used for the bread which is called ἐπιούσιον in the Lord's Prayer.

Matt. 6:11 reads, "give to us today our 'daily' bread [or, bread 'for tomorrow']," which is almost exactly what we find in Luke 11:3, which reads, "give us daily our 'daily' bread [or, bread 'for tomorrow']".¹⁶ Hahn explains that ἐπιούσιος, found in Matthew and Luke in the accusative singular as ἐπιούσιον, may have a number of different meanings. There is no precise way to translate the word, since its only occurrence in extant Greek texts is in Matthew and Luke. ἐπιούσιος might be translated as "daily," as most English translations render the word, and thus referring to the manna when God rained daily bread in the wilderness. Another translation Hahn proposes is our bread "for tomorrow," pointing to the messianic banquet of the *eschaton*.

Alternatively, following some of the early church fathers, Hahn maintains that ἐπιούσιος might be handled as "supersubstantial" or "transubstantial." This possibility occurs because the earliest Greek

¹⁶My own translation from, respectively, "τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον", and, "τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν." τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν may be translated as "daily," or perhaps, "just as this day."

manuscripts were uncial, and therefore written in all capital letters without punctuation, accents, or spaces. Thus, ἐπιούσιον might be a rendition of ἐπί οὐσίον, since the earliest manuscripts would have read ΕΠΙΟΥΣΙΟΝ. In this case it could mean something like "substantial," evidenced in Latin manuscripts, like the Vulgate, which translated ΕΠΙΟΥΣΙΟΝ in Matt. 6:11 as *supersubstantialem*. Hahn suggests that it may even be a triple entendre, all three meanings of which he claims can be seen as eucharistic. The Eucharist is the true manna and thus daily bread. The Eucharist is a foretaste of the eschatological banquet and thus bread for tomorrow. And the Eucharist contains the real presence of Jesus and thus is supersubstantial bread.¹⁷

The Multiplication of Bread

The multiplication of bread, which is found both in John 6 and in the Synoptic Gospels, is also reminiscent of the manna. Hahn interprets this bread multiplication as pointing further in the direction of the Eucharist. In Matthew 14:13-21, for example, the author anticipates the Eucharist at the Last Supper. The same order and group of verbs in 14:19 are used as in the Last Supper in Matt. 26:26: "taking," "blessed," "broke," and "gave." Likewise, in Mark 6:35-44, the multiplication of the bread recalls the bread Elisha multiplied in 2 Kings 4:42-44, the manna in Exod. 16, and also points

¹⁷Scott Hahn, *Understanding "Our Father": Biblical Reflections on the Lord's Prayer* (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2002), 46; Scott Hahn and Curtis Mitch, *The Gospel of Matthew: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), 28; and Idem, *The Gospel of Luke*, 44.

forward to the Last Supper, where, like Matthew, Mark includes the same series of words, "taking," "blessed," "broke," and "gave," which are found in Mark's Gospel only here and at the Last Supper.

Hahn points out that Mark 8:6, in Mark's second account of multiplying bread, includes the Greek word εὐχαριστήσας. This is from the same verb for giving thanks that "Eucharist" derives, and is also the same verb Mark includes in 14:22 at the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper. Hahn furthermore observes that, in Luke, bread is only said to be "broken," using the Greek words κλάω or κατακλάω in three places: Luke 9:10-17 at the feeding of the multitude, at the Last Supper in Luke 22:7-38, and at the meal shared in the Road to Emmaus story in Luke 24:13-35; all of which point in the direction of the Eucharist.¹⁸

John 6 begins with a similar scene where Jesus multiplies bread. The Gospel of John announces in 6:4 that the Passover is at hand. There are three Passovers mentioned in John, in 2:13, 6:4, and 11:55. The first one, in 2:13, is after the feast at the wedding at Cana, where Jesus turns water into wine as the first of his signs. Hahn believes Cana to be reminiscent of Moses turning the water into blood in Exod. 7:19, especially in light of Gen.

¹⁸Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 43; Idem, *The Gospel of Mark: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001), 28 and 31; and Scott W. Hahn, "Kingdom and Church in Luke-Acts: From Davidic Christology to Kingdom Ecclesiology," in *Reading Luke*, ed. Craig Bartholomew, Joel B. Green, and Anthony C. Thiselton, 294-326 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2005), 307; and Idem, "The Gospel of John," St. Joseph Communication, 15 audiocassette series. Hahn also relies here on André Feuillet, *Johannine Studies* (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1965), 58-61.

49:11 and Deut. 32:14 where wine is referred to as the "blood of the grape." Furthermore, Isa. 25:6, Joel 3:18, and Amos 9:13, include the abundance of wine as one of the messianic age's signs.¹⁹

John 6:4's mention that the Passover was near hearkens back to both the Passover near the time of the Wedding at Cana, as well as to John the Baptist's identification of Jesus as the Lamb of God at the outset of the Gospel. When Jesus multiplies the bread, as in Mark 8:6, the exact same verb form is employed as in Mark; that Jesus gave thanks, εὐχαριστήσας. Hahn also finds the explicit link with the manna later in the Bread of Life Discourse. The manna occurred after the first Passover in Exodus, and thus, the manna context itself may point to the Passover context of Jesus' words. Jane Webster, on whom Hahn relies throughout his discussion here, writes:

The connection with the Passover is significant. In the biblical narrative, the Passover remembers Israel's deliverance from Egypt and the manna provided in the wilderness. At a Passover forty years later, the manna ceases (Josh 5:10-11). At the time of Passover, Jesus drives the animals out of the temple ([John] 2:17). He is the Passover lamb that takes away the sin of the world ([John] 1:29). Here again [John 6], Passover is the temporal setting for the Feeding of the Multitude, as it will be for Jesus' death. Jesus is the new manna that will provide deliverance from hunger and death, not in the short term, but for eternity.²⁰

¹⁹Hahn relies on Jane Webster here, on the importance of wine as a Jewish symbol of the messianic age. Jane S. Webster, *Ingesting Jesus: Eating and Drinking in the Gospel of John*, Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica Number 6, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Mark Allan Powell (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 40-41.

²⁰*Ibid*, 78.

These are all further indications, according to Hahn, that John 6 pertains to the Eucharist.²¹

Repetition, Precision, and Emphasis

Hahn divides the Bread of Life discourse (John 6:35-59) into two parts. The first part opens with Jesus saying, "I am the bread of life" (6:35), and contains an invitation to faith in Jesus (6:35-47). The second part likewise opens with Jesus saying, "I am the bread of life" (6:48), and includes a number of invitations to eat Jesus' flesh and drink his blood. Hahn sees the murmuring in 6:41 as recalling Israel's murmuring in the wilderness in Exod. 16:2; 17:2-3.²² He also thinks that the "shall give" in 6:51 points both to Jesus' sacrifice on the cross and to the eucharistic liturgy. Hahn further points out that Jesus uses the strongest language possible to emphasize the literal meaning of his teaching. John 6:53-58 reads:

(53) εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίνητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. (54) ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ γὰρ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. (55) ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν βρώσις, καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν πόσις. (56) ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ. (57) καθὼς ἀπέστειλέν με ὁ ζῶν πατήρ καὶ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ὁ τρώγων με καὶ κεῖνος ζήσει δι' ἐμέ. (58) οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, οὐ καθὼς ἔφαγον οἱ πατέρες καὶ ἀπέθανον· ὁ τρώγων τοῦτον τὸν ἄρτον ζήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

²¹Hahn, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 235; Idem, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 11; Idem, "A Closer Look at Christ's Church," St. Joseph Communication, 3 videocassette series; Idem, "The Gospel of John,"; and Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 21 and 28-30.

²²Scott Hahn, *Scripture Matters: Essays on Reading the Bible From the Heart of the Church*, with a foreword by Bishop Donald W. Wuerl (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2003), 115.

⁽⁵³⁾ So Jesus said to them, "Truly, truly [ἀμὲν ἀμὲν], I say to you, if you do not eat [φάγητε] the flesh of the son of man and drink [πίητε] his blood, you have no life in you. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ The one who chews [τρώγων] my flesh and drinks [πίνων] my blood has life everlasting, and I will raise that one up on the last day. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ For my flesh is true [ἀληθὴς] food, and my blood is true [ἀληθὴς] drink. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ The one who chews [τρώγων] my flesh and drinks [πίνων] my blood remains in me and I in that one. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ As the living father has sent me and I live through [or because of] the father, also the one who chews [τρώγων] me, that one, will live through [or because of] me. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ This is the bread the one that descended from heaven, not like your fathers ate and died: the one who chews [τρώγων] this bread will live forever (my own translation).

The change in the word for eat; φαγεῖν, to τρώγω, literally, "gnaw" or "chew," is noteworthy. Some form of φαγεῖν is used 11 times (5, 23, 26, 31 [2x], 49, 50-53, and 58), with τρώγω used only 4 times (54, and 56-58). In John 6, the passage builds to a climax by using φαγεῖν 10 times in 49 verses before the first occurrence of τρώγω, which then appears 4 times in 4 verses.²³ τρώγω is only found six times in the entire New Testament, five occurrences of which are in John.

Hahn believes this change implies a literal meaning for Jesus' words. Hahn mentions that, in Hebrew, to speak of eating flesh and drinking blood metaphorically would be a negative way of discussing the brutality of war (Deut. 32:42; Ezek. 39:17-18).²⁴ As Brown, whom Hahn uses

²³Among others, Hahn uses here, Raymond E. Brown, S.S., *New Testament Essays* (Ramsey, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1965), 58 n. 25, 82, and 85; Idem, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 283; Idem, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 346; and Bruce Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings: Eucharistic Theologies from Jesus through Johannine Circles*, Supplements to Novum Testamentum Volume 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 138-139.

²⁴Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 30-31; Hahn, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 11-12; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 236-237; Idem, *Scripture Matters*, 115; Idem, "A Closer Look at Christ's Church,"; and Idem, "The Gospel of John." On this

throughout this discussion, notes, "in the Aramaic tradition transmitted through Syriac, the 'eater of flesh' is the title of the devil, the slanderer and adversary par excellence."²⁵ Brown insists:

that the use of *trōgein* is part of John's attempt to emphasize the realism of the eucharistic flesh and blood. The only other times it appears in John outside of this section is in xiii 18 where in the context of the Last Supper it is deliberately introduced into an OT citation, probably as a eucharistic remembrance.²⁶

For Hahn, this literal understanding of the necessity of eating Jesus' flesh makes sense in light of John's portrayal of Jesus as the Lamb of God, since, at the Passover, the lamb's flesh had to be *literally* eaten.

Exodus of Disciples

In John 6, Jesus is making a connection between the Eucharist, his future sacrifice on the cross, and the Passover lamb. The Israelites had to eat the flesh of the Passover lamb, and in a similar way, Jesus' followers will have to eat of his flesh, the new Passover Lamb. Hahn concedes that Leviticus prohibited the drinking of blood, but explains that this is because such drinking would be partaking in the animal's life (Lev. 17:10-13). Jesus nowhere explains his teaching as metaphorical, but rather it appears that Jesus' blood must be drunk in order to partake of his life.

Only twice in John, both times here in this discourse (6:51, 58), is found the expression "you will live forever," ζήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, and this is

hostile action, when used metaphorically, see also Brown, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 284, where he adds the examples of Psalm 27:2 and Zech. 11:9.

²⁵Brown, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 284.

²⁶*Ibid*, 283.

connected to eating Jesus' flesh and drinking his blood. Hahn points out that earlier in the chapter when Jesus was explaining that he is the bread of life, there was only mention of eating from "this" bread. The addition here in 6:53-58 of drinking his blood recalls the Institution Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels, with which a number of scholars maintain John was familiar. Furthermore, in all of the four Gospels, it is only here in John 6:66 that some disciples stop following Jesus because of his teaching. Hahn points out that Jesus does not change his teaching, nor explain it away as merely a metaphor, but rather turns to his apostles and asks if they wish to leave as well. Hahn thus sees this passage as pointing toward a new exodus, with Jesus as the Passover Lamb.²⁷

Jesus' Hour in John

Hahn further finds a eucharistic emphasis in John's Gospel as regards Jesus' "hour"; Jesus refers to the fulfillment of his mission in John as his "hour." At a literal level Jesus' hour refers to his death on the cross. Hahn believes that there is a spiritual sense in which his hour can be understood, when all of the references in John to Jesus' hour are compared.²⁸

The first time in John that Jesus refers to his hour is at the wedding at Cana (John 2:3-4). In response to his mother's observation that the wine

²⁷Hahn, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 11-12; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 236-237; Idem, "A Closer Look at Christ's Church,"; Idem, "The Gospel of John,"; and Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 31.

²⁸Hahn, *Scripture Matters*, 105-115.

had run out, Jesus responds that his hour had not yet arrived. Jesus, therefore, links his hour with the provision of wine. The miracle of turning water into wine at Cana is mentioned as Jesus' first sign. Signs point beyond themselves to something greater. Hahn mentions that the key here in this passage is that when Jesus' "hour did arrive, He would provide wine—indeed, the finest of wine. But that definitive hour had not yet come."²⁹

The next occurrence in John of Jesus' hour is when Jesus encounters the Samaritan woman at the well (4:21-24). In this passage, Jesus explains that the *hour* is coming when the Temple in Jerusalem will no longer be the normative site for worship, rather people will worship "in spirit and truth." Hahn concludes that Jesus' "hour is not only a time of providing wine. It is even more a time of worship—a radically new way of worship, which even the Jews in the Jerusalem Temple had never known."³⁰

Jesus next speaks of his hour in John when he explains why he healed on the Sabbath (5:25). Jesus tells his hearers that the hour is coming when the dead will hear the voice of God and will live. Thus, Jesus' hour is also "a time when the Word of God will bring people to repentance and forgiveness...."³¹

²⁹Ibid, 108.

³⁰Ibid, 109.

³¹Ibid, 110.

Passover sets the stage for the next time Jesus discusses his hour. In John 12:20-23, when Jesus' disciples try to turn away two Gentiles, Jesus rebukes them, explaining that his hour has come to be glorified. He then proceeds to link his death with the fruit of the grain, wheat. Hahn mentions that with John's focus on Jesus as Lamb of God, one might expect to see Jesus making a connection between his sacrifice on the cross and the sacrificial lambs. Instead, Jesus compares his sacrifice to the fruit of the grain, bread. The Lamb of God's hour is Passover and Gentiles are apparently welcome. Again, in 12:27-28, around the time of Passover (13:1 explains that this occurs before Passover), Jesus mentions his hour a second time in the very same pericope. This time he makes an explicit link between his hour and his sacrifice on the cross.³²

In the Synoptic Last Supper accounts, the institution of the Eucharist is present. John's Gospel is the only one which omits this institution. At John's Last Supper, however, Jesus mentions that his hour has arrived (17:1-2). Jesus' hour, furthermore, is unifying, it will make all one (17:21).³³

Hahn concludes by summarizing how Jesus' hour is described throughout John's Gospel, highlighting its eucharistic significance:

- We receive wine, the best wine (cf. Jn. 2:1-11).
- We are empowered to worship in a new way: in spirit and truth (cf. Jn. 4:23-24).
- We hear God's Word in order to receive new life (cf. Jn. 5:25).
- We gather together as "Greeks" and "Jews" to celebrate the new Passover (cf. Jn. 4:23, 12:20, 13:1).

³²Ibid, 110-111.

³³Ibid, 112.

- We receive the living bread, the fruit borne of the grain of wheat that has died (cf. Jn. 12:23-24).
- We will see the Lamb of God lifted up, drawing all men to Himself (cf. Jn. 12:32).³⁴

IV. The Fourth Cup

The key to understanding Hahn's interpretation of the Last Supper accounts in the Gospels is in his understanding of the basic structure of the Passover liturgy; a basic structure that involves four liturgical cups of wine, drunk at key points in the Passover meal. Hahn maintains that this four-cup structure is evidenced in the Synoptic Gospels as well as in St. Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians. Hahn's eucharistic argument, nevertheless, revolves around the centrality of the cups of wine in Jewish Passover seders.

The Passover Liturgy

Hahn observes that the Synoptic Gospels explicitly portray the Last Supper as a Passover meal. He follows a number of scholars in seeing evidence of later Passover Seder structures embedded in the Gospel narratives.³⁵ Hahn believes that understanding the Last Supper as a Passover Seder is key to understanding its eucharistic teaching. Using an expression culled from the traditional, rigorous, and precise Neo-Scholastic theological notes, Hahn is very careful to provide the caveat up front that his interpretation is not *de fide*.

³⁴Ibid, 113.

³⁵E.g., Lane, *Gospel According to Mark*; David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1956); and Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words of Jesus*.

Traditional Passover Liturgy

Anticipating the criticism that the modern Passover Seder is not attested in its full detail before the Mishnah's tractate Pesachim (whose final form dates no earlier than the dawn of the third century C.E.), Hahn recognizes that:

Readers may complain about my assuming the proto-Talmudic character of the liturgical structure of the seder. Someone could argue that it is anachronistic to retroject the seder liturgy from the Mishnah back to the first century.³⁶

Hahn responds first by pointing out that he is not unique among scholars in noting the similarity between the basic structure of the Last Supper accounts and that pattern in the traditional Jewish Seder. He notes, furthermore, that the Mishnah is not typically considered innovative in its approach. The Mishnah was certainly innovative in its attempt to adapt rituals in light of the Temple's destruction, but, Hahn maintains, it attempted to conserve as much as possible from Second Temple Judaism. In either case, Hahn is not building his argument on the basis of a comprehensive structural similarity between the Passover of Jesus' time and the Seder as found in Pesachim. Rather he is only arguing for the four cups of wine which became the fundamental structure of the Passover Seder.³⁷

³⁶Hahn, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 8 n. 1.

³⁷Hahn is relying on the following texts, among others, on the importance of wine drinking, e.g., in pre-70 C.E. Passover ceremonies: John Paul Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts: An Audience-Oriented Approach*, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph

Some scholars argue that wine was added to the Seder because the blood of sacrificial animals was no longer offered. Hahn mentions, however, that the use of wine in the Passover liturgies during Second Temple Judaism are attested, e.g., in the Book of Jubilees.³⁸ In 1 Cor. 10:16, St. Paul uses what Hahn believes to be the technical term "Cup of Blessing" (τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας) to describe the Eucharistic cup that Jesus consecrated at the Last Supper—the term used exclusively for the third cup of wine in the Passover seder.³⁹

The Passover Seder structure upon which Hahn is relying is that of the traditional four cups of wine. The first cup of wine, the *Kiddish* (prayer said over the wine) Cup, begins the Passover liturgy. A solemn blessing is said over this cup of wine, followed by eating bitter herbs which reminded those present of slavery in Egypt. This was followed by the *haggadah*, or recounting the Passover story from Exod. 12. After the *haggadah* was recounted, the "Little Hallel," Psalm 113, was sung, followed by the drinking of the second cup of wine. Next, the meal was eaten, which usually included lamb and matzo, or unleavened bread. When the meal was completed, the third cup of wine, known as the Cup of Blessing, was drunk. The Mishnah preserves the rule that non-liturgical cups of wine

Series Number 52, ed. Sharon H. Ringe (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 173; and Jeremias, *Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 86-87.

³⁸Hahn, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 8 n. 1. The evidence for the use of wine in pre-70 C.E. Passover celebrations is important for Hahn's argument since arguments against the four cup structure rely on the mistaken assumption that wine replaced animal sacrifices after the Jerusalem Temple's destruction in 70 C.E.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 8, 8 n. 1, and 12; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 229.

could be drunk between the first and second cup of wine, and between the second and third cup of wine. Additional cups of wine, however, were strictly and explicitly forbidden between the third and fourth cup of wine. After the third cup, the Cup of Blessing, was drunk, those in attendance sang a hymn of praise to God, called the "Great Hallel," comprised of Psalms 114-118. Finally, the fourth cup, the Cup of Consummation, is drunk bringing the ceremony to an end, with the verbal response, "It is finished."⁴⁰

The Synoptic Last Supper in Light of the Traditional Passover Liturgy

Hahn detects key elements of this traditional Passover Seder structure woven into the fabric of the Synoptic Gospel accounts of the Last Supper. First, the Last Supper was held at night, and only the Passover had to be eaten at night. Wine features prominently in all three Synoptic Gospel accounts of the Last Supper, where Jesus identifies the wine with his blood and the bread with his body. Luke's Gospel even includes two separate cups of wine. Hahn believes the initial mention of wine to be either the first cup, in which case Jesus was sanctifying the meal, or the second cup, in which case Jesus and his disciples had just finished singing

⁴⁰Idem, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 8; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 229; Idem, "A Closer Look at Christ's Church,"; Idem, "The Fourth Cup: The Last Supper/Eucharist," St. Joseph Communication, audiocassette; Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 65; Idem, *The Gospel of Mark*, 45; and Idem, *The Gospel of Luke*, 63. Hahn is relying here upon Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 193, 193 n. 5, 280, and 331; Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 501-502; Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 85-86; and Marvin R. Wilson, *Our Father Abraham: Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989), 244-245.

Psalm 113 or 113-114. Hahn agrees with Bruce Chilton's observation of a parallel with the covenant in Exodus in connection with Jesus' comment at the Last Supper, in Matt. 26:28 and Mark 14:24, concerning his blood being poured out. Chilton notes this is

reminiscent of Exodus 24:6-8, where Moses declares that the blood of the sacrifices is "the blood of the covenant," and throws half of it on the altar, and half on the people. The phrase "blood of the covenant" (τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης) is common to the passage in Exodus (v. 8) and the pericopae in the Gospels; the use of "my" in Matthew and Mark, which is present from the earlier formulation (cf. chapter 2), makes the phrase as a whole clumsy, because the "blood" is now over-determined in its meaning....the reference in sayings of Jesus within the Gospels, appears to be intrusive. In order to describe the blood as "poured out," Matthew and Mark use the perfect passive participle of the verb ἐκχέω; the related verbs ἐγγέω and προσέω appear in the Septuagint at Exodus 24:6 (the latter for קָרַךְ in the Masoretic Text, cf. v. 8)....[These Gospels] understood Jesus' last meal with his disciples within the context of his final purpose, and associated the meal with a unique sacrifice at the inauguration of the Mosaic covenant.⁴¹

This means that the cup of wine which Jesus consecrates and identifies as his blood is the Cup of Blessing, which they would have drunk after the main meal. Hahn points out that Jesus asks his disciples in Luke to do this in remembrance of him. Commenting on this "remembrance," Chilton highlights the cultic significance of the language used:

The practice of fellowship at meals as ritual "body" and "blood," a communion in the manner of the covenantal sacrifice of sharings, may help to explain why the activity was conducted "for my memorial" (εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν) according to...(Luke 22:19; 1 Corinthians 11:24, 25). In the case of a sacrifice which might be consumed by priests, the portion reserved for immolation on the altar was the "memorial" (זִכְרֶה, cf. Leviticus 2:2, 9, 16, 5:12; 6:8; Numbers 5:26; τὸ μνημόσυνον in the Septuagint). The incense sprinkled on the bread of the presentation is designated in the same way in Leviticus 24:7, although it is not immolated. Aaron and his sons are to eat it (v. 9), and its presentation every sabbath is taken as a covenant (v. 8), which...[Luke's and Paul's] language of eucharist may echo; at just this point (that is, at 24:7), the Septuagint

⁴¹Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings*, 87.

renders the term *אֲנָמְנִיס* as *ἀνάμνησις*, the term used in Luke and 1 Corinthians. The notion that the activity of consuming might be involved in a sacrificial "memorial" is therefore precedented. Moreover, the agreement of Luke and 1 Corinthians in using the possessive adjective, rather than the more usual pronoun, is striking. Jesus is depicted as insisting the meals should be consumed "for my memorial," not merely in his memory.⁴²

After this third cup, Jesus and his disciples sing a hymn of praise, which Hahn identifies as the final Hallel. But, Hahn asks, where is the fourth cup?⁴³

Hahn suggests that Jesus made a reference to this fourth cup when he explained that he would not drink of the fruit of the vine again until he entered the glory of his kingdom (Matt. 26:29; Mark 14:25). Since no drinking of wine was permitted between the third and fourth cups, according to later Mishnaic regulations, this means Jesus was in fact telling his disciples that the Passover liturgy was going to be extended until Jesus entered his kingdom.

Hahn here agrees with David Daube, who, in a subsection entitled, "The Omission of the Fourth Cup," explains:

There is, however, in Matthew and Mark a reference to the fourth and last cup of the Passover liturgy. It is contained in the words: "I will not drink

⁴²Ibid, 90-91. See also his comments on page 109; and other texts Hahn uses here: Brown, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 256. On the connection between Luke and Paul, see also Mark A. Matson, *In Dialogue with Another Gospel? The Influence of the Fourth Gospel on the Passion Narrative of the Gospel of Luke*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series Number 178, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Mark Allan Powell (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 273, where he observes that while the *τοῦτο ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα μου* in Luke 22:19-20 is identical to what is found in Mark 14:22, the other phrase of Luke 22:19-20, *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, is the exact phrasing of 1 Cor. 11:24.

⁴³Hahn, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 8; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 229-230; Idem, "A Closer Look at Christ's Church,"; Idem, "The Fourth Cup,"; Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 65; Idem, *The Gospel of Mark*, 45; and Idem, *The Gospel of Luke*, 62-63. Hahn uses here, Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 193, 279-280, and 330-331; Feeley-Harnik, *The Lord's Table*, 117 and 121-124; Chilton, *A Feast of Meanings*, 66-69, 72, 96, and 98-99; and Wilson, *Our Father Abraham*, 246-247.

henceforth of this fruit of the vine until I drink it new in my father's kingdom."⁴⁴

Hahn believes this fourth cup is discussed elsewhere in all four Gospels. For example, this cup is mentioned by the Synoptics when Jesus is in the Garden of Gethsemane; he asks the Father to take "this cup" away from him. Hahn furthermore sees mention of this cup in John where Jesus asks Peter if he can drink his "cup."

Hahn acknowledges that most scholars identify Jesus' mention of the cup as related to the "cup of God's wrath" from Isa. 51:17 and Jer. 25:15, etc., but Hahn notes that the more proximate connection is with the Passover ceremony just mentioned in the Gospels. Hahn concurs with Raymond Brown who observes:

The vividness of Mark's portrayal of Jesus in Gethsemane praying about the cup is enhanced if we remember a cup reference at the Last Supper. When in Mark 14:36 Jesus says, "Take away this cup [to *potērion touto*] from me," his words echo the description in 14:23-24: Jesus "having taken a cup [*potērion*], gave thanks [*eucharistein*]...and said to them, 'This [*touto*] is my blood of the covenant that is poured out for many.'"...The connection is even closer in Luke between 22:42, "Take away this cup [*touto to potērion*] from me," and 22:20, "This cup [*touto to potērion*] is the new covenant in my blood that is poured out for you."⁴⁵

The Synoptics in Light of John: A Canonical Perspective on Jesus' Last Seder

Hahn's canonical interpretation enables him to read the Gospel of John in light of the Synoptic Gospels, and vice versa, in their final form.

⁴⁴Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 330. In addition to Daube, Hahn uses here, Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*, 508-509; and Wilson, *Our Father Abraham*, 246-247.

⁴⁵Raymond E. Brown, S.S., *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels Volume One*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 170 and 170 n. 8.

Hahn notes that despite their dissimilarities, the Gospel of John shares a number of points in common with the Synoptic Gospels—the feeding of the multitude, this “cup” saying, etc.—points which lead Hahn to claim that John was aware of the Synoptic tradition, although he did not use that tradition in his recounting of the gospel.⁴⁶ Hahn adds the observation that John also includes this Synoptic cup saying, although in different form, in the very same location and instance as the other three Gospels. In the Synoptics, Jesus bypasses wine mixed with myrrh that is offered to him on his way to Calvary. In John, however, there is a final instance of Jesus imbibing wine.⁴⁷ Hahn believes that the Gospel of John contains the fourth cup of the Passover liturgy, signaling the end of the Passover Seder begun in the Upper Room. Hahn maintains that, “What the letters of Peter (1 Pet. 1:19) and Paul (1 Cor. 5:7) state explicitly—that Christ was the

⁴⁶In an e-mail, Hahn observes a number of peculiarities concerning John’s account of the “cup” in Gethsemane. He observes that in John, there is no “are you willing to drink the cup,” nor is there any reference to an explicit Passover meal or a Passover cup of wine at the Last Supper, nor is there a prayer in Gethsemane where Jesus asks the Father to take the “cup” away from him. “So it is unexpected that John would suddenly introduce the term within the Gethsemane setting, but only after the soldiers come to arrest him (and after Peter takes his sword)—that is when Jesus insists that he must drink ‘the cup’ from the Father....Here again John seems to assume the synoptic traditions, at least the abba-prayer in Gethsemane regarding the cup, if not the cup saying during the Passover. How else do you explain the cup-saying in John 18:11 in the absence of any antecedents in John, but with a series of significant cup sayings in the synoptics?” (Hahn, e-mail to author, September 15, 2005, number 2).

⁴⁷Idem, “Come Again? *The Real Presence as Parousia*,” in *Catholic for a Reason III: Scripture and the Mystery of the Mass*, ed. Scott Hahn and Regis J. Flaherty, 31-47 (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2004), 41-42; Idem, “The Hunt for the Fourth Cup,” 8-9 and 9 n. 2; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 230-231; Idem, “A Closer Look at Christ’s Church,”; Idem, “The Fourth Cup,”; and Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 51.

spotless, unblemished Passover lamb—the Gospel of John details typologically."⁴⁸

The Centrality of the Passover in John

Hahn observes that the Passover is central to the Gospel of John. John's Gospel is the only one to call Jesus the "Lamb of God" and the only one to mention three separate Passovers. When Jesus is standing before Pilate in John 18:33-37, John mentions a fact which to Hahn appears to be unrelated to the condemnation. Pilate announces that it is the day for the Passover preparation, and Jesus will be crucified when the priests would begin slaughtering the lambs at the sixth hour (John 19:14).

John includes the further detail in 19:33, 36, Jesus' bones remained unbroken, which John explicitly connects with Exod. 12:46 (also Exod. 12:5; Num. 9:11-12), where the Passover lamb's bones were unbroken. In John 19:29, wine is lifted to Jesus by a hyssop branch, the same branch used in Exod. 12:22 to spread the Passover lamb's blood on the doorposts. John Paul Heil, upon whom Hahn relies, observes that, "A subtle but dramatic narrative strategy has been building that associates the death of Jesus with the nearness of the Jewish feast of Passover."⁴⁹ John's Gospel also has Jesus wearing the seamless garment which the high priest wore to offer sacrifices (Exod. 28:4 and Lev. 16:4 in the LXX). Jesus' tunic was

⁴⁸Hahn, "Worship in the Word," 123.

⁴⁹John Paul Heil, *Blood and Water: The Death and Resurrection of Jesus in John 18-21*, The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 27 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1995), 46.

ὑφαντὸς (woven), and was δι' ὅλου (of one piece). Hence John depicts Jesus as both the high priest offering the sacrifice, as well as the Passover lamb being sacrificed.⁵⁰

"It is Finished"

After that, Jesus, knowing that all was brought to completion, so that the Scripture would be brought to completion, said, "I thirst." There was a jar of wine vinegar: therefore they put the sponge in the wine vinegar they put it on a hyssop and raised it to his mouth. Then when he received the wine vinegar Jesus said, "It is completed."...—John 19:28-30⁵¹

When Hahn approaches John 19:28-30, where Jesus announces he is thirsty, Hahn sees this as leading to the completion of the Passover ceremony begun in the Upper Room. John makes it clear that, more than simple thirst, John interprets this remark as a fulfillment of Scripture (19:28).⁵² Furthermore, as previously noted, the sour wine lifted to Jesus

⁵⁰Scott Hahn, *The Lamb's Supper: The Mass as Heaven on Earth* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 20, 23; Idem, "Worship in the Word," 123; Idem, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 7 and 9-10; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 228; Idem, "The Fourth Cup,"; Idem, "The Gospel of John,"; and Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of John*, 53-54. Hahn follows a number of scholars here, e.g., Ignace De La Potterie, S.J., *The Hour of Jesus: The Passion and the Resurrection of Jesus According to John* (New York: Alba House, 1989 [1983 and 1984]), 134-137; Brown, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 62; Idem, *Gospel According to John xiii-xxi*, 883, 920-921, and 930; Idem, *The Gospel and Epistles of John: A Concise Commentary* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1988), 94-95; Idem, *A Crucified Christ in Holy Week: Essays on the Four Gospel Passion Narratives* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 65 and 67; Idem, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 358; Idem, *Death of the Messiah I*, 34; Idem, *Death of the Messiah II*, 956-957, 1076-1077, and 1371-1372; and Karel Hanhart, *The Open Tomb: A New Approach, Mark's Passover Haggadah (± 72 C.E.)* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 304.

⁵¹My own translation from, "Μετὰ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται, ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή, λέγει, Διψῶ. σκεῦος ἔκειτο ὄξους μεστόν· σπόγγον οὖν μεστόν τοῦ ὄξους ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στόματι. ὅτε οὖν ἔλαβεν τὸ ὄξος [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Τετέλεσται...."

⁵²Hahn here is following Brown, *Death of the Messiah II*, 1059, 1070, and 1073 n. 107. On 1070, Brown mentions that the Passover is the key to Jesus' passion in John, since it opens in John 13:1. This second part of John's Gospel is commonly called the "Book of Glory." Both 13:1 and 19:28 point to what is finished. "Part of the solution is that the

was lifted to him on a hyssop branch (19:29), which was the same plant used to smear the Passover lamb's blood on the doorposts in the first Passover ceremony preceding the exodus. Hahn identifies this sour wine as the Cup of Consummation, the fourth cup which Jesus said in the Synoptics he would not drink again until he entered the glory of his kingdom. According to Hahn, John's Gospel portrays Jesus reigning victorious from the cross. Hahn writes that, Jesus "dies as paschal lamb and king as well as high priest in John's typological account...."⁵³

For Hahn, then, the Passover ceremony did not end with the Last Supper in the Upper Room, rather it ended on the cross, where, as with the culmination in traditional Jewish Passover Seders, Jesus drank wine and uttered the words, "It is finished." The Passover, representing the Old Covenant, is now completed. Likewise, in Hahn's reading, Jesus' sacrifice did not begin on the cross, rather it began in the Upper Room when Jesus multiplied his body and blood, as he had multiplied bread in the feeding of the multitude episodes in all four Gospels, and passed the bread and wine—which he identified as his body and blood—to his disciples. John thus envisions Jesus' death as initiating a "new exodus."⁵⁴ Hahn explains, "As the first exodus is preceded by the institution of a liturgical memorial,

opening of the Last Supper and the death of Jesus on the cross are all part of the same 'hour.'"

⁵³Hahn, "Worship in the Word," 123.

⁵⁴Ibid, 122; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 233-234 and 237; Idem, "A Closer Look at Christ's Church,"; Idem, "The Fourth Cup,"; Idem, "The Hunt for the Fourth Cup," 10-11; Hahn and Mitch, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 65; Idem, *The Gospel of Mark*, 45; Idem, *The Gospel of Luke*, 63; and Idem, *The Gospel of John*, 43.

by which Israelites would annually celebrate their establishment as a people of God, so too Christ institutes a memorial of his exodus in the Eucharist."⁵⁵

V. Theological Implications: Eucharistic Kingdom

Hahn draws a number of theological implications from his examination of the Institution Narratives in the Synoptic Last Supper passages in light of John 6 and John's Passion Narrative. Hahn mentions that:

For John, the hour of Jesus' Passion, crucifixion and death is also the hour of his greatest glory; his abject humiliations constitute his exaltation; his apparent defeat at the hands of his enemies is seen as his supreme triumph; and his death is actually the event that brings life to the world....⁵⁶

He argues that we can see a canonical interpretation forming of Jesus' real presence in the Eucharist, as well as the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. Furthermore, Hahn connects this to Jesus' Kingdom, especially in light of the Gospel of Luke.

On the Road to Emmaus: Jesus Present in the Eucharist

Hahn's reading of Luke's story concerning the Road to Emmaus is eucharistic. He notes connections between Luke's account of the meal at Emmaus and the Last Supper account in the Institution Narrative. In both accounts Jesus *takes bread, blesses it, breaks the bread, and gives it to his*

⁵⁵Hahn, "Worship in the Word," 123. A number of scholars that Hahn uses make the connection between the wine drunk from the cross, and the cup Jesus mentions in the Garden of Gethsemane, e.g., Webster, *Ingesting Jesus*, 126; and Heil, *Blood and Water*, 100 and 102. Raymond Brown links the cup in John's description of Gethsemane with that found in the Synoptics' portrayal of Gethsemane. See Brown, *Gospel According to John xiii-xxi*, 813; and Idem, *Death of the Messiah II*, 1074.

⁵⁶Hahn, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 231.

disciples, exactly as Jesus did at the Last Supper. In fact, it is only at the feeding of the multitude in 9:10-17, the Last Supper in 22:7-38, and this meal at Emmaus in 24:13-35, that Luke describes bread being broken (using either κλάω or κατακλάω). This same expression will be found again in Luke's Book of Acts (2:42, 46; 20:7 11; 27:35). Hahn notes that "breaking bread" was the term used by early Christians for the Eucharist.⁵⁷

Hahn and Curtis Mitch write that, "The structure of the Emmaus episode reflects the structure of the eucharistic liturgy, where Jesus gives himself to the Church in word and sacrament, in the proclamation of Scripture (24:27) and in the eucharistic Bread of Life (24:30, 35)."⁵⁸ Hahn maintains that what was implicit in Luke's account of the Last Supper—namely the identity of the bread and wine as Jesus' body and blood—is:

explicit in the Emmaus account, in which the visible presence of the Lord vanishes during the distribution of the pieces (23:31), since, in light of 22:19, his presence is now identified with the bread. Thus the messianic king is "made known" to the disciples "in the breaking of bread" (24:35).⁵⁹

Hahn maintains that a canonical reading of Scripture points in the direction of some form of real presence of Jesus in the Eucharist. He bases this view on three aspects of the text. 1) Jesus identifies the eucharistic bread and wine with his body and blood in the Synoptic Last Supper accounts. 2) Jesus disappears upon distributing the bread and then the

⁵⁷Idem, "Kingdom and Church in Luke-Acts," 307-313, 316, 320, and 321; and Hahn and Mitch, *Gospel of Luke*, 63 and 68-69; and Brown, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 261.

⁵⁸Hahn and Mitch, *Gospel of Luke*, 68; and Brown, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 261 n. 72.

⁵⁹Hahn, "Kingdom and Church in Luke-Acts," 310.

disciples recognize Jesus in the breaking of the bread. Finally, 3) Jesus identifies his flesh and blood as bread and drink in John 6.

From Aqedah to Pesach: The Sacrificial Nature of the Eucharist

Hahn's canonical reading of the New Testament also leads to the conclusion that the Eucharist contains a sacrificial element. Hahn goes beyond his earlier link between Jesus' eucharistic comments in the Gospels and his sacrifice on the cross as the Lamb of God and high priest in his comments on the Book of Hebrews. Here Hahn makes another connection between Jesus' once and for all sacrifice on the cross, and that one time sacrifice's re-presentation in every Eucharist. Hahn posits that the Eucharist from the Synoptic Institution Narratives provides Hebrews with the background for understanding Jesus' role as high priest. Hahn observes that:

Just as Jer. 31:31-34 is the only (OT) source which explicitly mentions a "new covenant," so its only Synoptic occurrence is found in the Last Supper when Jesus institutes the Eucharist. Moreover, the Passover setting is reminiscent of the emphasis on the "firstborn son," i.e., the primary object of sacrifice or substitution in the original Passover.⁶⁰

Although Hebrews does not explicitly mention the Eucharist, Hahn believes that the Eucharist is the probable background for Hebrews' understanding of Jesus as high priest. Based upon Heb. 8:10, 9:9-10, and 10:16, Hahn claims that Hebrews contrasts the Old Covenant with the New Covenant by showing how in the former, the rituals could not "perfect the conscience," whereas in the latter, they can. The contrast,

⁶⁰Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 624 n. 210.

according to Hahn, is not that the Old Covenant contained outward rituals whereas the New Covenant contained no rituals. The New Covenant preserves outward rituals, such as baptism and the Lord's Supper. The message is that the Old Covenant's rituals pointed toward the perfected rituals of the New Covenant which can "perfect the conscience."⁶¹ According to Hahn, Hebrews

points to the typological shape of the priestly sacrifice of Christ, which...[Hebrews] presents according to a twofold pattern that...[Hebrews] finds (or builds) from six of the most important Old Testament texts (repeatedly) cited in Hebrews: Gen. 14 and 22; Ex. 24 and Lev. 16; 2 Sam. 6-7 and Ps. 110. These indicate a twofold pattern which is helpful for showing both aspects of Christ's royal priestly sacrifice: first, the *Eucharist*, which Christ institutes in the Upper Room (i.e., he swears an oath which ratifies the New Covenant in his blood); and second, to his *death* upon the cross (i.e., he bears the curse of the broken Old Covenant in his body).⁶²

The Aqedah thus looms large throughout Hahn's discussion, here, as it did in his discussion of the covenant in the previous chapter. The Aqedah prefigured the Passover sacrifice, where the Passover lamb was provided, and also Jesus' sacrifice, where Jesus bore the curses pre-enacted with "the binding" of Isaac, in order to bless all the nations, as we saw in the previous chapter. The Eucharist is not a new sacrifice of Christ, in Hahn's reading, but rather a means of making Christ's original sacrifice present again and again in the eucharistic bread and wine; an unbloody sacrifice which Christ presents in heaven as our high priest, allowing us to remain united to him as members of Christ's body.

⁶¹Ibid, 624-625, 626 n. 215, 627 n. 218, 628-630, and 628 n. 219.

⁶²Ibid, 629-630.

Jesus' Kingdom as Davidic and Eucharistic

Hahn continues his theological reflections using his canonical hermeneutic to show how the Last Supper, especially as detailed in Luke's Gospel, holds the key to understanding Jesus' kingdom. Luke presents Jesus as the heir to the throne of David, and thus there is a strong Davidic shape to both Luke and Acts. Hahn explains that, at least as far as Luke is concerned, "the kingdom of Jesus is the kingdom of Israel, and the kingdom of Israel is the kingdom of *David*."⁶³ In both 1 Chron. 28:5 and 2 Chron. 13:8 the kingdom of יהודה is identified as the Davidic Kingdom. Hahn further notes that in a number of places in 1 Chronicles, the worshipping group in the Davidic Kingdom is called the קהל, translated as ἐκκλησία in the LXX (see, for example, 13:2-4; 28:2-8; 29:1, 10, 20). This is likewise the case throughout 2 Chronicles (e.g. 1:3-5; 6:3-13; 7:8; 10:3; 20:5-14; 23:3). ἐκκλησία is used more often in 1 and 2 Chronicles than any other section of the LXX, and Hahn mentions that the Chronicler's use of ἐκκλησία may provide an important background for understanding how Acts uses ἐκκλησία.⁶⁴

Hahn lists sixteen major Davidic themes that relate to Jesus which are found in Luke. 1) Luke 1:27 highlights that Jesus' legal parent, Joseph, was from the "house of David." 2) In Luke 1:32-33, at the Annunciation, the

⁶³Idem, "Kingdom and Church in Luke-Acts," 296 n. 12.

⁶⁴Ibid, 295, 295 n. 10.

angel Gabriel describes Jesus by selecting central Davidic themes from 2 Sam. 7:1-17. 3) In Luke 1:69 Zechariah provides a reference to Psalm 132:17, a royal Davidic Psalm, in his reference to "the house of his servant David." 4) In Luke 2:4 and 2:11, Jesus' birth is placed in Bethlehem, which means "house of bread," or "bread basket," which is also where David is from, and is thus called "the City of David." 5) In Luke 2:8-20 shepherds are the first witnesses to Jesus, who is seen as a "Son of David"; David of course was a shepherd, and this Lukan passage may be an allusion to Mic. 5:1-3.

6) In Luke 3:22, when Jesus is baptized, the heavenly voice announces that Jesus is God's son, adapting the words from Psalm 2 which refers to Davidic kings. 7) Jesus is related to David according to Luke's genealogy in 3:23-28. 8) Jesus makes a comparison with himself and David, and between his disciples and David's followers in Luke 6:1-5. 9) In Luke 9:28-36, at the Transfiguration, the heavenly voice borrows from Psalms 2:7 (again) and 89:3, references to David and Davidic kings. 10) Luke 10:22 recalls Jesus' relationship with God as father, which is a Davidic motif. 11) Jesus is twice called "Son of David" in Luke 18:35-43.

12) Luke 19:28-48 is a deliberate parallel to Zech. 9:9-10, which culls imagery from the Davidic King Solomon's coronation. 13) Luke alludes to Jer. 30-33 with Jesus' words concerning the "new covenant" in his blood, at the Last Supper, and Jeremiah's passage is a vision of the Davidic

Kingdom's reunification of Israel and Judah. 14) The Last Supper in Luke 22:29-30 uses Davidic themes from Psalms 89:3-4, 122:3-5, and 2 Sam. 9:9-13. 15) In Luke 23:37-38 Jesus is called the "King of the Jews," and in Luke 23:35, he is seen as the "Chosen One," both terms associated with David, or the Davidic Kingdom. Finally, 16) Acts 2:14-36, 13:16-41, and 15:13-21 envision Jesus as the heir to David, as the Messiah. These Davidic themes are especially present at key places in Luke's works, in the Infancy Narrative and the apostolic preaching in Acts.⁶⁵

Hahn sees eight major similarities between Davidic Kings and Jesus. 1) In Luke 1:32-33, the angel's description of Jesus is connected to 2 Sam. 7:9-16, which provides the background for the former. 2) Jesus is even more accurately described as a "Son of God" than any Davidic King, since he is seen as God's son in Luke. 3) The term "Christ" which is applied to Jesus throughout Luke, referred to the Davidic King in the Old Testament. 4) Luke emphasizes Jerusalem, which was central for David, more than any of the other three Gospels. 5) Luke emphasizes the Temple, which was in Jerusalem. 6) Jesus, in Luke, is intent on attempting to reunite the twelve tribes of Israel, as they were united under King David. 7) As with the Davidic King, Jesus' kingship is meant to extend to all nations. Finally,

⁶⁵Ibid, 297-299. See also 300-302.

8) just as with David, Jesus' kingship is supposed to be an eternal kingship.⁶⁶

Hahn also connects Jesus' Davidic Kingdom in Luke with the three most important meal scenes in Luke. 1) At the feeding of the multitude in Luke 9:17, twelve baskets remain afterward, which Hahn sees representing the unification of the twelve tribes of Israel under Jesus, the "Son of David" (1 Kings 4:20; 8:65-66). 2) At the Last Supper, Jesus announces that his kingdom will arrive soon. Finally, 3) Hahn understands Jesus' disciples' remark at Emmaus, regarding Jesus' "redemption of Israel," that they were referring to the restoration of the Davidic Kingdom, in light of Luke's Infancy Narrative (1:68-69).⁶⁷

Furthermore, Hahn highlights 5 important differences between Luke's Last Supper account and those in the other Synoptic Gospels, which underscore the importance of the Davidic Kingdom in Luke's Gospel. Hahn explains:

(1) the repetition of Jesus' statement that he "will not eat until the kingdom of God comes" and its placement at the beginning of the pericope rather than in the body; (2) the command "do this in remembrance of me" (v. 19); (3) the specification of the cup as the "new" covenant; (4) the placement of the discussion of precedence among the disciples here rather than earlier in Jesus' career; and (5) the inclusion of unique features in the promise of "thrones" for the apostles and its location at the end of the...[Institution Narrative]....It is significant that *kingdom motifs* mark four of these five uniquely Lukan elements of the...[Institution Narrative], and elements in the third and fifth have a strongly *Davidic* resonance. Luke, more than any other evangelist, wishes

⁶⁶Ibid, 303-306 and 305-306 n. 70.

⁶⁷Ibid, 307.

to stress the relationship between the Last Supper and the kingdom of God.⁶⁸

Hahn believes Luke portrays God covenanting his kingdom to Jesus, his Davidic Kingdom, and Jesus then conferring this kingdom on the apostles.⁶⁹ Hahn maintains that:

the disciples are now—at the Last Supper—"eating and drinking at my [Jesus'] table."...there exists some intentional correspondence between the eucharistic eating and drinking in the narrative present of Luke 22 and the eschatological eating and drinking promised in verse 30a....in Acts the kingdom is portrayed as already present in the ministry of the apostles and the growing ἐκκλησία. When the apostles "break bread" in "remembrance" of Jesus in the post-Pentecost community (the church), it is an experience of the messianic banquet, with the messianic king present, as it were, in body and blood. The apostles' eucharistic practice in the early church is, therefore, the fulfillment of Jesus' promise here that they will "eat and drink at my table in my kingdom."...the celebration of the Eucharist manifests the kingdom. Kingdom and Eucharist are tightly bound: it is a *eucharistic kingdom*.⁷⁰

Furthermore, according to Hahn, Jesus' description of how the gospel is to spread in Acts 28:31 deals with the spreading of his kingdom, and, furthermore, it is a "Davidic map"; it is the same geographical extent God promised for the Davidic Kingdom: Judea (2 Sam. 5:5; 1 Kings 12:21), Samaria, northern Israel (1 Kings 12:16), and the nations, all over the earth, or, the Gentiles (Isaiah 49:6; Psalms 2:7-8; 72:8-12; 89:25-27). Jesus is the heir to David in Luke, and therefore, his kingdom is the fulfilled Davidic Kingdom in Luke, which is present in some form already, since he entrusted it to his disciples at the Last Supper.⁷¹ Hahn concludes that:

⁶⁸Ibid, 308. See also Hahn's summary on 308-312.

⁶⁹Ibid, 312.

⁷⁰Ibid, 313. See also Idem, "Come Again?" 42; and Heil, *The Meal Scenes in Luke-Acts*, 190.

⁷¹Hahn, "Kingdom and Church in Luke-Acts," 316 and 320.

the whole kingdom (i.e., the whole church) is united by the indwelling Holy Spirit and the celebration of the Eucharist, in which the King becomes present, the kingdom manifest, and the earthly citizens of the kingdom participate in the perpetual messianic banquet of the heavenly King.⁷²

VI. Conclusion

Hahn's canonical reading of Scripture brings him to several distinctive conclusions: Hahn first argues for a working hypothesis of a Holy Tuesday tradition as opposed to a Holy Thursday tradition. Second, Hahn argues that John's Bread of Life Discourse alludes to the Last Supper accounts found in the Synoptic Gospels. He makes his case primarily on account of Jesus' teaching concerning his flesh being bread that must be eaten and his blood being drink that must be imbibed, as well as the strong Passover background to the narrative.

Third, Hahn argues that the basic four-cup structure to the traditional Jewish Passover Seder underlies the Last Supper presentation in the Synoptic Gospels. This structure focuses on the Passover bread-breaking, the third liturgical cup of wine—the Cup of Blessing—and the hymn singing, which he identifies as the Great Hallel. Hahn finds the fourth cup of wine, the Cup of Consummation, in the sour wine Jesus drinks while dying on the cross in the Gospel of John. Hahn sees the crucifixion, then, as "a liturgical sacrifice," which is re-presented in the Eucharist.⁷³

Finally, he maintains that the Passover Sacrifice Jesus underwent began at the Last Supper in the Upper Room, where Jesus instituted his

⁷²Ibid, 321.

⁷³Idem, "Worship in the Word," 123.

kingdom, and this Passover ceremony culminated with Jesus drinking "the fourth cup" of wine on the cross, uttering, "It is finished," and dying, where he reigned as king from the wood of the cross. In the words of Brown, whom Hahn follows at a number of points in his interpretation here, although Brown is referring specifically to John's Gospel:

...Jesus' having brought about that offering of wine by his "I thirst" would have both finished the work that the Father had given him to do and completed the Scriptures....[This] explains not only that Jesus provoked this offering by saying, "I thirst," but also that he took the proffered wine when it was brought forward to his mouth—something mentioned only in John. In 18:11 Jesus said that he wanted to drink the cup the Father had given him; when Jesus drinks the offered wine, he has finished this commitment made at the beginning of the...[Passion Narrative]. When Jesus drinks the wine from the sponge put on hyssop, symbolically he is playing the scriptural role of the paschal lamb predicted at the beginning of his career, and so has finished the commitment made when the Word became flesh....His own "I thirst," echoing Ps 22:16, has caused the offering of vinegary wine on hyssop, fulfilling not only Ps 69:22 but also the exodus motif of sprinkling the lamb's blood....Accordingly his "It is finished" refers both to the work the Father has given him to do and to the fulfillment of Scripture. As "Lamb of God" he has taken away the world's sin, thus fulfilling and completing the role of the paschal lamb in OT theology.⁷⁴

As all of the above demonstrates, Hahn's reading of these passages in Scripture is highly theological. Hahn reads the diverse texts of Scripture in light of each other, recognizing differences in the texts, but reading them together as a canonical whole. The next chapter will explore how evangelical Protestant biblical scholarship taught Hahn to read the Bible as the Word of God.

⁷⁴Brown, *Death of the Messiah II*, 1077-1078.

Chapter 3

Scott Hahn's Evangelical Sensibility: Bible as the Inspired Word of God

I. Introduction

The Bible is the cornerstone of evangelical Protestantism. From having individual devotional reflection time on Scripture, to using the Bible as a tool for apologetics, to inspiring praise and worship song lyrics, to the ubiquitous evangelical group Bible study, evangelical Protestants treasure the Holy Book. In all of these activities, the Bible is understood to be a communication from God and hence ultimately the task of biblical interpretation is to discern what God is communicating. In other words, seeing the text as inspired provides a basic orientation for evangelicals reading Scripture; it is both highly valued and implicitly trusted. This evangelical sensibility, while generally foreign to the academy, is crucial to understanding Scott Hahn's reading of biblical texts.

The previous two chapters considered Hahn's biblical exegesis by examining how he views the covenant as a central unifying theme of Scripture and by looking more closely at his reading of the Last Supper narratives in the Gospels. Hahn arrives at distinctly Catholic conclusions in his exegesis, especially regarding the Eucharist, and yet his interpretations have at least partial roots in his evangelical Protestant background. This

chapter will consider the background of this evangelical sensibility as pertains to the reading of Scripture, ultimately situating Hahn within this context.

First, I will discuss the rise of evangelical Protestantism in the U.S., beginning with its eighteenth and nineteenth century formative context. Crucial to this history is the role of biblical inerrancy, and hence the second section will offer a discussion of inerrancy as an important characteristic of U.S. evangelicalism. After this overview, I will provide a specific account of the training that Hahn acquired, particularly from Meredith G. Kline and Gordon Paul Hugenberger. These two scholars indicate another source behind Hahn's appreciation and trust of the Biblical text: Jewish biblical scholar Max Margolis and his student Cyrus Gordon. Margolis and Gordon influenced a number of twentieth century evangelical Protestant Old Testament scholars, who shaped Hahn's early exegetical training. Finally, I will highlight evangelical characteristics of Scriptural interpretation from this narrative in order to describe Hahn as an evangelical Protestant biblical exegete, prior to his entrance into the Catholic Church.

I. The Rise of Evangelicalism

Evangelicalism has a variety of roots which gave rise to its current forms and shapes in the United States.¹ The term evangelical is contested, and so I will be using it to describe those who self-identify as evangelicals. American evangelicalism in its contemporary form is one Christian response to pluralism, so it can be said that pluralism produced evangelicalism. Indeed, that which is commonly referred to as "evangelicalism" today did not exist before the twentieth century. And yet its roots in the U.S. go back to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the time of the American Revolution, and especially to the revivals, the "Great Awakenings." Associated with figures such as George Whitfield and Jonathan Edwards, the early revival movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries left an indelible mark on evangelical piety.

The Scottish Common Sense Enlightenment also aided the emergence of later evangelicalism, producing what George Marsden and Mark Noll have called the "evangelical mind."² After the Civil War,

¹D.G. Hart has recently challenged the usefulness of the designation "evangelical" in his recent work, *Deconstructing Evangelicalism: Conservative Protestantism in the Age of Billy Graham* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2004). See especially his comments on pages 16, 19, and 175-191, where he argues that the term "evangelical" is used so broadly that it ceases to be helpful as an identifier. Hart's criticism notwithstanding, this dissertation will follow George Marsden and Mark Noll in using the designation "evangelical," because many of the individuals discussed in this chapter self-identify as "evangelicals" and because the term remains useful as a general description of a particularly broad but unique expression of Christianity in the modern period, just as the term "Christianity" remains useful for describing a particular religious tradition, even though "Christianity" is even broader than "evangelical."

²E.g., George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century*

Dispensationalism, which would become a dominant characteristic of later evangelical theology, entered the U.S. and began to influence Protestant Christianity. As the nineteenth century ended, a number of Christian leaders lamented that their mainstream denominations were becoming "liberal" as evidenced by some mainstream denominations applauding nineteenth century historical biblical criticism and contemporary evolutionary theory.³ It was in this pluralist context that U.S. evangelical Protestantism developed. These factors taken together are

America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970); Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994); and Idem, "The Evangelical Mind in America," in *Should God Get Tenure? Essays on Religion and Higher Education*, ed. David W. Gill, 195-211 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1997).

³I am by no means making a sharp distinction between "liberal" and "conservative" Protestantism, I am simply using the term "liberal" as expressing varying degrees of willingness to appropriate concepts and practices that were considered "modern" by their contemporaries; specifically a willingness to accept modern biological evolutionary theories, and biblical historical critical exegetical methods and assumptions. The sharp dichotomy of "liberal" and "conservative" Protestantism has been demonstrated to be problematic. See, e.g., the fine essays which dismantle such an overly simplistic dichotomy in Douglas Jacobsen and William Vance Trollinger, Jr., ed., *Re-Forming the Center: American Protestantism, 1900 to the Present* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1998). Also, I do not intend to imply that Dispensationalism is prior to historical criticism. The roots of historical criticism go back at least as far as the seventeenth century in the works of Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, and Richard Simon. See, e.g., Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 95 and 117; and James Barr, "Interpretation, History of: Modern Biblical Criticism," in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 322. It was the nineteenth century, however, and especially William Robertson Smith's role as editor of the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and his other publishing activities that facilitated the dissemination of historical criticism, a primarily but not exclusively German and French activity, to the English-speaking world. See, e.g., Judith Shiel, "William Robertson Smith in the Nineteenth Century in the Light of His Correspondence," in *William Robertson Smith: Essays in Reassessment*, ed. William Johnstone, 78-85 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 83-84; J.W. Rogerson, *The Bible and Criticism in Victorian Britain: Profiles of F.D. Maurice and William Robertson Smith* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 85 and 97-98; Idem, "W.R. Smith's *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*: Its Antecedents, its Influence and its Abiding Value," in *William Robertson Smith*, ed. Johnstone, 135-136; and Rudolf Smend, "William Robertson Smith and Julius Wellhausen," in *William Robertson Smith*, ed. Johnstone, 229.

the primary catalysts in the rise of Protestant evangelicalism in the U.S., beginning with American Protestant revivalism.⁴

Revivalism in the post-colonial period and well into the later nineteenth century became a central force shaping popular Protestant Christianity in the U.S.; it served as a means of mass evangelism which sought to create a "spiritual awakening" in individuals. These revivals were individualistic by nature in that their emphasis was on the individual's conversion, focusing, furthermore, on individual choice and conviction. Revivalism also placed an emphasis on leaders who were charismatic public speakers and hence had the ability to gather large crowds by their preaching. These characteristics were forged in the revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, after the Revolutionary War and the

⁴George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1991), 97, 110, 118, 120, and 128-130; Idem, "From Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism: A Historical Analysis," in *The Evangelicals: What They Believe, Who They Are, Where They Are Changing*, rev. ed., ed. David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge, 142-162 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House 1977 [1975]), 143, 146-147 and 154-155; Mark A. Noll, "Revival, Enlightenment, Civic Humanism, and the Evolution of Calvinism in Scotland and America, 1735-1843," in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States*, ed. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, 73-107 (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 79-80; Idem, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1992), 103-105, 110-113, and 154-155; Idem, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 95; Idem, "Comparative Evangelical History," *Evangelical Studies Bulletin* 9 (Fall 1992) : 7-8; and Michael Gauvreau, "The Empire of Evangelicalism: Varieties of Common Sense in Scotland, Canada, and the United States," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, 219-252 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 223-224.

Civil War respectively, and have come to typify twentieth century evangelicalism.⁵

Another factor that influenced the reception of the revivals was the Christian appropriation of Scottish Common Sense philosophy at the turn of the eighteenth century, affecting virtually all aspects of proto-evangelical piety and theology. The Scottish Common Sense Enlightenment exerted an influence in many levels of American society, from universities and sciences to Christianity as expressed in both Protestantism and Catholicism. For the latter, Scottish Common Sense Realism provided "common sense" arguments for papal infallibility in the nineteenth century, while evangelical Protestants similarly utilized arguments for biblical inerrancy.⁶ Key to the philosophy underpinning this later doctrine of inerrancy is the idea that there is direct unmediated access to the external world. In other words, anyone possessing "common sense" could discover the objective truth about a point in question.

This philosophy not only imbued nineteenth century American Christianity, but also the burgeoning fields of nineteenth century history and science.⁷ Science and history tended to be logical positivist, involving

⁵Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, 87; Noll, "Revival, Enlightenment, Civic Humanism," 80; and Idem, *History of Christianity*, 103 and 110-113.

⁶Sandra Yocum Mize, "The Papacy in Mid-Nineteenth Century American Catholic Imagination," (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1987); Idem, "The Common-Sense Argument for Papal Infallibility," *Theological Studies* 57 (June 1996) : 242-263; and Hart, *Deconstructing Evangelicalism*, 146-147.

⁷Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 34.

the belief in unmediated "facts." Such "facts" in nineteenth century history and science "are seen as prior to and independent of interpretation."⁸ These positivist science and history disciplines of the early twentieth century and the "common sense" habits of mind present in evangelical Protestantism hence share this common origin. What made this philosophy so attractive to American Christians was its seemingly deft response to Humean skepticism.⁹

Following the Civil War, reading the Bible through the philosophical lenses of "common sense" also aided the rise of Dispensationalism in the U.S. Dispensationalism held that God works with humanity in different dispensations, viz. differently for different groups of people during different times. At the heart of Dispensationalism is premillennialism, which holds that Jesus will return after a period of tribulation, and will reign on earth for a thousand years before the end of the world. Such premillennialism includes a rapture wherein all true followers of Jesus are caught up in the

⁸Ibid, 2. Novick provides an account of how history in the U.S., particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, functioned and was viewed. He writes that, "This...was the model of scientific method which, in principle, the historians embraced. Science must be rigidly factual and empirical, shunning hypothesis; the scientific venture was scrupulously neutral on larger questions of end and meaning; and, if systematically pursued, it might ultimately produce a comprehensive, 'definitive' history" (37). Earlier, Novick mentions that, "No group was more prone to scientific imagery, and the assumption of the mantle of science, than the historians" (p. 33).

⁹George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 14 and 113; Idem, *Evangelical Mind*, 47-48; Idem, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, 128-129; Noll, *America's God*, 95; Idem, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 62, 85, 87-88, and 90-93; Hart, *Deconstructing Evangelicalism*, 146-147; Gauvreau, "Empire of Evangelicalism," 223; and William L. Portier, "Fundamentalism in North America: A Modern Anti-Modernism," *Communio* 28 (Fall 2001) : 595.

sky at his second coming. As historical criticism of the Bible became more accepted at the turn of the twentieth century, Dispensational thought, which was always decidedly unpopular among mainstream Christian denominations, was now regarded as unacceptable by many Christians. For those who were Dispensationalists, however, Dispensationalism was viewed as historic.¹⁰

As the nineteenth century came to a close, mainstream Protestant denominations began to appropriate a variety of concepts which some considered "liberal" or "modern," including Darwinian evolution by natural selection, and historical biblical criticism. Catholics and Protestants alike began to utilize scientific and historical inquiry in their theological enterprises. In Catholic circles this led to what has been called the "Modernist crisis." Rome censured John Zahm because of his view on evolution while Alfred Loisy was excommunicated for his engagement with biblical historical criticism. Though many Protestant denominations were quicker to accept evolution and historical criticism than was the

¹⁰George M. Marsden, "Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon, a Comparison with English Evangelicalism," in *Modern American Protestantism in its World: Historical Articles on Protestantism in American Religious Life 10: Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, ed. Martin E. Marty, 37-54 (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1993), 37, 44, 48, and 51; Idem, *Evangelical Mind*, 190; Idem, "From Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism," 147; Idem, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, 39-41; and Portier, "Fundamentalism in North America," 581.

Catholic Church, these views were problematic in the eyes of a number of Protestant leaders, particularly at Princeton Theological Seminary.¹¹

At the dawn of the twentieth century a number of Christians scattered throughout the mainline Protestant denominations were frustrated by what they saw as their churches' capitulation to society. They believed such changes were a secularizing trend. These Christians, who were appalled that leaders in their denominations were denying traditional doctrines such as Jesus' virginal birth, or that Jesus had a bodily resurrection, broke away from their churches and began the Fundamentalist movement.¹²

With their intellectual center at Princeton Theological Seminary, these self-proclaimed Fundamentalists grouped around what they identified as five fundamental beliefs of Christianity: 1) that Jesus was actually born from a biologically virgin mother, 2) Jesus' death was

¹¹Marsden, "Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon," 48; Idem, "From Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism," 144 and 146; Idem, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, 3 and 92; Idem, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 4, 111, and 141; C.J.T. Talar, "Innovation and Biblical Interpretation," in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, ed. Darrell Jodock, 191-211 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and John L. Morrison, "A History of American Catholic Opinion on the Theory of Evolution, 1859-1950," (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1951). For important examples of Loisy's and Zahm's works, respectively, see, Alfred Loisy, *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1902); and John Zahm, *Evolution and Dogma*, reprint edition with a new introduction by Ralph E. Weber (Hicksville, New York: The Regina Press, 1975 [1896]).

¹²The distinction between Fundamentalist and evangelical Protestant is murky at best. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will use Fundamentalist to describe those who self-identify as Fundamentalist. I also include Fundamentalism under the broader category of evangelical. What distinguishes the Fundamentalists discussed here from the other evangelicals is that these Fundamentalists use the five fundamentals as a form of demarcation for purpose of social identification.

substitutionary for the believer, 3) Jesus had a bodily resurrection, 4) all biblical miracles actually occurred, and 5) the Bible was inerrant. Those who gathered under the Fundamentalist banner tended also to share in other characteristics. Dispensationalism was also a frequent shared view among these early Fundamentalists, who left their mainstream denominations to form their own groups, working to bring about conversion through their evangelistic "crusades." With its strong "common sense" realism from the later Scottish Enlightenment, much of evangelicalism is really a form of modern anti-modernism.¹³

After the World Wars, two movements splintered off from the traditional Fundamentalist movement: Neo-Fundamentalism, exemplified by Jerry Falwell, and contemporary evangelicalism, typified by Billy Graham. Unlike traditional post-1930s Fundamentalism, Neo-Fundamentalism was politically active and wished to engage society rather than withdraw from the larger society. Evangelicalism has much in common with Fundamentalism, especially in its eighteenth and nineteenth century habits of thought, the individualism expressed in its emphasis on individual choice, and the often central role of biblical inerrancy. Both modern expressions of Christianity are dependent on their leaders' ability to gain a large following. Although what makes an

¹³Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 117; Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, 115; and John H. Gerstner, "Theological Boundaries: The Reformed Perspective," in *Evangelicals*, ed. Wells and Woodbridge, 30.

evangelical "evangelical" is somewhat controversial, there remain a number of characteristics that, taken together, exemplify evangelicalism, and these were also marks of the young evangelical Scott Hahn.¹⁴

III. "Evangelical" Protestant Characteristics

American evangelical Protestantism, albeit somewhat diverse, has a number of characteristics which taken together distinguishes it as a unique brand of Christianity. David Bebbington isolates a useful list of evangelical features: 1) a focus on the Bible as the central authority, 2) an emphasis on conversion, 3) active in sharing the faith, and 4) a focus on Jesus' redemptive death.¹⁵ While all of these characteristics are important to American evangelicals, the most treasured and certainly the most visible characteristic by far is the Bible. Whether in film or in art the street preacher holding the Bible has become iconographic of American evangelicals, and, in the context of the U.S. the centrality of Scripture has almost always entailed the doctrine of biblical inerrancy.

Biblical Inerrancy

Martin Marty conveys this conviction of an inerrant biblical text when he observes, "Both evangelicals and fundamentalists insist on the 'inerrancy of Scripture' as being the most basic of all their

¹⁴George M. Marsden, "Contemporary American Evangelicalism," in *Southern Baptists and American Evangelicals: The Conversation Continues*, ed. David S. Dockery, 27-39 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993), 34; and Idem, "From Fundamentalism to Evangelicalism," 143 and 147-148.

¹⁵David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 2-19.

fundamentals."¹⁶ Evangelical Protestantism has traditionally viewed the Bible as an infallible book, often spoken of as "inerrant in the autographs" (see appendix to this chapter).¹⁷ The term "inerrancy" became an important form of demarcation in the twentieth century debates within the larger American Protestant culture concerning the infallibility of Scripture. The term was already becoming common, however, in the nineteenth century as a response to the historical critical study of the Bible.¹⁸ In fact, as Henri de Lubac makes clear, when Rationalism began to be viewed as problematic, in the 17th century, "Attention focused on the problem of inerrancy."¹⁹

¹⁶Martin E. Marty, "Tensions within Contemporary Evangelicalism: A Critical Appraisal," in *The Evangelicals*, ed. Wells and Woodbridge, 180.

¹⁷See the statement of faith on the Evangelical Theological Society Home Page. Although see F.F. Bruce, *In Retrospect: Remembrance of Things Past* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1980), 241; and Ward Gasque and Laurel Gasque, "An Interview with F.F. Bruce," *St. Mark's Review* 139 (Spring 1989) : 5-6, for Bruce's comments on the less "rigid" view of infallibility in British evangelicals compared to American evangelical insistence on "inerrancy." See also his comments in the former book, on page 241, where he writes, "The Evangelical Theological Society strikes me as being a more conservative body than the Tyndale Fellowship in this country...." Bruce, an Open Brethren Christian, is an evangelical. He has had a very intimate connection with the evangelical organization InterVarsity, and has also done work for the American evangelical magazine, *Christianity Today*, and the British journal, *Evangelical Quarterly* (see Bruce, *In Retrospect*, xi, 45, 122, 184, 271, and 278; and Gasque and Gasque, "Interview," 4 and 6). Bruce has also trained prominent evangelical biblical scholars, including: Ronald Clements, Robert Gundry, Donald Hagner, Ward Gasque, Colin Hemer, Murray Harris, Ronald Fung, David Wenham, and Moisés Silva (Bruce, *In Retrospect*, 232-234). For his interesting relationship with respected Catholic friends (one of whom was a Protestant convert to Catholicism), as well as his early rejection of anti-Catholicism, see *Ibid.*, 30, 74, 141-142, and 165.

¹⁸William Vance Trollinger, Jr., *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 26; and Mark Noll, "A Brief History of Inerrancy, Mostly in America," in *The Proceedings on Biblical Inerrancy*, 1987, 9-25 (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 9-14.

¹⁹Henri de Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit: L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Aubier, 1950), 424. My own translation from, "L'attention se concentra sur le problème de l'inerrance."

Inerrancy implies more than the Second Vatican Council's statement that Scripture teaches what God wished recorded for our salvation, *sine errore*, "without error." The specific term "inerrancy," in its usage by U.S. evangelicals, is to be understood in the light of the "common sense" philosophy which gave rise to it. Such inerrancy derives from the same seventeenth-century context as the modern understanding of the word "fact."²⁰ Such inerrancy transforms the Bible into a scientific document, in a positivist understanding of "science."

This "common sense" philosophy taught that there is unmediated access to the external world around us, and when this philosophy is run through Fundamentalist theology, the Bible is seen to contain unmediated truths. Individuals do not need to interpret Scripture; they simply need to read Scripture. Furthermore, Scripture contains answers to all possible problems. Inerrancy understood in such a way entails that the Bible is simply a collection of true propositions that must be properly arranged like pieces in a jigsaw puzzle.²¹ George Marsden explains that these evangelicals "were absolutely convinced that all they were doing was

²⁰For background on the Scottish Commonsense Enlightenment which gave the modern concepts of "facts" and "inerrancy" their meaning, see Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 209-240 and 241-259, and 357.

²¹On the origins of Protestant uses of inerrancy in the U.S., see especially, Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 5 and 55-57.

taking the hard facts of Scripture, carefully arranging and classifying them, and thus discovering the clear patterns which Scripture revealed."²²

Inerrancy became central for evangelicals throughout the twentieth century. As Mark Ellingsen notes, "Inerrancy is for a good number of evangelicals the language of social identification that distinguishes them from non-evangelical persons and institutions."²³ What Ellingsen's comment makes clear is that the purpose of inerrancy has more often than not been used as a form of demarcation by the gatekeeper organizations and affiliations of U.S. evangelicalism. Inerrancy became a litmus test for evangelical orthodoxy, and therefore, inerrancy is a social identifier more than it is a merely theological concept.

Atoning Death

Another important affirmation of evangelical Christianity is the atoning death of Jesus on the cross. From this perspective, the believer is saved solely on account of Jesus' death on the cross, and Jesus has paid the penalty of all believers' sins by dying on the cross. Evangelicals who adhere to this doctrine understand that Christians are saved from hell because Jesus has paid the penalty for their sins on the cross. This view of

²²Ibid, 56.

²³Mark Ellingsen, "Narrative Theology and the Pre-Enlightenment Ethos of the American Protestant Center," in *Re-Forming the Center*, ed. Jacobsen and Trollinger, 423. See also, Gerald T. Sheppard, "Biblical Hermeneutics: The Academic Language of Evangelical Identity," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 32 (Winter 1977) : 84, 90, and 92. On the issue of inerrancy in general, see especially, Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

atonement is often forensic, where Jesus is solely a legal substitute for the individual believer, having paid the debt the believer would have paid in hell.

Faith Alone

The central role of faith in justification, often articulated as "faith alone," is another important hallmark of evangelical Christianity. Consistent with the Reformation doctrine *sola fide*, evangelical Protestants maintain that it is by faith, usually faith alone, that an individual believer is justified. The emphasis on the sole necessity of faith is to preclude the idea that one may earn salvation apart from Jesus' saving death on the cross.

This necessity of faith for salvation means that evangelism and witness have a crucial role in evangelical Christianity. The numerous contemporary manifestations of such evangelism are also important trademarks of evangelicalism. For example, evangelicalism is known for using popular methods for evangelism. From simple tracts summarizing evangelical faith in Jesus, to t-shirts with evangelical slogans, to pop music and low-budget entertainment films, evangelicals attempt to share what they believe to be Jesus' gospel message using every available means that contemporary pop culture provides.

In summary then, biblical inerrancy, Jesus' atoning death, justification by faith, and evangelism, are important characteristics of U.S. evangelicalism. These four provide the basic context from which Scott

Hahn emerged as a young evangelical Protestant biblical exegete and Presbyterian minister. Vestiges of these, albeit transformed, remain present in his work and life today.

IV. Scott Hahn as an Evangelical Protestant Biblical Exegete

Hahn possessed all of the typical abovementioned characteristics of an evangelical while he was still a Presbyterian. While a high school student Hahn entered the world of evangelical Christianity through the para-church movement Young Life. After graduation from high school, Hahn attended Grove City College for his B.A. and then the evangelical Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, where he earned his M.Div. Hahn's formation in Young Life and training at Grove City College and at Gordon-Conwell enculturated him in this evangelical milieu. During this time he participated in Bible studies as well as group prayer and praise meetings. His evangelicalism was of a Reformed nature, that is, of the Calvinist tradition as represented by Presbyterians. Hahn's evangelicalism held the Bible and Jesus' redemptive death at its very center.

Given this background, it is not surprising that Jesus' redemptive death on the cross and the closely related issue of justification have always been central to Hahn's work. In fact, the traditional Reformation doctrine of *sola fide* and Hahn's beginning to question that doctrine played an important role in his conversion to the Catholic Church; he had a new understanding of covenant which forced him to reconsider this

traditional Protestant doctrine. The Book of James, particularly 2:24, affected Hahn's views on justification. Yet despite these changes in perspective on justification by faith, Jesus' death and resurrection, and other traditional evangelical characteristics, the topics remained close to Hahn's heart and work even after he became Catholic. It was also precisely in the area of justification that Hahn's views began to shift as he became a Catholic, melding propitiatory and expiatory language into one in a familial rather than juridical context:

the view of Christ's sacrifice as propitiating an angry God should be reconceptualized according to the familial nature of the covenant and the father-son relationship between God and his people in Christ....Christ sharing family solidarity with us enables him to undergo suffering and death as a filial act of obedience to his Father and a fraternal act of love on our behalf. Thus, in his humanity, Christ perfectly images his Father's generative act of eternal self-giving by an act of filial self-giving love. By this filial sacrifice, the just demands of God's covenant law, i.e., self-sacrificing family love, which were previously unheeded (because of mortal weakness and sin) can now finally be met by humans who live, obey, suffer, and die in covenantal union with Christ. In like manner, Christ's sacrifice is expiatory in the sense that the "flesh and blood" of our humanity is offered up to God through suffering and death as a filial act of love to cover the shame and guilt from our weakness and sin, by overcoming our fear of death, thereby delivering us from our lifelong bondage to the devil. Thus, the meaning of ἱλάσκεσθαι may be interpreted in the light of the family logic of covenant, so that the sacrifice of Christ is viewed as a response to the demands of a self-giving Father who calls humans to share the grace of divine sonship through self-sacrifice. Christ's sacrifice is thus vicarious and substitutionary, but only in a covenantal sense, i.e., of familial representation, filial participation, sacramental incorporation, trinitarian deification, etc.²⁴

The importance of evangelism and mission also gave shape to Hahn's theological life, which has continued in his work as a Catholic

²⁴Scott Walker Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," (Ph.D. Diss., Marquette University, 1995), 526-527 n. 58.

theologian and biblical exegete. In fact, the majority of his output has not been aimed at an academic audience in journals, through academic presses and the like. Rather, the overwhelming majority of Hahn's theological output has been in popular audio-cassettes, videos, television interviews, popular magazines and books, as well as the internet. Hahn has utilized virtually all conceivable forms of media to get out the message of Jesus and the Catholic Church, as he understands that message: mailings, e-mail lists, television, radio, film, CDs and tapes, VHS and DVD videos, public speaking engagements, teaching and guest lecturing, academic and lay periodicals, as well as academic and lay book publishing.

In all these evangelistic endeavors, the most important characteristic Hahn retains from his evangelical formation is a profound respect for Scripture as the communication of God to humanity. Scripture remains at the heart of all of his work. In fact, although he rejects the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura*, Scripture alone, he maintains an approach which he calls *prima scriptura*, the primacy of Scripture.²⁵ The evangelical Protestant "doctrine" of biblical inerrancy, inherited from Fundamentalism, was an important aspect of Hahn's exegesis as an

²⁵Idem, "Prima Scriptura: Magisterial Perspectives on the Primacy of Scripture for Catholic Theology and Catechetics," in *The Church and the Universal Catechism: Proceedings from the Fifteenth Convention of The Fellowship of Catholic Scholars*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, ed. Reverend Anthony J. Mastroeni, 83-116 (Steubenville, Ohio: The Fellowship of Catholic Scholars, 1992).

evangelical Protestant, and he has preserved a version of this as a Catholic biblical exegete. Even after his reception into the Catholic Church, Hahn participated in the last International Conference on Biblical Inerrancy (ICBI), held in Chicago in 1986. This organization was in fact founded by Roger Nicole, one of Hahn's mentors at Gordon-Conwell.²⁶

Hahn's trust of Scripture is a defining characteristic of his work. The understanding of covenant as a uniting theme of the Bible and Hahn's canonical reading both depend on a concept of Scripture as the inspired word of God. F.F. Bruce's former student Moisés Silva, explains that, "a Word of God corrupted by the ignorance and inconsistencies of human beings would no longer be the Word of God. We may not pit one part of Scripture against another...."²⁷ If sometimes Hahn is criticized for trying too hard to harmonize the scriptural passages, it is precisely because, with this evangelical sensibility regarding the Bible, the texts can and must be harmonized.

²⁶Idem, interview by author (22 September 2004, Steubenville, Ohio, notepad, at Hahn's home in Steubenville, Ohio). Nicole has written broadly defending the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. E.g., Roger Nicole, "The Nature of Inerrancy," in *Inerrancy and Common Sense*, ed. Roger R. Nicole and J. Ramsey Michaels, 71-95 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1980).

²⁷Moisés Silva, "Who Needs Hermeneutics Anyway?" in *An Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics: The Search for Meaning*, by Walter C. Kaiser, Jr. and Moisés Silva, 15-25 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1994), 24.

V. Hahn and Evangelical Biblical Scholarship

Hahn himself acknowledges that numerous evangelical Protestant scholars have affected how he reads the Bible.²⁸ The two figures, however, who were most instructive for Hahn are Meredith G. Kline and Gordon Paul Hugenberger, both of whom were Hahn's seminary professors at Gordon-Conwell.²⁹ Kline's and Hugenberger's work and teaching reflect this same esteem for the Bible, and yet, interestingly, their training was shaped not only by evangelicals, but by the Jewish Bible scholars Max L. Margolis and Cyrus H. Gordon. This chapter will first discuss the skills and concepts Hahn learned from his evangelical Protestant

²⁸Scott Hahn, e-mail to author (June 21, 2005); and Idem, interview by author (22 March 2006, telephone, number 1). These figures include John Murray, L. Berkhof, Gerhardus Vos, R.T. France, and Herman Ridderbos. Since graduating from seminary, and up to the present, a number of other evangelical biblical scholars have continued to teach Hahn through their work, according to Hahn's own admissions. Those he currently finds most affinity with are James D.G. Dunn, Larry Hurtado, N.T. Wright, G.K. Beale, Richard B. Hays, and Francis Watson. Hahn cites some of these latter scholars throughout his works, e.g., Dunn (22x), Wright (24x), Beale (6x), and Hays (13x).

²⁹Hahn cites Kline 30 times, and Kline's student Hugenberger 43 times, in the following works: "Kinship By Covenant"; "A Broken Covenant and the Curse of Death: A Study of Hebrews 9:15-22," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (July 2004) : 416-436; "Covenant, Oath, and the Aqedah: Διαθήκη in Galatians 3:15-18," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (January 2005) : 79-100; "Covenant in the Old and New Testaments: Some Current Research (1994-2004)," *Currents in Biblical Research* 3, no. 2 (2005) : 263-292; *A Father Who Keeps His Promises: God's Covenant Love in Scripture* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Charis, 1998); *First Comes Love: Finding Your Family in the Church and the Trinity* (New York: Doubleday, 2002); *Hail, Holy Queen: The Mother of God in the Word of God* (New York: Doubleday, 2001); *The Lamb's Supper: The Mass as Heaven on Earth* (New York: Doubleday, 1999); *Letter and Spirit: From Written Text to Living Word in the Liturgy* (New York: Doubleday, 2005); *Lord, Have Mercy: The Healing Power of Confession* (New York: Doubleday, 2003); "Worship in the Word: Toward a Liturgical Hermeneutic," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 101-136; and "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death: Διαθήκη in Heb 9:15-22," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, ed. Gabriella Gelardini, 65-88, *Biblical Interpretation Series Volume 75*, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Ellen van Wolde, with a foreword by Harold W. Attridge (Leiden: Brill, 2005). All citations statistics referenced in this chapter will be taken from the above texts. Compare the number of times Hahn cites his mentors Kline (30x) and Hugenberger (43x) with Berkhof, Vos, France, and Ridderbos combined in these texts, a mere 12 times total.

teachers, and then it will examine how some of the skills and techniques Hahn learned from them can be traced to these two Jewish scholars standing behind the evangelical Protestant exegetes.

The Evangelical Protestant Connection

Arguments concerning the historical trustworthiness of Scripture have been central to evangelical Protestant biblical scholarship throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century.³⁰ Hahn often explicitly demonstrates this conviction in his exegetical work where historical reliability is an underlying assumption.³¹ Hahn reflects F.F. Bruce's perspective on scholarship and faith in relation to Scripture, which is typical of evangelical Protestant biblical scholars: "there is no conflict between my critical or exegetical activity in a university context and my

³⁰Examples abound from each decade from the 1940s onward, e.g., F.F. Bruce, *Are the New Testament Documents Reliable?* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1943); D.J. Wiseman, *Illustrations from Biblical Archaeology* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1958); Jack Finegan, *The Archaeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Edwin Yamauchi, *The Stones and the Scriptures* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972); Craig L. Blomberg, *The Historical Reliability of the Gospels* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1987); William Lane Craig, *Assessing the New Testament Evidence for the Historicity of the Resurrection of Jesus* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen, 1989); A.R. Millard, *Discoveries from the Time of Jesus* (Batavia, Illinois: Lion Publishers, 1990); James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Old Testament Documents: Are They Reliable and Relevant?* (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2001); and K.A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003).

³¹The works of James D.G. Dunn, Larry Hurtado, and N.T. Wright continue to have an affect upon Hahn's work, and he continues to find affinity with them as biblical exegetes. The ways in which these scholars take liturgy seriously, and especially the liturgies of the earliest Christian communities, resonates with Hahn's exegesis, especially his liturgical hermeneutic. He also appreciates the ways in which these scholars treat Scripture as historically reliable. Evangelical biblical scholars like F.F. Bruce convinced Hahn of the essential historical trustworthiness of Scripture, an underlying assumption that runs throughout Hahn's work.

Bible exposition in church; the former makes a substantial contribution to the latter."³²

Gordon Paul Hugenberger and Meredith G. Kline were the two evangelical biblical scholars who instructed Hahn the most regarding biblical exegesis. Kline was Hahn's motivation to study at Gordon-Conwell; Kline, he writes, was "one of my favorite professors."³³ Hugenberger, meanwhile, was actually a Kline student at Gordon-Conwell prior to his completion of doctoral studies in England. Hugenberger was, furthermore, Hahn's pastor, Hebrew instructor, and one of his primary Old Testament professors, e.g., for a course on 1 and 2 Samuel. Hahn writes that Hugenberger "is probably the single-greatest formative influence on me as a biblical scholar."³⁴

The Jewish Connection: Max Margolis (1866-1932) and Cyrus Gordon (1908-2001)

Through Kline and Hugenberger there is, then, a Jewish connection, spanning two generations, that has shaped Hahn's work. Kline earned his Ph.D. at Dropsie College where he worked with Cyrus H. Gordon, and, as he notes, it quickly became clear Gordon was the primary professor he

³²Bruce, *In Retrospect*, 144. See also, in an essay originally published in 1869, Patrick Fairbairn, "The Historical Element in God's Revelation," in *Classical Evangelical Essays in Old Testament Interpretation*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., 67-86 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1972), 67, where he writes, "The fact that a historical element enters deeply into God's revelations of himself in Scripture is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Scripture as a Divine revelation...."

³³Scott Hahn, *Swear to God: The Promise and Power of the Sacraments* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 4.

³⁴Idem, e-mail (June 21, 2005).

should study with.³⁵ Cyrus Gordon, Kline's teacher, was taught by the Jewish scholar Max Margolis. Hahn's work is hence partially the product of the skills passed on from Margolis to Gordon to Kline to Hugenberg to himself. As his doctoral advisor, Cyrus Gordon taught Kline exegesis tools he learned from Margolis, particularly in the realm of ancient Near Eastern studies and in the ancient Near Eastern background to the Bible.³⁶ In the account that follows, I will briefly trace this skill genealogy in a chronological fashion, beginning with Margolis.

Margolis: "A Matchless Scholar"

W.F. Albright referred to Max Leopold Margolis as "a matchless scholar."³⁷ Similarly, Harry Orlinsky, past president of the Society of Biblical Literature, stated that, "Margolis' scholarship was probably not equaled in this country, just as S.R. Driver was unique in Great Britain and Julius Wellhausen in Germany."³⁸ Margolis was a renowned figure in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Jewish biblical scholarship, and through his student Cyrus Gordon's teaching, his skills were passed on to a generation of evangelical Protestant Old Testament scholars.

³⁵Meredith G. Kline, letter to author, February 1, 2006.

³⁶Although Kline maintains that "my work with Gordon didn't significantly affect my theology or hermeneutics." Writing earlier, he mentions that, "I was not there [at Dropsie College] for further training in theology but for ANE studies" (Ibid).

³⁷Mentioned in Cyrus H. Gordon, *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics: A Century of Near Eastern and Biblical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 52.

³⁸Harry M. Orlinsky, *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (New York: KTAV, 1974), 306.

Margolis was best known for his textual criticism of the Septuagint and for his command of Semitic languages. His former student Ephraim A. Speiser, notes that, "Margolis' mastery of...[the Hebrew Bible] may be judged from the fact that, given the vowel points alone, he could supply the pertinent consonants for any verse in the Bible."³⁹ Margolis taught classes on the Bible, linguistics, and various ancient languages at Hebrew Union College, the University of California at Berkeley, Dropsie College, and Hebrew University in Jerusalem.⁴⁰

Having written his dissertation in Latin, Margolis was the first person to earn a doctorate from Columbia University's (then Columbia College) Oriental Department.⁴¹ Margolis's dissertation is an example of his study of rabbinic and medieval Jewish commentaries of Scripture, which demonstrates his acquaintance with traditional Jewish biblical

³⁹Ephraim A. Speiser, "The Contribution of Max Leopold Margolis to Semitic Linguistics," in *Max Leopold Margolis: Scholar and Teacher*, ed. Robert Gordis, 27-33 (New York: Bloch, 1952), 28. Speiser claims, however, that this ability, "was by no means a mere feat of memory; it was rather an indication of his absolute command of the historical structure of Biblical Hebrew as reflected by the received vocalization." One of Margolis' other students, Cyrus Gordon, recounts this same ability: "Any seasoned Semitist can recognize a familiar Hebrew passage when he sees the consonants. Margolis, of course, could spot any consonantal citation from Scripture by chapter and often by verse. But he had so mastered the structure of Hebrew that he could also spot any biblical verse if confronted with its vocalic skeleton without any indication of the consonants." See Cyrus H. Gordon, *Forgotten Scripts: How they were Deciphered and their Impact on Contemporary Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), 143. Again, Harry Orlinsky writes that, "Margolis was unsurpassed as a textual critic," and elsewhere, "Scarcely anyone knew this discipline [the grammar of Biblical Hebrew] as thoroughly as he did" (Orlinsky, *Essays in Biblical Culture*, 306 and 310 respectively).

⁴⁰Margolis studied numerous languages, including: Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Coptic, English, Ethiopic, French, Georgian, German, Greek, Gothic, Hebrew, Hupa, Latin, Polish, Russian, Slavonic, Syriac, and Yiddish.

⁴¹Speculation is that his English was not yet sufficient. He later became known as a "master" of English idiom, and was the chief editor for the Jewish Publication Society English translation of the Hebrew Bible.

interpretation. Margolis's primary area of expertise was the Bible; he was the first modern Jewish Bible scholar according to the founder of Hebrew Union College. Margolis served as the editor of the Jewish Publication Society's English Bible translation, and was hired by Dropsie College as Professor of Biblical Philology. Margolis served as the president of the Society of Biblical Literature, was an editor of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, and served for ten years as the editor of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* until his death in 1932.⁴²

Margolis instilled in his students his methods of linguistic investigation as well as his method of utilizing both traditional and modern Jewish and Christian sources to interpret Scripture. But above all, Margolis instilled in his students the authority of the biblical texts. One scholarly penchant Margolis shared with his later students was criticisms of twentieth century biblical criticism; he believed it sought to undermine the Bible's authority.

⁴²Leonard Greenspoon, *Max Leopold Margolis: A Scholar's Scholar*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America Number 15 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 4-5, 7, 28-30, 38, 40, 42, and 44; Idem, "Max Leopold Margolis: A Scholar's Scholar (A BA Portrait)," *Biblical Archaeologist* 48 (1985) : 103-106; Idem, "On the Jewishness of Modern Jewish Biblical Scholarship: The Case of Max L. Margolis," *Judaism* 39 (Winter 1990) : 82-92; Ernest W. Saunders, *Searching the Scriptures: A History of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1880-1980*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America Number 8 (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982), 37, 83, and 89; Gordon, *Forgotten Scripts*, 140-143; Idem, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 49-53; Robert Gordis, "The Life of Professor Max Leopold Margolis: An Appreciation," in *Max Leopold Margolis*, ed. Gordis, 1-16; Frank Zimmermann, "The Contributions of M.L. Margolis to the Fields of Bible and Rabbinics," in *Max Leopold Margolis*, ed. Gordis, 17-26; Speiser, "Contribution of Max Leopold Margolis," 27-33; Harry M. Orlinsky, "Margolis' Work in the Septuagint," in *Max Leopold Margolis*, ed. Gordis, 35-44; Idem, *Essays in Biblical Culture*, 305-306 and 310; and Joshua Bloch, "Max L. Margolis' Contribution to the History and Philosophy of Judaism," in *Max Leopold Margolis*, ed. Gordis, 59.

Margolis was sympathetic to theological interpretations of Scripture precisely because he took the texts at their word.⁴³

Margolis's final influence on his students was his biblical method that is best described, retrospectively, as canonical in approach. When understanding a book of the Hebrew Bible, Margolis encouraged his students to read it not only in its original language and historical context, but in the broader context of the other books in the Jewish Hebrew Bible canon. Margolis believed these texts had been specifically placed together and hence best made sense inter-textually throughout the Hebrew Bible. The above mentioned skills imparted by Margolis's teaching were also reflected in his scholarship, namely, his 391 publications, including 15 books.⁴⁴

"A Real Cyrus"

Evangelical Old Testament scholar Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., has said that, "Cyrus [Gordon] was a real Cyrus for all of us...."⁴⁵ Like Margolis, Gordon became a skilled linguist.⁴⁶ Martha Morrison observes that:

⁴³Max L. Margolis, "Our Own Future: A Forecast and a Programme," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 43 (1924) : 1-8; Idem, *The Hebrew Scriptures in the Making* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1922), 52, 111, and 116; Idem, Review of *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, by Harold Wiener, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 1 (1910/1911) : 554-562, esp. 561-562; Idem, "Bible Study and Bible Reading," *B'nai B'rith News* (January 1913) : 10; and Greenspoon, *Max Leopold Margolis*, 122-123.

⁴⁴See the bibliography at the end of Greenspoon, *Max Leopold Margolis*.

⁴⁵Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., e-mail to author (December 14, 2005). The biblical reference is to Isa. 44:28 and 45:13.

⁴⁶The languages Gordon studied include: Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Canaanite, Coptic, Danish, Dutch, Eblaite, Egyptian, Ethiopic, French, Georgian, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hittite, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Mandaic, Minoan Linear A, Minoan Linear B, Norwegian, Persian, Phoenician, Portuguese, Punic, Sanskrit, Spanish,

Cyrus Gordon comes from the generation of scholars who, like Gilgamesh, "experienced all,...considered all, saw the hidden and laid bare the undisclosed."...Versed in what was known of the languages and history of all of the cultures of the ancient world, these "heroes" of ancient Near Eastern studies ranged across the broad panorama of antiquity and presided over the discovery of hitherto unknown civilizations. They created new and often separate disciplines focusing on individual geographical, linguistic, or technical areas of study, and led "the way at the foremost"...paving the way for those who have followed them. Cyrus Gordon is especially distinguished among his peers because he has made fundamental contributions to a number of specialized areas of research. At the same time, he has produced broad and compelling analyses of the interrelationships among the diverse cultures of antiquity.⁴⁷

The field for which Gordon is arguably best known is Ugaritic studies.⁴⁸ His *Ugaritic Grammar* was the first full treatment of Ugaritic. Concerning his book, which underwent numerous revisions, Mark Smith writes that, "the

Sumerian, Swedish, Syriac, Turkish, Ugaritic, and Yiddish. Another note about Gordon's linguistic training is that he could read many of his ancient languages in different scripts, e.g., Egyptian (hieroglyphic, demotic, hieratic, Coptic), Aramaic (Palestinian in Hebrew letters, Samaritan, Mandaic, 3 different Syriac scripts, and Aramaic in Babylonian Cuneiform), Hittite (Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic), and Arabic (traditional Arabic script as well as Judeo-Arabic, which is Arabic written using Hebrew letters). Gordon even read several different dialects of the same language, e.g., Akkadian (Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, Neo-Babylonian, Old Assyrian, Middle Assyrian, Neo-Assyrian, and Hurrian), and Aramaic (Old Imperial, Palestinian, Samaritan, Mandaic, and Syriac). This penchant for training in languages is a commonality between Margolis's students and Gordon's students, since both of them emphasized the importance of working with primary sources in their original languages, and reading texts closely. An example is Gordon's student Edwin M. Yamauchi who has studied 22 languages: Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Chinese, Comanche, Coptic, Egyptian, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Mandaic, Minoan Linear A, Minoan Linear B, Russian, Samoan, Spanish, Syriac, and Ugaritic.

⁴⁷Martha A. Morrison, "A Continuing Adventure: Cyrus Gordon and Mesopotamia," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 31.

⁴⁸For his discussion of his own role in Ugaritic Studies, see Cyrus H. Gordon, "Sixty Years in Ugaritology," in *Le pays d'Ougarit au tour de 1200 av. J.C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 28 Juin—1^{er} juillet 1993, Ras Shamra—Ougarit 11*, ed. M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil, 41-42 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995).

appearance of this book marked a new level of synthesis in the area of grammar...."⁴⁹

Gordon studied with a number of internationally renowned scholars of the Bible and the ancient Near East, including George A. Barton and Solomon Zeitlin. By 1996, Gordon was "perhaps the only living Near Eastern archaeologist who worked in the field with most of the early pioneers of archaeological research."⁵⁰ He worked with Speiser in Iraq, with Albright at Beth-Zur and Tell Beit Mirsim, with C. Leonard Woolley at Ur (where Gordon served as his Sumerian epigrapher), with Sir Flinders Petrie, and with Nelson Glueck at Edom and Moab.⁵¹ Reflecting on his most formative teachers, however, Gordon writes:

From James Montgomery, I learned what it means to be a scholar and a gentleman. Max Margolis taught me meticulous philology applied to Hebrew and cognate languages. William Albright exposed me to breadth of vision and combinatory Near Eastern Studies. There were other influential teachers in my life—but Montgomery, Margolis and Albright were the "big three."⁵²

⁴⁹Mark S. Smith, *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2001), 33-34.

⁵⁰Meir Lubetski and Claire Gottlieb, "'Forever Gordon': Portrait of a Master Scholar with a Global Perspective," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 4.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁵²Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 55-56. See also the comments in Lubetski and Gottlieb, "Forever Gordon," 4. James Montgomery was an Episcopalian priest. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and also studied in Germany at the University of Greifswald and the University of Berlin. At Penn he taught a variety of courses, including Ancient History, Ancient Religion, Ethiopic, Aramaic, Arabic, and Hebrew. He was the editor for the *Journal of Biblical Literature* from 1909-1914, and of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* from 1916-1921 and 1924. For more on Montgomery, see Cyrus H. Gordon, "A Scholar and Gentleman: James Alan Montgomery," *Biblical Archaeologist* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1983) : 187-189. Montgomery was one of the leading authorities on Mandaic incantation texts. Gordon replaced his mentor as an American authority on Mandaic incantation texts. Gordon's student, Edwin Yamauchi, then became a leading international authority on Mandaic incantation texts, and in fact, wrote his dissertation on the topic (*Idem*, "Mandaic Incantation Texts," [Diss., Brandeis University, 1964], later published as *Mandaic Incantation Texts* [New Haven:

In the words of one scholar, Gordon was an "Odysseus figure."⁵³ Like his mentors, Gordon was prolific, with a full 632 publications, including 29 books.⁵⁴ Indeed, Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, and Sharon Keller write that, he was "one of the most prolific writers of his generation, having authored several books and written hundreds of articles in almost every leading journal."⁵⁵ Gordon was the first U.S.-born, U.S.-trained, Jewish Bible scholar to accede to a university position, and he directed the

American Oriental Society, 1967]). See Gordon, "Scholar and Gentleman," 187-189; Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Magic Bowls: Cyrus H. Gordon and the Ubiquity of Magic in the Pre-Modern World," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 51-55; and M.J. Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," in *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, ed. Gary Rendsburg, Ruth Adler, Milton Arfa, and Nathan H. Winter, 47-60 (New York: KTAV and the Institute of Hebrew Culture and Education of New York University, 1980), 47. Yamauchi notes that Montgomery's was the "definitive work" on these incantation texts written on clay bowls (Idem, "Magic Bowls," 51). He also notes that, "Though other scholars...have also published magic bowl texts, it is above all Cyrus H. Gordon and his students who have offered sustained and comprehensive studies of these important texts" (Ibid, 52).

⁵³Smith, *Untold Stories*, 79: "An Odysseus figure himself, Gordon traveled the Near East and Aegean and beyond not only by land and sea, but also by new texts and scripts."

⁵⁴In addition to these some essay contributions and edited volumes continue to be published posthumously. See the bibliography at the end of Gordon, *A Scholar's Odyssey*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America 20 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000). Gordon's evangelical student Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., is generally recognized as the world's leading Hittite scholar and has nearly 200 publications solely dealing with Hittitology, including the first comprehensive grammar of the Hittite language in English: Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. and H. Craig Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007). One of Gordon's more prolific evangelical Protestant students is Edwin M. Yamauchi (who is among those singled out by Smith, *Untold Stories*, 80), who continues to publish and has 436 publications in print, including 17 books. On Yamauchi, see Edwin M. Yamauchi, "An Ancient Historian's View of Christianity," in *Professors Who Believe: The Spiritual Journeys of Christian Faculty*, ed. Paul M. Anderson, 192-199 (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1998); Kenneth R. Calvert, "Edwin M. Yamauchi," in *The Light of Discovery: Studies in Honor of Edwin M. Yamauchi*, ed. John D. Wineland, 1-23 (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick, 2007); Paul L. Maier, foreword to *Light of Discovery*, ed. Wineland, xi-xiv; and John D. Wineland, preface to *Light of Discovery*, ed. Wineland, xv-xvii.

⁵⁵Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, and Sharon R. Keller, preface to *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 273, 11-14 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 12.

dissertations of over 90 doctoral students, many of whom have marked themselves as international authorities in their respective fields.⁵⁶

Training "a Generation of Evangelical Old Testament Scholars"⁵⁷

In his autobiography, Gordon recounts his popularity among evangelical Protestant biblical scholars:

[They] came to study with me because I approach Scripture, as well as all texts, with the aim of first understanding the text as it is. I am not interested in altering a text in order to prove any theological or other preconceived idea. They trusted my integrity and knew that I respected their sacred text....At...[one] point the president of Central Baptist phoned me to say he wanted another one of my students to take Rossell's place....Some years later I received similar indication of the dent I was making in conservative Protestant biblical studies. I had been asked to speak as the annual guest lecturer at Fuller Theological Seminary. In his introduction, the president observed that over twenty of the leading conservative Protestant Old Testament professors in America were my students. He concluded by stating, "I present to you Dr. Gordon, who,

⁵⁶Gordon, *A Scholar's Odyssey*; and Gary A. Rendsburg, "Cyrus H. Gordon, the First American-Born, American-Trained Jewish Bible Scholar to Accede to a University Position," Society of Biblical Literature Website, accessed online at: <http://www.sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleId=343>, on June 20, 2005. The breadth and depth of Gordon's scholarly output is staggering, as glimpsed through the fields in which he directed dissertations as well as the fields in which he published, respectively: Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic studies (5 dissertations and 34 publications); Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern History in General (34 dissertations and 151 publications); specifically in the field of Nuzi and Hurrian studies (11 dissertations and 20 publications); in the field for which he is most famous, Ugaritic (20 dissertations and 75 publications); in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel (26 dissertations and 119 publications); Egyptology (14 dissertations and 14 publications, 6 dissertations which specifically deal with Coptic), etc. As regards his students and their recognized expertise: Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. (Hittitology—Yale University followed by the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago), Baruch A. Levine (Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism—New York University followed by Ben Gurion University), Gordon D. Newby (Early Islam, Jews in Muslim Regions, and Muhammad—Emory University—Gordon directed 2 dissertations in Arabic and Islam), David Owen (Nuzi and Hurrian Studies—Cornell University), Jack Sasson (Assyriology—University of North Carolina followed by Vanderbilt University), William Ward (Egyptology—Brown University), and Edwin M. Yamauchi (Mandaic and Mandaean Studies—Rutgers University followed by Miami University).

⁵⁷Quotation taken from Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Concord, Conflict, and Community: Jewish and Evangelical Views of Scripture," in *Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation on Scripture, Theology, and History*, ed. Marc H. Tanenbaum, Marvin R. Wilson, and A. James Rudin, 154-196 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1978), 154-155.

though not Christian, is through his students a leading figure in conservative Christian Old Testament studies."⁵⁸

Furthermore, Gordon, although a Jewish scholar, took Protestant venues seriously, publishing in *Christianity Today* and Asbury College Press.⁵⁹

Gordon also took his Protestant students seriously; he valued their scholarship and did not violate their sacred text. Edwin Yamauchi, the

⁵⁸Gordon, *A Scholar's Odyssey*, 80. See also Yamauchi, "Concord, Conflict, and Community," 154-155 and 185 n. 4. Evangelical scholars Gordon directed as doctoral students include: Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Meredith G. Kline, William Sanford LaSor, David Toshio Tsumura, William Ward, Marvin Russell Wilson, Edwin M. Yamauchi, Dwight Young, G. Douglas Young, Carl Armerding, Gordon Young, Ellis R. Brotzman, Frederic W. Bush, Arthur H. Lewis, Wiber Wallis, Roy E. Hayden, Dennis F. Kinlaw, William H. Rossell, and Elmer Smick. Although Gordon's students ended up teaching at a variety of prestigious state sponsored and private universities—including: Yale University, University of Chicago, University of Pennsylvania, Brown University, Cornell University (2 students), Emory University (2 students), New York University, University of North Carolina, Vanderbilt University, Purdue University, American University of Beirut, Rutgers University (3 students), New School for Social Research, Marquette University, Boston College, Brandeis University, Hebrew Union College, Miami University, University of Tel Aviv (2 students), University of Sydney, University of Haifa (2 students), California State at Azusa, and South Missouri State University—his students also went on to teach at evangelical and Fundamentalist Protestant colleges, fellowships, and seminaries all over the world, including: Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (3 students, including a seminary president), Fuller Theological Seminary (2 students), Trinity Evangelical Theological Seminary, Wheaton College, Westminster Seminary, Oral Roberts University, Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Japan Bible Seminary, Gordon College, Central Baptist Seminary, Bible Institute in Jerusalem, Bethel College, Denver Seminary, and Tyndale Fellowship. Edwin Yamauchi and Walter Kaiser have communicated to me that evangelicals, such as themselves, went to study with Gordon because they could learn the requisite linguistic and historical skills necessary for advanced study of the Bible and the ancient Near East, without having to subscribe to source-critical or historical-critical views antithetical to evangelical faith. In Kaiser's words, "Cyrus Gordon was the only OT scholar in those days who would risk taking on evangelical men and women....So Cyrus was a real Cyrus for all of us of that generation" (Walter C. Kaiser, Jr., e-mail to author [December 14, 2005]; and Edwin M. Yamauchi, e-mail to author [October 23, 2003]). Meredith Kline has indicated further that, although Kline cannot speak for other evangelical scholars, Gordon "encouraged this [evangelical Christian scholars studying with him], stating, as I recall, that he found this group to be the most highly motivated of all his students" (Kline, letter to author, February 1, 2006).

⁵⁹Cyrus H. Gordon, "Higher Critics and Forbidden Fruit," *Christianity Today* 4 (November 23, 1959) : 3-6; Idem, "The Minoan Bridge: Newest Frontier in Biblical Studies," *Christianity Today* 7 (March 15, 1963) : 3-8; Idem, "The Ten Commandments," *Christianity Today* 8 (April 10, 1964) : 625-628; Idem, "The New English Bible, Old Testament," *Christianity Today* (March 17, 1970) : 574-576; and Idem, "Ebla and Genesis 11," in *A Spectrum of Thought: Essays in Honor of Dennis F. Kinlaw*, ed. M.L. Peterson, 125-134 (Wilmore, Kentucky: Asbury College Press, 1982).

2006 president of the Evangelical Theological Society and a former student of Gordon's, remarks that, "Evangelicals have been especially indebted to the noted Jewish Old Testament scholar, Cyrus H. Gordon. Professor Gordon...trained a generation of evangelical Old Testament scholars."⁶⁰

In his approach, Gordon instilled in his students a respect for the texts they were studying. When it came to engaging biblical texts, his students learned to take the Scriptures at their word, even as they learned the deeper historical and cultural backgrounds to the texts. In this, Gordon's students, like Margolis's, implicitly learned a canonical method for studying Scripture long before this critical method was so named. Gordon's students were first required to understand the literal-historical level meaning of the texts in the original languages, and then they were able to understand the texts in their broader canonical context, usually within the context of the Jewish Hebrew Bible canon. Gordon, like Margolis, criticized some of the trends in mainstream biblical scholarship, which he saw as minimizing the biblical accounts, particularly with regard to the patriarchal narratives.⁶¹ Gordon's students also learned, as

⁶⁰Yamauchi, "Concord, Conflict, and Community," 154-155.

⁶¹See, e.g., Cyrus H. Gordon, *New Horizons in Old Testament Literature* (Ventnor, New Jersey: Ventnor Publishers, 1960); Idem, "Where is Abraham's Ur?" *Biblical Archaeological Review* 3 (1977) : 20-21 and 52; Idem, "Abraham of Ur," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies*, ed. D.W. Thomas and W.D. McHardy, 77-84 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); Idem, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17 (1958) : 28-31; Idem, "The Patriarchal Narratives," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13 (1954) : 56-59; Idem, "The Patriarchal Age," *Journal of Bible and Religion* 21 (1953) : 238-

Margolis's did before them, to utilize traditional and modern Jewish and Christian sources to interpret Scripture.⁶²

Adam, Eve, and the Dragon: Traditional Jewish Exegesis

One example of the traditional Jewish exegesis that Margolis and Gordon encouraged their students to utilize can be found in the Genesis account of Adam and Eve. Because of Kline's, Hugenberger's, and Hahn's use of traditional Jewish exegesis, it is valuable to consider this example before moving on to a specific instance of Hahn's own biblical interpretation. As regards Jewish exegesis, the liturgy played an important

243; Idem, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets," *Biblical Archaeologist* 3 (1940) : 1-12; Idem, "The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 66 (1937) : 25-27; Idem, "Parallèles Nouziens aux lois et coutumes de l'Ancien Testament," *Revue Biblique* 44 (1935) : 34-41; and Idem, "Fatriarchy in the Old Testament," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 54 (1935) : 223-231.

⁶²The biographical information from the above subsection may be found in Gordon, *A Scholar's Odyssey*; Idem, *Forgotten Scripts*, 135-144; Idem, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 1-2, 20, 20-21 n. 3, 26, 31, 34-41, 37 n. 5; 39 n. 8-9, 44 n. 13, 45 n. 14, 45-49, 51-6, and 70; Smith, *Untold Stories*, 28-34, 57, and 74-80; Idem, "W.F. Albright and His 'Household': The Cases of C.H. Gordon, M.H. Pope, and F.M. Cross," in "A Wise and Discerning Mind": *Essays in Honor of Burke O. Long*, Brown Judaic Studies Number 325, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Robert C. Culley, 221-244 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 2000), 223-231; Nathan H. Winter, preface to *Bible World*, VII-VIII; Gary A. Rendsburg, "Cyrus H. Gordon (1908-2001): A Giant Among Scholars," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 92 (2001) : 137-143; Idem, "Cyrus H. Gordon, the First,"; Idem, "'Someone Will Succeed in Deciphering Minoan': Cyrus H. Gordon and Minoan Linear A," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 36-43; Howard Marblestone, "A 'Mediterranean Synthesis': Professor Cyrus H. Gordon's Contributions to the Classics," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 22-30; Louis H. Feldman, "Homer and the Near East: The Rise of the Greek Genius," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 13-21; Lubetski and Gottlieb, "Forever Gordon," 2-12; Morrison, "A Continuing Adventure," 31-35; David Toshio Tsumura, "The Father of Ugaritic Studies," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, no. 1 (1996) : 44-50; and Yamauchi, "Magic Bowls," 51-55. These last seven essays in the issue of *Biblical Archaeologist* devoted to Gordon's scholarship, do a good job of showing both the depth and breadth of Gordon's scholarly output. See also the following review of Gordon's autobiography for more anecdotes of Gordon's scholarship, especially Gordon's pioneering role in the formative fields of Ugaritic and Eblaite studies, Zev Garber, review of *A Scholar's Odyssey*, by Cyrus Gordon, *Review of Biblical Literature* (2001) online at: http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/800_734.pdf.

role since Jewish liturgical celebrations were literally saturated with biblical chants, readings, and body movements. Community discipline also played a very important early role in early and Medieval Jewish biblical hermeneutics, especially as regards children. Various practices begun early in a child's life helped condition their reception of Scripture, and thus their interpretation of Scripture.⁶³ Biblical interpretation, and of course the Bible itself, has always been the center of Jewish religious life, and traditional Jewish biblical interpretation involves a variety of spiritual senses as well as a literal sense.⁶⁴

Such interpretation has often taken on the form of midrash, which rests on an allegorical level. Early and Medieval Jewish exegesis of the

⁶³Charles Perrot, "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jay Mulder and Harry Sysling, 137-159 (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2004 [1988]); and Alan Cooper, "On the Social Role of Biblical Interpretation: The Case of Proverbs 22:6," in *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Barry D. Walfish, and Joseph W. Goering, 180-193 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁶⁴For more detail on the specifics of Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish biblical interpretation, see Michael A. Signer and Susan L. Graham, "Rabbinic Literature," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity Volume I*, by Charles Kannengiesser, 120-144 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 120; Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1983); Rimon Kasher, "The Interpretation of Scripture in Rabbinic Literature," in *Mikra*, ed. Mulder and Sysling, 547-594; Barry D. Walfish, "An Introduction to Medieval Jewish Biblical Interpretation," in *With Reverence for the Word*, ed. McAuliffe, Walfish, and Goering, 3-12; Michael Fishbane, "Midrash and the Meaning of Scripture," in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. Jože Krašovec, 549-563 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Frank Talmage, "Apples of Gold: The Inner Meaning of Sacred Texts in Medieval Judaism," in *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible Through the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Green, 313-355 (New York: Crossroad, 1994); Louis Ginzberg, *On Jewish Law and Lore* (New York: Atheneum, 1981 [1955]); and David Daube, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 22 (1949) : 239-264.

Song of Songs is a great example of a multi-level interpretive framework.⁶⁵ These allegorical interpretations were heavily influenced by Philo of Alexandria, and early Greek Alexandrian allegorical interpretations in general.⁶⁶ Most importantly, traditional Jewish exegesis is intertextual, and often pays close attention to etymological similarities of words. An example of traditional Jewish exegesis is the trajectory of interpretation of the "serpent" in Gen. 3 as a threatening beast, or even a dragon.

The נחש of Gen. 3 is usually translated as "serpent." A number of early Jewish interpretive traditions view this נחש as a threatening creature, sometimes a large monster, sometimes explicitly a dragon, as in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* which sees the נחש as having arms, legs, and wings by its shoulders. Part of the reason for interpreting the נחש of Gen. 3 this way is because of the curse it receives to crawl upon its belly. Genesis

⁶⁵Talmage, "Apples of Gold," 319; Elliot R. Wolfson, "Asceticism and Eroticism in Medieval Jewish Philosophical and Mystical Exegesis of the Song of Songs," in *With Reverence for the Word*, ed. McAuliffe, Walfish, and Goering, 92-118, esp. 93; and Moshe Idel, "Midrashic Versus Other Forms of Jewish Hermeneutics: Some Comparative Reflections," in *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History*, ed. Michael Fishbane, 45-58 (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1993).

⁶⁶On Philo's allegorical biblical exegesis, see, Yehoshua Amir, "Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo," in *Mikra*, 421-453; David M. Hay, "Defining Allegory in Philo's Exegetical World," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers*, ed. Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., 55-68 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994); and John Dillon, "Philo and the Greek Tradition of Allegorical Exegesis," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994*, ed. Lovering, 69-80. For more on the influence of the Greek allegorical tradition on early Jewish exegesis, and especially how such interpretations aimed at changing culture, see David Dawson, *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); and David Daube, "Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis," in *Festschrift Hans Lewald: Bei vollendung des vierzigsten amtsjahres als ordentlicher Professor im Oktober 1953*, [no editor given], 27-44 (Basel: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1953).

Rabbah explains that as soon as the נחש received this curse, angels from heaven came down and chopped off its arms and legs (20:8). Another reason for this interpretation is that many of these texts see the נחש as threatening Adam and Eve, rather than merely tricking them. Gen. 3:4 reads, "And the serpent said to the woman, you will not die."⁶⁷ Adam and Eve do not physically die when they eat of the fruit, and their eyes are opened as the נחש informs them, and hence in Jewish tradition there is a trajectory of interpretation which sees this assertion as a physical threat, understood as, "You better eat this or I am going to kill you!"

Furthermore, the נחש only addresses Eve directly, and yet all of its verbs are in the second person plural, implying Adam's presence. The silence of Adam is thus explained as fear in this interpretive tradition. Finally, intertextual interpretations connect the נחש of Gen. 3 with the נחש of Isa. 27, where the נחש is a תנין, dragon or large monster, called לויתן, Leviathan. In Gen. 3:15, the head of the נחש will be crushed (ישופך). In Psalm 74:13-14, the dragon (תנין), named Leviathan (לויתן), will have its heads crushed (רצצת). Though the passages employ different words for "crush," the head/s are parallel, and Isa. 27 and Psalm 74 seem to view the dragon Leviathan as parallel. Moreover, this Jewish interpretive

⁶⁷My own translation from, "ויאמר הנחש אל־האשה לא־מות תמותן," taken from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997 [1969]).

tradition finds an echo in the Christian tradition, where, in Rev. 12, "the serpent the ancient one" (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος), is identified as a "dragon" (δράκων) doing battle with a woman.⁶⁸ Margolis, Gordon, Kline,

⁶⁸For Jewish traditions along these lines, see, *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:1-12; *Genesis Rabbah* 20:8; *Life of Adam and Eve* 9-13 and 37-39; 3 *Apocalypse of Baruch* 4:1-5:3; *Testament of Asher* 7:3; *Testament of Solomon* 6 and 12; and 1 *Enoch* 60:1-8. For these texts in English, see, respectively, Alexander Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham*, Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies Volume 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004); Jacob Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis: A New American Translation*, volume one (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); Gary A. Anderson and Michael E. Stone, ed., *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 2nd revised ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Volume 1: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1983); and George W.E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation: Based on the Hermeneia Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004). For the information contained in these two paragraphs concerning this Jewish interpretive trajectory, see, Richard E. Averbeck, "Ancient Near Eastern Mythography as It Relates to Historiography in the Hebrew Bible: Genesis 3 and the Cosmic Battle," in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions: The Proceedings of a Symposium, August 12-14, 2001, at Trinity International University*, ed. James K. Hoffmeier and Alan Millard, 328-356 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2004), esp. 337-356; Brian Murdoch and J.A. Tasioulas, ed., *The Apocryphal Lives of Adam and Eve* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002); C. Grottanelli, *Kings and Prophets: Monarchic Power, Inspired Leadership, & Sacred Text in Biblical Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. 47-72; Martin Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography* (Freiburg: University-Verlag, 1999); Michael Fishbane, *The Exegetical Imagination: On Jewish Thought and Theology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), esp. 41-55; Wayne T. Pitard, "The Binding of Yamm: A New Edition of the Ugaritic Text KTU 1.83," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57 (1998) : 261-280; Michael Fishbane, "Rabbinic Mythmaking and Tradition: The Great Dragon Drama in b. Baba Batra 74b-75a," in *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg*, ed. Mordechai Cogan, Barry L. Eichler, and Jeffrey H. Tigay, 273-283 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997); Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997); Hugh Rowland Page, Jr., *The Myth of Cosmic Rebellion: A Study of Its Reflexes in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 65 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Marc Michael Epstein, "Harnessing the Dragon: A Mythos Transformed in Medieval Jewish Literature and Art," in *Myth and Method*, ed. Laurie L. Patton and Wendy Doniger, 352-389 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996); Bernhard W. Anderson, "The Slaying of the Fleeting, Twisting Serpent: Isaiah 27:1 in Context," in *Uncovering Ancient Stones: Essays in Memory of H. Neil Richardson*, ed. Lewis M. Hopfe, 3-15 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1994); Michael E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (April 1993) : 143-156; Anne Marie Sweet, "A Religio-Historical Study of the Greek Life of Adam and Eve," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, 1992); Bernard Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the*

Hugenberger, and Hahn draw upon this type of interpretation, Jewish and Christian, in their own exegesis of biblical texts.

Margolis, Gordon, Kline, Hugenberger, and Hahn

Some of the skills and methods of exegesis that Hahn learned from Kline and Hugenberger bear the mark of Margolis and Gordon, though Hahn's work does not reflect the magnitude of their scholarship level. Unlike Gordon, Margolis, and many of their students, Hahn is not equipped with a broad repertoire of ancient languages; he relies primarily upon his knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin for working with the biblical text. Margolis, Gordon, and many of their students have gained international recognition as authorities in multiple fields of inquiry, whereas Hahn is better known for his popular works than his scholarship. Nevertheless, Kline's and Hugenberger's instruction is reflected in Hahn's biblical exegesis, and he necessarily learned certain exegetical skills from them, which they in turn learned from Margolis and Gordon. Though there is an

Biblical Tradition (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992); R.W. Cowley, *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications No. 38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Johannes C. de Moor, "East of Eden," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 100 (1988) : 105-111; Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Carola Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications No. 35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Jon D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); B. Bagatti, *Il Combattimento di Adamo* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982); and Mary K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1973). The reason this example was selected from traditional Jewish exegesis, is because it is also what Hahn argues in his own exegesis. See, e.g., Hahn, *First Comes Love*, 62-75; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 63-73.

expected thinning here, the respect for the authority of Scripture remains primary in his work as in theirs.

As regards utilizing traditional and modern Jewish and Christian sources, Hahn's exegesis involves consulting the early church fathers, the early rabbis, medieval Jewish and Christian commentaries, Protestant Reformation commentaries, and he is informed by a host of modern Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant scholars as well. Hahn even engaged in such studies as an evangelical Protestant biblical exegete and Presbyterian minister prior to his Catholic reception, though the early and medieval Christian commentaries were not as authoritative for Hahn before he became Catholic. As an evangelical Protestant biblical exegete, the commentaries of the Protestant Reformers were more authoritative for Hahn. The very fact that he engaged with early patristic and rabbinic sources, even prior to entering the Catholic Church, however, points to an instruction that reached out to various sources.

Another important Margolis/Gordon teaching which Hahn learned was in the centrality and primacy of the primary source. Hahn studies Scripture in the original Hebrew and Greek, as all modern biblical exegetes must, but Hahn engages in his exegesis with the biblical texts themselves as primary. Before approaching ancient and modern secondary literature, Hahn wrestles with the biblical texts themselves, taking them at face value.

A final technique in which Margolis and Gordon taught Hahn through their students is the importance of reading Scripture canonically. In his evangelical formation, especially with Young Life, Hahn had already been introduced to an implicit canonical method. Those involved in informal Bible studies with para-church organizations like Young Life, are instructed to read biblical passages in the context of the Bible as a whole. Hahn, however, was formally instructed in a canonical method as a student at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, where he learned it from Gordon's student Kline. It was there that Hahn encountered Brevard Childs's explicit canonical critical method and adopted canonical reading as part of his own exegesis. This reading of Scripture as texts purposely arranged together was a trademark of Margolis, Gordon, and their students.

Because of his profound esteem for those who trust the authority of the biblical text as canon, Hahn relies upon Gordon's works as well as those of Gordon's students (and their students), and even Gordon's teachers in his own research. In a survey of a selection of Hahn's work, these citations total 114.⁶⁹ Hahn's use of Gordon's student Kline, as one example, has already been demonstrated in this dissertation's first chapter, where Hahn made use of Kline's work in his discussion of the role

⁶⁹These include Gordon's students Baruch Levine (7x), Meredith Kline (30x), Walter Kaiser (10x), and Nahum Sarna (6x). Hahn also cites Gordon students Herbert Wolf, Michael Astour, John Sheehan, Jack Sasson, Harry Hoffner, Noel Weeks, and David Tsumura, as well as Gordon's teachers Solomon Zeitlin, W.F. Albright, and Ephraim Speiser.

of the covenant in Scripture. As noted in this dissertation's second chapter, Hahn's exegesis of the Last Supper relies upon another one of Gordon's students, Marvin Wilson, who engages in a discussion very similar to Hahn's regarding the Last Supper in a Passover context.⁷⁰

Noah's Nakedness: An Example from Hahn's Work

All of the above, as well as Hahn's attention to words and roots as significant for discerning the text's meaning bears similarity to Margolis, Gordon, et al. In Hahn's exegesis of the Genesis text concerning Noah's nakedness, Hahn argues that Ham seeing his father's nakedness refers to Ham sleeping with his mother, Noah's wife, while Noah is in a drunken sleep.⁷¹ This act impregnates his mother with Canaan in an attempt to usurp Noah's authority, and more specifically, to usurp the authority Shem is to inherit as Noah's firstborn son.

The salient points of Hahn's argument here demonstrate the importance of attention to Hebrew roots as well as a canonical reading:

1) the presence of "erotically charged" language in the passage suggest something sexual (e.g., "wine" and "vineyard" found throughout the Bible and the ancient Near East in sexual contexts, e.g., Gen. 19:30-38; Song of Songs 1:2, 4, 6; 2:13, 15; 5:1; 6:11; 7:2, 9, 12; 8:2, 11-12; 2 Sam. 11:11, 13—and also the word used for "uncovering himself," *תגל*, comes from the Hebrew root *גלח* which is found throughout Lev. 18 and 20, in Deut. 23:1 and

⁷⁰Marvin R. Wilson, *Our Father Abraham: Jewish Roots of the Christian Faith* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989), 237-255.

⁷¹John Sietze Bergsma and Scott Walker Hahn, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20-27)," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124, no. 1 (Spring 2005) : 25-40.

27:20, as well as Ezekiel, frequently in the context of incestuous sexual activity).

2) there are a number of links with this passage and the story of Lot's procreation of Moab and Ammon via his daughters in Gen. 19:30-38.

3) Hahn asserts a connection between this passage and Lev. 18 and 20—e.g., 18 opens with a strong warning to avoid imitating the Canaanites and Egyptians, Canaan and Egypt being the most notorious of Ham's descendants according to Gen. 10:6—and "the very first sexual transgression Leviticus 18 lists in association with the Hamitic nations Canaan and Egypt is parental incest, literally, 'uncovering your father's nakedness' (לא תגלה) (ערוה אבִיךָ... vv. 7-8), essentially the crime Ham committed (וִירָא חָם... אֵת עֲרוֹת אָבִיו)."

4) in all of the Levitical and other texts which contain this phrase of "seeing one's father's nakedness," the "father's nakedness," אֵב עֲרוֹת, actually refers to the nakedness of the mother, e.g., Lev. 18:7-8, where it explicitly explains that "your father's nakedness" is "the nakedness of your mother"—see also, e.g., Lev. 18:14, 16; 20:11, 30, 21; Deut. 23:1 and 27:20—the passages dealing with same-sex acts use a different verb (שָׁכַב) from the verbs above; there is no use of the verbs in the passage under discussion with same-sex acts anywhere in Scripture.

5) the sex act involved may be Ham's attempt to usurp Noah's power, as Absalom does to David in 2 Sam. 15:20-23, Reuben with Bilhah in Gen. 35:22 and 49:3-4, David with Saul's concubines in 2 Sam. 12:8, and Adonijah trying to take Abishag from David in 2 Kings 2:13-25.

6) this theory also explains why Canaan was cursed as opposed to his father Ham for Ham's act, i.e., Canaan was the product of the incestuous union.

7) this theory also explains the gravity of Ham's sin.

8) it may explain Ham's motivation for such an act.

9) it explains the repetition in the passage of the phrase, "Ham, the father of Canaan."⁷²

⁷²Ibid, 30-32, 30 n. 19, 34-35, 37, and 40.

The aforementioned article demonstrates some of the many ways evangelical Protestant scholars, with Margolis and Gordon through them, have taught Hahn biblical interpretation. Like these scholars, Hahn reads the Bible canonically, i.e., as a whole, reading each book in light of the other books in the canon. Following these scholars, Hahn also places an emphasis on the relationship between words, especially similar Hebrew root words (for Old Testament passages). He also makes use of a variety of different biblical interpretations culled from both contemporary and ancient Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant biblical exegetes, relying on the primary sources first, using the secondary sources to illuminate the primary. But most importantly, Hahn accepts the Bible's authority and trusts it as a coherent text. His interpretation, furthermore, is always theological because he understands the Bible to be a theological text. Hahn regards the Bible not only as book of texts meant to be read and understood together, but also as a book that is the word of God.

VI. Conclusion

Hahn was immersed in the broad world of evangelical Protestant biblical scholarship early in his career, while still a high school student. He was formed as a young evangelical Protestant biblical exegete through his informal Bible studies with Young Life, his theology and Bible courses at the Protestant-based Grove City College, and then as an M.Div. student at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in Boston. Evangelical

Protestants taught Hahn how to engage in biblical exegesis while he was still an evangelical biblical exegete, and this may be detected in his focus on issues of justification as well as the evangelistic media he used, and still uses, to disseminate his biblical work.

Jewish scholars Max Margolis and Cyrus Gordon helped form Hahn's exegetical sensibilities to the degree that Gordon's student Kline, and his student Hugenberger had an effect on Hahn's work. All of these men trusted the authority of the Bible and sought understanding of the text as a whole, and this canonical reading allows for Hahn's understanding of covenant as a unifying theme of Scripture. Hahn's ultimate heritage from his evangelical formation reaches beyond this, however, to an understanding of the Bible as the inspired word of God. This was the reason why the adolescent Hahn began studying Scripture. His education at Gordon-Conwell, moreover, did not destroy his faith in the text, but enabled him to continue his trust of the Bible while engaging in scholarship. Hahn's transformation into a Catholic biblical exegete and the effect of Catholic biblical scholarship on Hahn's exegesis will be discussed in the next chapter.

Appendix to Chapter 3: On Inerrancy

A brief survey of contemporary evangelical organizations can highlight both the centrality of the Bible for evangelicalism, and the importance of the term *inerrancy* for U.S. evangelicals. One of the largest evangelical para-church movements in the world is the U.S.-based Campus Crusade for Christ International.¹ Campus Crusade for Christ's statement of faith begins with the Bible:

The sole basis of our beliefs is the Bible, God's infallible written Word, the 66 books of the Old and New Testaments. We believe that it was uniquely, verbally and fully inspired by the Holy Spirit and that it was written without error (inerrant) in the original manuscripts. It is the supreme and final authority in all matters on which it speaks.²

Another popular evangelical para-church organization, The Navigators, likewise begins their belief statement with the Bible. The first item on their belief statement reads, "We Believe: That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are inspired by God and inerrant in the original writings, and that they are of supreme and final authority in faith

¹Campus Crusade for Christ International includes 60 different ministries under its umbrella, including college, high school, athletic, business, military, diplomatic, etc. See, e.g., Campus Crusade for Christ International Volunteer webpage, online at: http://www.ccci.org/staff_volunteer_opportunities.html, accessed April 19, 2006. Campus Crusade for Christ has over 26,000 staff members as well as "hundreds of thousands of volunteers," active in 190 different countries around the globe. See Steve Douglas, "Small World," online at: http://www.ccci.org/feature_stories/2004/09_september/sd_small_world.html, accessed April 19, 2006.

²Campus Crusade for Christ International Home Page, online at: http://www.ccci.org/statement_of_faith.html, accessed April 19, 2006.

and life."³ InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, although not placing an emphasis on inerrancy, includes biblical inspiration in a prominent position in its doctrinal basis. Unlike many of the other evangelical organizations, InterVarsity does not place Scripture first in its doctrinal basis; this position is reserved for the Trinity. Their second of eight "We believe in" statements, however reads, "The unique divine inspiration, entire trustworthiness and authority of the Bible."⁴

As a final example, the U.S.-based Evangelical Theological Society, which is the intellectual bastion of U.S. evangelical Protestantism, uses a brief doctrinal basis, which "must be subscribed to by all members annually with the renewal of their membership in the Society." This doctrinal basis currently reads: "The Bible alone, and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written and is therefore inerrant in the autographs. God is a Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, each an uncreated person, one in essence, equal in power and glory."⁵ This revised statement of faith underscores the focus on inerrancy. Up until 2006, however, the Evangelical Theological Society had a much briefer statement of faith, solely focusing on the Bible, which read: "The Bible

³The Navigators Home Page, online at: <http://www.navigators.org/us/aboutus>, accessed April 19, 2006. The Navigators employ over 3,800 staff members who are active in over 100 different countries.

⁴InterVarsity Christian Fellowship Home Page, online at: <http://www.intervarsity.org/ministries/>, accessed April 19, 2006. InterVarsity includes 18 different ministries.

⁵Evangelical Theological Society Home Page, online at: <http://www.etsjets.org/>, accessed April 19, 2006.

alone and the Bible in its entirety, is the Word of God written, and therefore inerrant in the autographs."⁶

⁶*Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1958) : inside cover. The Evangelical Theological Society later changed their journal's title from the *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* to the *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*.

Chapter 4

Scott Hahn as a Catholic Exegete

I. Introduction

The last chapter discussed the manner in which evangelical Protestant biblical scholars taught Scott Hahn biblical exegesis. The current chapter will discuss how Catholic biblical scholarship instructed Hahn as regards his biblical exegesis, given that Hahn is a convert from evangelical Protestantism to Catholicism. In order to situate what Catholics taught Hahn in its historical context, this chapter will begin with a brief overview of the evolution of Catholic biblical scholarship in the modern period. This chapter will then examine the work of several Catholic scholars, which modeled a Catholic reading of the Bible for Hahn. In particular, I will consider Dennis J. McCarthy's work on covenants in the Bible and the ancient Near East, Raymond Brown's Catholic exegesis of the eucharistic themes in the Gospel of John, and the works of Henri de Lubac which assisted Hahn in his appropriation of patristic and medieval exegesis (allegory, etc.). Finally, I will take up two particular issues where Hahn's understanding of traditional Protestant convictions has changed since the days when he first began to read the Bible as an evangelical.

II. The Ebb and Flow of Catholic Biblical Scholarship

Henri de Lubac begins his *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, with a chapter entitled, "Ebb and Flow in Theology."¹ De Lubac uses this concept of "ebb and flow" in order to observe that at certain points in history there were theological positions that seemed to be held in unanimity yet later faded into the background. Others are brought to the foreground by the circumstances at the time in a particular place. In general, however, de Lubac reminds us, "...theological progress is never total, never without false steps, and...not everything should be accepted always on principle, without examination and thought."² This ebb and flow understanding is instructive in considering Catholic biblical exegesis, which has analogously undergone its own numerous changes in methods of interpretation. In this section I will provide a sense of the ebb and flow of Catholic biblical exegesis through roughly the past 2000 years.

Catholic biblical exegesis traditionally incorporated more than one sense of Scripture, some form of literal sense as well as a spiritual sense. The spiritual sense is divided further into three senses: 1) an allegorical or typological sense where Jesus is "found" prefigured in Old Testament passages, 2) a tropological or moral sense where passages are applied to

¹Henri de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, trans. Rosemary Sheed, with an introduction by David

L. Schindler (New York: Crossroad, 1998 [1965]). The quotation is taken from the title of de Lubac's first chapter, "Ebb and Flow in Theology," pages 1-18.

²Ibid, 16.

one's life, and 3) an anagogical sense wherein the mysteries of heaven are revealed.³ This form of exegesis is epitomized in Pope St. Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* (and in his *Homilies on Ezekiel*) where Gregory relies upon multiple layers of senses to interpret the Book of Job.⁴ This manner of interpretation was not novel to Christians of Gregory's time period, but rather patristic and medieval biblical exegesis was based upon traditional

³Idem, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Ecriture*, 4 vols (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1959, 1961, and 1964); Idem, *Histoire et Esprit: L'intelligence de l'Ecriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Aubier, 1950); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952); Charles Kannengiesser, "The Bible as Read in the Early Church: Patristic Exegesis and its Presuppositions," in *The Bible and Its Readers*, ed. Wim Beuken, Sean Freyne, and Anton Weiler, 29-36 (London: SCM Press, 1991); Manlio Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*, trans. John A. Hughes (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994); Bertrand de Margerie, S.J., *An Introduction to the History of Exegesis*, 3 vols (Petersham, Massachusetts: Saint Bede's Publications, 1991, 1993, and 1995); Ignace de la Potterie, "The Spiritual Sense of Scripture," *Communio* 23 (Winter 1996) : 738-756; Hans Urs von Balthasar, "The Fathers, the Scholastics, and Ourselves," *Communio* 24 (Summer 1997) : 347-396; A.J. Minnis, "Quadruplex Sensus, Multiplex Modus: Scriptural Sense and Mode in Medieval Scholastic Exegesis," in *Interpretation and Allegory: Antiquity to the Modern Period*, ed. Jon Whitman, 231-256 (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Joseph W. Goering, "An Introduction to Medieval Christian Biblical Interpretation," in *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Barry D. Walfish, and Joseph W. Goering, 197-203 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Edward Synan, "The Four 'Senses' and Four Exegetes," in *With Reverence for the Word*, ed. McAuliffe, Walfish, and Goering, 225-236; Robert Louis Wilken, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought: Seeking the Face of God* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), xvii, xx, 50-79, and 313-316, esp. 69-77; and William Horbury, "Old Testament Interpretation in the Writings of the Church Fathers," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity*, ed. Martin Jay Mulder and Harry Sysling, 727-787 (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2004 [1988]).

⁴Stephen C. Kessler, S.J. "Gregory the Great (C. 540-604)," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity Volume II*, by Charles Kannengiesser, 1336-1368 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Angela Russell Christman, "The Spirit and the Wheels: Gregory the Great on Reading Scripture," in *In Dominico Eloquio: In Lordly Eloquence: Essays on Patristic Exegesis in Honor of Robert Louis Wilken*, ed. Paul M. Blowers, Angela Russell Christman, David G. Hunter, and Robin Darling Young, 395-407 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2002); Robert Louis Wilken, "Interpreting Job Allegorically: The *Moralia* of Gregory the Great," *Pro Ecclesia* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2001) : 213-226; and Grover A. Zinn, Jr., "Exegesis and Spirituality in the Writings of Gregory the Great," in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. John C. Cavadini, 168-180 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995).

rabbinic and medieval Jewish exegesis. The difference is that for Christian exegetes Jesus is the focal point of allegorical interpretations.⁵

With the advent of modern biblical criticism, styling itself as "scientific exegesis," such traditional forms of exegesis ebbed away. The advent of modern biblical criticism arrived in the pioneering works of the political biblical exegesis of the seventeenth century, specifically in the works of Thomas Hobbes, Baruch Spinoza, and Richard Simon.⁶ From this, a

⁵Except perhaps when arguing against Christian interpretations of particular passages where Christians have made Christological interpretations, e.g., Isaiah 52:13-53:12. Michael A. Signer and Susan L. Graham, "Rabbinic Literature," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity Volume I*, by Charles Kannengiesser, 120-144 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Charles Perrot, "The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue," in *Mikra*, ed. Mulder and Sysling, 137-159; Rimon Kasher, "The Interpretation of Scripture in Rabbinic Literature," in *Mikra*, ed. Mulder and Sysling, 547-594; Barry D. Walfish, "An Introduction to Medieval Jewish Biblical Interpretation," in *With Reverence for the Word*, ed. McAuliffe, Walfish, and Goering, 3-12; Elliot R. Wolfson, "Asceticism and Eroticism in Medieval Jewish Philosophical and Mystical Exegesis of the Song of Songs," in *With Reverence for the Word*, ed. McAuliffe, Walfish, and Goering, 92-118; Michael Fishbane, "Midrash and the Meaning of Scripture," in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. Jože Krašovec, 549-563 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998); Denys Turner, *Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs*, with a foreword by Bernard McGinn (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1995); Frank Talmage, "Apples of Gold: The Inner Meaning of Sacred Texts in Medieval Judaism," in *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible Through the Middle Ages*, ed. Arthur Green, 313-355 (New York: Crossroad, 1994); Moshe Idel, "Midrashic Versus Other Forms of Jewish Hermeneutics: Some Comparative Reflections," in *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History*, ed. Michael Fishbane, 45-58 (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1993); David Daube, "Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis," in *Festschrift Hans Lewald: Bei vollendung des vierzigsten amtsjahres als ordentlicher Professor im Oktober 1953*, [no editor given], 27-44 (Basel: Verlag Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1953); and Idem, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 22 (1949) : 239-264.

⁶J. Samuel Preus, "The Bible and Religion in the Century of Genius: Part II: The Rise and Fall of the Bible," *Religion* 28 (1998) : 122; Edwin Curley, "Notes on a Neglected Masterpiece: Spinoza and the Science of Hermeneutics," in *Spinoza: The Enduring Questions*, ed. Graeme Hunter, 64-99 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 70; James Barr, "Interpretation, History of: Modern Biblical Criticism," in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 322; Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville: Westminster/John

more developed biblical criticism evolved as the nineteenth century began.⁷ While this criticism was flowing into the work of many scholars of the Bible, Catholics were forbidden to engage in this newly developing field of modern biblical criticism. What we find at the close of the nineteenth century, and throughout the twentieth century, is the ebb and flow of Catholic and evangelical Protestant biblical exegesis. Throughout the early part of the twentieth century, Catholics and evangelical Protestants engaged in similar forms of biblical study, focusing on philology, archaeology, etc. The flow of Catholic biblical studies through the 1960s and 1970s, however, began to fully engage with historical criticism in ways that evangelical Protestant scholars did not. The theological reading of Scripture by Catholic Bible scholars in large part ebbed away in later decades.

Knox Press, 1993), 95 and 117; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 2; John H. Hayes, "The History of the Study of Israelite and Judaeon History," in *Israelite and Judaeon History*, ed. John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (London: SCM Press, 1977), 45; Richard Popkin, "Bible Criticism and Social Science," in *Methodological and Historical Essays in the Natural and Social Sciences*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science Volume XIV, ed. Robert S. Cohen and Marx W. Wartofsky, 339-360 (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing, 1974), 339; R.K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), 9-10; and Samuel Sandmel, *The Hebrew Scriptures: An Introduction to their Literature and Religious Ideas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 328.

⁷W. Ward Gasque, *A History of the Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2000 [1989]); Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel: The Development of the Traditio-Historical Research of the Old Testament, with Special Consideration of Scandinavian Contributions* (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973); and Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments von der Reformation bis zur gegenwart* (Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956);

Pope Leo XIII's 1893 encyclical letter on biblical exegesis, *Providentissimus Deus*, inspired the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the École Biblique, but it also brought about the Biblical Commission, which was instituted after this encyclical.⁸ The Biblical Commission was an arm of the Magisterium that was used as a line of defense against what Leo XIII took to be threats to the Catholic Church, political as well as spiritual.⁹ Although the text of Leo's encyclical encouraged close philological work, Catholic biblical exegetes were forbidden from using most of the critical methods in which their Protestant compatriots were engaging.¹⁰

Providentissimus Deus was in large part a response to the biblical work of Alfred Loisy, but Loisy was not the only one affected by the work of the Pontifical Biblical Commission.¹¹ Virtually all Catholic Bible scholars

⁸Pope Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus* (1893), accessed at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_18111893_providentissimus-deus_en.html, on April 8, 2005. On the history of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, see Albert Vanhoye, S.J., "Passé et présent de la Commission Biblique," *Gregorianum* 74, no. 2 (1993) : 261-275. On page 264, Vanhoye explains that Pope Pius X added "Pontifical" to the title of the Biblical Commission.

⁹Vanhoye, "Passé et présent," 261 and 264. For the political context of Leo XIII's works, see James Hennesey, S.J., "Leo XIII's Thomistic Revival: A Political and Philosophical Event," in *Celebrating the Medieval Heritage: A Colloquy on the Thought of Aquinas and Bonaventure*, ed. David Tracy, 185-197 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); and Joseph A. Komonchak, "The Enlightenment and the Construction of Roman Catholicism," *Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs* (1985) : 31-59.

¹⁰James Tunstead Burtchaell, C.S.C., *Catholic Theories of Biblical Inspiration Since 1810: A Review and Critique* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

¹¹On Loisy see Harvey Hill, "The Politics of Loisy's Modernist Theology," in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, ed. Darrell Jodock, 169-190 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Marvin R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994); C.J.T. Talar, "Innovation and Biblical Interpretation," in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*, ed. Jodock, 191-211; Idem, *(Re)reading, Reception, and Rhetoric: Approaches to Roman Catholic Modernism*, American University Studies Series VII: Theology and Religion Vol. 206

were affected in one way or another as the Magisterium attempted to curb the incoming historical critical flow. Marie-Joseph Lagrange, for example, was one scholar who faced many difficulties during this time period, even as he attempted to be faithful to the Catholic Church, whereas Loisy was excommunicated by Pope Pius X in 1908.¹² Throughout the early part of the twentieth century, especially during the reign of Pius X, the Pontifical Biblical Commission issued a series of statements concerning the historical nature and background of various biblical books. The Commission's documents made numerous assertions concerning historical aspects of the biblical texts, from the essential Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, to the unity of the Book of Isaiah, to

(New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 83-126; Idem, *Metaphor and Modernist: The Polarization of Alfred Loisy and His Neo-Thomist Critics* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1987); and Père M.-J. Lagrange, *M. Loisy et le modernisme, à propos des "Mémoires" d'A. Loisy* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1932).

¹²On Lagrange see Père M.-J. Lagrange, *Le Père Lagrange: Au Service de la Bible: Souvenirs personnels*, with a preface by P. Benoit, O.P. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967); Barnabas M. Ahern, "Père Lagrange: Pioneer of Modern Catholic Biblical Scholarship," in *A Voice Crying Out in the Desert: Preparing for Vatican II with Barnabas M. Ahern (1915-1995)*, ed. Carroll Stuhlmueller and Sebastian MacDonald, 104-109 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1996); Bernard Montagnes, *Le Père Lagrange (1855-1938): L'exégèse catholique dans la crise moderniste* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1995); Paul Misner, "Catholic Anti-Modernism: The Ecclesial Setting," in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity*, ed. Jodock, 85-86; O'Connell, *Critics on Trial*, 217-220, 262-266, 319-320, and 366-367; François Refoulé, "La Méthode Historico-Critique et le Père Lagrange," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 76, no. 1 (January 1992): 553-587; and Père F.-M. Braun, O.P., *The Work of Père Lagrange* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1963). For an English translation of Lagrange's memoirs see M.-J. Lagrange, *Père Lagrange: Personal Reflections and Memoirs*, with a foreword by Pierre Benoit, O.P., trans. Rev. Henry Wansbrough (New York: Paulist Press, 1985). For an English translation of Montagnes' biography of Lagrange, see Bernard Montagnes, *The Story of Father Marie-Joseph Lagrange: Founder of Modern Catholic Bible Study*, trans. Benedict Viviano, O.P. (New York: Paulist Press, 2006).

the traditional view that Matthew wrote his Gospel first and originally in Aramaic.¹³

In the wake of Leo XIII's works on biblical exegesis, Pius X issued *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* and launched his war against Modernism, imposing the infamous Oath against Modernism which was ritually imposed upon Catholics everywhere for fifty-six years, from 1910 until the close of the Second Vatican Council in 1965.¹⁴ The climate for Catholic biblical exegetes during this time period has perhaps been best described as "repressive."¹⁵ Pope Benedict XVI reflects on this time period with sadness as he recalls how his teachers were persecuted.¹⁶ Pius X blessed

¹³All of the early decisions of the Pontifical Biblical Commission may be found in *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings*, ed. and trans. Dean P. Béchard, S.J., with a foreword by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002): "On the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch" (1906), 188-189; "On the Authorship and Historicity of the Fourth Gospel" (1907), 190-191; "On the Character and Authorship of the Book of Isaiah" (1908), 191-192; "On the Historicity of Genesis 1-3" (1909), 192-194; "On the Authorship and Time of Composition of the Psalms" (1910), 195-197; "On the Authorship, Date of Composition, and Historicity of the Gospel of Matthew" (1911), 197-199; "On the Authorship, Time of Composition, and Historicity of the Gospels of Mark and Luke" (1912), 199-201; "On the Synoptic Question or the Mutual Relations Among the First Three Gospels" (1912), "On the Authorship, Time of Composition, and Historicity of Acts" (1913), 202-204; "On the Authorship, Integrity, and Time of Composition of the Pastoral Epistles of the Apostle Paul" (1913), 204-205; and "On the Authorship and Manner of Composition of the Letter to the Hebrews" (1914), 205-206.

¹⁴Pope Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907), accessed online at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en.html. For the actual text of the Oath Against Modernism, see Gabriel Daly O.S.A., *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 235-236.

¹⁵O'Connell, *Critics on Trial*, esp. 341, 347-348, and 361-365; and Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., *American Catholic Biblical Scholarship: A History from the Early Republic to Vatican II*, with a foreword by Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm. (New York: Harper & Row, 1989).

¹⁶Josef Cardinal Ratzinger, "Kirchliches Lehramt und Exegese. Reflexionen aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestehens der Päpstlichen Bibelkommission," *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift: Communio* 32 (2003) : 522-529. An English translation may be found in Idem, "100 Years: The Magisterium and Exegesis," *Theology Digest* 51, no. 1 (Spring 2004) : 3-8.

the work of Umberto Benigni, who founded the Sodalitium Pianum. This institution was bent on hunting down Modernists everywhere, henceforth making life difficult for Catholic Bible scholars as diverse as Loisy and Lagrange.¹⁷ After Pius X's death, his successor, Pope Benedict XV, dissolved the Sodalitium Pianum, which had previously suspected him of being a Modernist.¹⁸

Despite Benedict XV's reforming measures, it was not until Pope Pius XII's encyclical on biblical exegesis, *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943) that Catholic biblical exegetes began to feel comfortable engaging in contemporary methods of biblical exegesis, especially after the Second Vatican Council ended the Oath against Modernism in 1965.¹⁹ Between 1907 and *Divino Afflante Spiritu* in 1943, the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome and the École Biblique in Jerusalem were still operating, but the scholars at those institutions were not engaging much in theology. Rather, what Catholic scholars and students at the Pontifical Biblical Institute and at the École Biblique were doing during this time period closely resembled what Max Margolis, Cyrus Gordon, and their students were doing, as

¹⁷Interestingly, both Loisy and Lagrange had studied with Fulcran Grégoire Vigouroux, who eventually would become a major player on the Pontifical Biblical Commission. See, e.g., Talar, *(Re)reading, Reception, and Rhetoric*, 42; Bruce Robert Robinson, *Roman Catholic Exegesis Since Divino Afflante Spiritu: Hermeneutical Implications* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 10; and Braun, *Work of Père Lagrange*, 5-6.

¹⁸Fogarty, *American Catholic Biblical Scholarship*; and Émile Poulat, *Intégrisme et Catholicisme Intégral: Un réseau secret international antimoderniste: La «Sapinière» (1909-1921)* (Paris: Casterman, 1969), which contains actual letters from the Sodalitium Pianum.

¹⁹Pope Pius XII, *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), accessed at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xii/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_30091943_divino-afflante-spiritu_en.html, on April 8, 2005.

discussed in the previous chapter. In other words, Catholic Bible scholars limited themselves to the areas of archaeology, textual criticism, and ancient Near Eastern and biblical philology.²⁰

Lagrange, for example, continued to work in these areas of biblical studies, and Pius XII's encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, as well as the Second Vatican Council's *Dei Verbum*, were a partial vindication of Lagrange's work.²¹ Such vindication notwithstanding, Lagrange suffered through extremely difficult times. He was temporarily removed from his position as editor of the *Revue biblique* which he had founded, was

²⁰Cyrus Gordon actually met with Lagrange in Jerusalem during this time period. Concerning his time with Lagrange Gordon writes, "I went to the École often because it possessed the best library in Jerusalem. I admired Lagrange for a variety of reasons, not least of which was his commitment to scholarship. Against heavy odds, Lagrange had waged and finally won the long battle that breached the wall between Catholic scholarship and international biblical criticism." Writing further, Gordon notes that when he was in Jerusalem from 1931-1935, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the École Biblique had "programs of the highest level of scholarship," which for Gordon had to do with archaeology, textual criticism, and philology, not theology. See Cyrus H. Gordon, *A Scholar's Odyssey*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America 20 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 29-30. Margolis likewise had positive things to say about the École and about Lagrange: "The oldest and foremost institution of Oriental Learning in Palestine....It was founded in 1890....It was presided over by Père Lagrange, the learned author of many exegetical and critical works, who we pray may be spared for many years to come" (Max L. Margolis, "Oriental Research in Palestine," *Jewish Institute of Religion Bulletin* 3, no. 2 [November 1925] : 6-7). As with Margolis and Gordon, Lagrange too was a master with languages. The languages he knew included: Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Coptic, Egyptian (including hieroglyphic and hieratic), English, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, and Syriac.

²¹On Lagrange's biblical scholarship, see especially, Montagnes, *Le Père Lagrange*. See also, Père M.-J. Lagrange, "L'authenticité mosaïque de la Genèse et la théorie des documents," *Revue Biblique* 47 (1938) : 163-183; Bernard Montagnes, "La crise de la *Revue biblique* en 1898-1899," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 67 (1997) : 345-379; Idem, "Marie Joseph Lagrange: la figure du savant et du croyant," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 116 (1994) : 715-726; Idem, "Le Père Lagrange et la fondation de l'École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem," *Bulletin mensuel de l'Académie de Vaucluse* (April 1991) : 3-4; and Idem, "La condition de l'exégèse catholique au temps du modernisme: Le Père Lagrange," *Revue thomiste* 87 (1987) : 533-546.

forbidden to publish his commentary on Genesis—still yet to be published—and endured painful meetings at the Vatican. We can gauge the extent of his sufferings from Lagrange's own words: "I write these memoirs on Easter day, April 4, 1926, and I feel again, although dominated by gratitude towards God, the gripping sadness of Easter day, March 31, 1907....a flood of bitterness was overwhelming me more and more."²²

Lagrange is an interesting figure to consider in the ebb and flow of biblical criticism not just because of his supposed modernist leanings and obedient response to magisterial censuring, but also because some of Lagrange's exegetical conclusions are similar to those that Hahn now upholds, particularly regarding the Eucharist. Additionally, many of the scholars important to Hahn's work would have been familiar with Lagrange's work.²³

²²Lagrange, *Le Père Lagrange*, 166-167. My own translation from, "J'écris ces souvenirs le jour de Pâques, 4 avril 1926, et je ressens encore, quoique dominée par la reconnaissance envers Dieu, la tristesse poignante du jour de Pâques 31 mars 1907....un flot d'amertume me submergeait de plus en plus." The incident to which Lagrange is referring is when he was "attacked" by Cardinal Rampolla.

²³Examples of these conclusions are as follows. In *Idem, Évangile selon Saint Jean* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1936), we read that Lagrange interprets the multiplication of bread at the beginning of John 6 as a symbol of the Eucharist, making a connection with the Synoptic Gospels, and maintaining that this might be an influence of the Eucharistic rite: "la multiplication un symbole de l'Eucharistie....Il n'est pas dit comme dans les trois synoptiques que Jésus ait regardé vers le ciel, et il n'y a pas de fraction du pain, terme consacré pour l'Eucharistie...si donc Jo. mentionne l'action de grâces (εὐχαριστήσας) au lieu de la bénédiction, c'est peut-être sous l'influence du rite eucharistique..." (163-164). Reflecting on the change from φαγεῖν to τρώγω in the Bread of Life Discourse, Lagrange views this stylistic difference as an attempt to prevent a purely symbolic interpretation: "C'est encore une nouvelle affirmation pour prévenir toute tentative de symbolisme" (184). Lagrange likewise maintains that the word change is not merely one of style. He writes on the same page, "The same thing is repeated exactly, with the word τρώγω"

In his encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, which celebrated the 50th anniversary of Leo XIII's *Providentissimus Deus*, Pius XII echoed his predecessor's words. And yet the tone of the document was much more open to the work of modern Bible critics than was *Providentissimus Deus*. Some scholars have noted this new freedom by calling *Divino Afflante Spiritu* the "Magna Carta" of modern Catholic biblical studies.²⁴ For those who lived through the times, there was a clear difference of emphasis, and hence these Catholics would have a propensity to see the tension in these two documents. The situation of magisterial hostility toward Bible scholars followed by a greater openness to their work may have

[chew], 'masticate', 'crunch' not varying the style, rather cutting short any escape to a symbolic sense...." My own translation from, "La même chose est répétée positivement, avec le mot τρώγων, «mâchen», «croquen» non pas pour varier le style, mais pour couper court à tout échappatoire vers le sens symbolique...." These, of course, represent traditional Catholic interpretations of the Bread of Life Discourse, and so there is nothing overly surprising here. What might be a little surprising, however, is that Lagrange sees a four-cup structure in the Passover Seder of the Last Supper accounts in the Synoptic Gospels, as Hahn will later read the accounts as well. See especially, Idem, *Évangile selon Saint Luc* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1948), 542-544. On pages 608-609 of that same volume, Lagrange has a similar Eucharistic interpretation of the Emmaus Road story as Hahn will later use: "The disciples of Emmaus recognize him in the breaking of the bread....Equally so they insist the *breaking* of the bread (v. 35). To give a precise sense to this word, it suffices to suppose that Jesus had his own way of breaking bread after its blessing, in a manner that his followers recognized....Luke emphasized their company, one cannot think of a person who would have remained there while being invisible. Christ left the disciples, he disappeared suddenly" (609). My own translation from, "Les disciples d'Emmaüs le reconnaissent à la fraction du pain....Aussi insistent-ils sur la *fraction* du pain (v. 35). Pour donner à ce mot un sens précis, il suffit de supposer que Jésus avait sa manière à lui de rompre le pain après l'avoir béni, manière que les siens connaissaient....Luc a insisté sur leur compagnie, et on ne doit pas penser à une personne qui serait demeurée tout en se rendant invisible. Le Christ a quitté les disciples, en disparaissant soudain."

²⁴Robinson, *Roman Catholic Exegesis*, 1; de la Potterie, "Spiritual Sense of Scripture," 745; and Patricia M. McDonald, S.H.C.J., "Biblical Scholarship: When Tradition Met Method," in *The Catholic Church in the Twentieth Century: Renewing and Reimagining the City of God*, ed. John Deedy, 113-130 (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 124.

understandably led Catholics to overemphasize the variance between what Leo XIII wrote and what Pius XII affirmed fifty years later.

For an evangelical convert to Catholicism like Scott Hahn, these documents have one key point of continuity that stands out: they both respect the Bible as the Word of God. In other words, Hahn saw in these documents the Catholic Church's regard for the biblical text, and this regard was striking to the former evangelical Protestant. Other similarities would also be conspicuous for Hahn. Pius XII and Leo XIII both urged the study of the ancient languages relevant to the study of Scripture. Both also encouraged use of certain methods of modern biblical interpretation (e.g., *Providentissimus Deus* §§ 8 and 13). Leo saw such modern tools like philology as providing Catholic exegetes "a first line of defense against the misuse of these means against Christian faith."²⁵ Both, however, also affirmed the importance of reading the Bible in the stream of Church tradition, and of making recourse to the interpretations of the church fathers. Pius XII wrote:

The commentators of the Sacred Letters, mindful of the fact that here there is a question of a divinely inspired text, the care and interpretation of which have been confided to the Church by God Himself, should no less diligently take into account the explanations and declarations of the teaching authority of the Church, as likewise the interpretation given by the Holy Fathers, and even "the analogy of faith" as Leo XIII most wisely observed in the Encyclical Letter *Providentissimus Deus* (*Divino Afflante Spiritu* § 24).²⁶

²⁵Peter S. Williamson, *Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture: A Study of the Pontifical Biblical Commission's The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, with a preface by Albert Vanhoye, S.J. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2001), 24.

²⁶Compare with Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus* §§ 5, 7, 14, and 18.

Pius XII went further than did Leo XIII in affirming the importance of using the modern tools of biblical criticism:

Being thoroughly prepared by the knowledge of the ancient languages and by the aids afforded by the art of criticism, let the Catholic exegete undertake the task, of all those imposed on him the greatest, that namely of discovering and expounding the genuine meaning of the Sacred Books. In the performance of this task let the interpreters bear in mind that their foremost and greatest endeavor should be to discern and define clearly that sense of the biblical words which is called literal. Aided by the context and comparison with similar passages, let them therefore by means of their knowledge of languages search out with all diligence the literal meaning of the words... (§ 23).

This passage seemed an acknowledgement of the direction in which biblical criticism was flowing, and, while Pius XII clearly did not wish for the ebb of traditional exegesis, he did not insist on impeding the flow of modern criticism in an attempt to prevent the ebb of traditional exegesis. Rather, he emphasized the Bible as "Sacred Books" and hence urged the discovery of their meaning. To Hahn, the concern of such an exhortation would be based on the same underlying principle as that which went before: the Bible is the Word of God and should be regarded as such.

The above account provides some impression of the context out of which arose the major Catholic biblical exegetes in the U.S. in the latter half of the twentieth century, exegetes like John McKenzie, Raymond Brown, Roland Murphy, and Joseph Fitzmyer. Following Pius X's attack on Modernism, these scholars had to fight to be accepted by the mainstream biblical scholarly community. Catholics were stigmatized in the academy because of previous magisterial teachings, from the

Syllabus of Errors and *Pascendi* to the statements of the Pontifical Biblical Commission.²⁷ Through patient endurance and much hard work these scholars eventually became well established in the wider world of modern biblical scholarship.

125 Years of Sulpician Biblical Scholarship

One could choose any of the above scholars to examine in further detail. For the purpose of this work, however, we will examine Raymond Brown since Hahn relies on much of Brown's work in redaction criticism. In addition to the general context discussed above, Brown more specifically must be understood as standing in a long line of Sulpician Bible scholars. Fulcran Vigouroux, who instructed both Loisy and Lagrange, was a Sulpician Bible scholar. So were other giants like John Hogan, Joseph Bruneau, James Driscoll, François Gigot, and Edward Arbez. Of these, Arbez in particular was an influence on Brown during Brown's time in proximity to Arbez, and Arbez himself was greatly influenced by Henri Hyvernât. In what follows, I provide brief descriptions of these men.

Henri Hyvernât: Scholar of the Ancient Near East and Christian Orient

Hyvernât is an important figure in the history of Catholic biblical scholarship in the U.S. He was trained by a Sulpician and he trained Sulpicians, although he himself was not one. Hyvernât was the first

²⁷John McGreevy provides an important discussion of the anti-Catholic intellectual background alive in the United States from the nineteenth century into the 1960s. See John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: Norton, 2003).

professor chosen who taught at the Catholic University of America, where he founded what today is known as the Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures.²⁸ He was also a life-long friend of Lagrange, both having studied together in France under Vigouroux. Before coming to the U.S., he was Professor of Assyriology and Egyptology at the Saint Appollinare Pontifical School in Rome, where he taught the Sulpician James F. Driscoll.²⁹ As is indicated by the department he founded and classes he taught, Hyvernât approached biblical studies through an ancient Near East perspective, with attention to languages, archaeology, and the like. Hyvernât's propensity to consider the Bible in this way was something that, like Margolis and Gordon, he passed on to his students.

²⁸Hyvernât is yet another master linguist, who studied at least: Akkadian, Arabic, Coptic, Egyptian, English, Ethiopic, German, Hebrew, Italian, Syriac, and Ugaritic.

²⁹Sidney Griffith and Monica Blanchard, "Henri Hyvernât (1858-1941) and the Beginning of Syriac Studies at The Catholic University of America," *ARAM* 5 (1993) : 181-196, esp. 181-185; C. Joseph Nuesse, *The Catholic University of America: A Centennial History* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 54 and 57; Christopher J. Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation in Catholic Culture: The Priests of Saint Sulpice in the United States from 1791 to the Present* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 206; Montagnes, *Père Lagrange*, 33, 36, and 124; Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., "The Quest for a Catholic Vernacular Bible in America," in *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, 163-180 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 173; William F. Hill, S.S., "Reverend Edward P. Arbez, S.S.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (April 1961) : 73; Idem, "Edward Philip Arbez, S.S., M.A., S.T.D.—1881-1967," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31 (January 1969) : 114; Braun, *Work of Père Lagrange*, 6 and 25; John Tracy Ellis, "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," *Thought* 30 (1955) : 360 n. 15; Idem, *The Formative Years of The Catholic University of America* (Washington, D.C.: American Catholic Historical Association, 1946), 350 and 350 n. 48; Lagrange, M. Loisy, 68; Idem, *Père Lagrange*, 40; and Cyrus Adler, "The Beginning of Semitic Studies in America," in *Oriental Studies Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary (1883-1923) of Paul Haupt as Director of the Oriental Seminary of The Johns Hopkins University*, ed. Cyrus Adler and Aaron Ember, 317-328 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), 327.

Edward Arbez: "The Foremost Sulpician Scripture Scholar of His Generation"³⁰

Edward Arbez eventually replaced Hyvernats as department chair at Catholic University. Arbez studied under or was influenced by his fellow Sulpicians Gigot, Bruneau, and Driscoll.³¹ The French-born scholar came to the U.S. specifically to study ancient Near Eastern Languages with Hyvernats.³² Arbez, like Hyvernats, approached scriptural scholarship through close attention to the languages and cultures of the ancient Near East. Christopher Kauffman states that Arbez "became the foremost Sulpician scripture scholar of his generation...."³³ Arbez is perhaps most famous for the co-founding of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, where he served as the first president.

The Johns Hopkins Connection

Many Sulpician Bible scholars studied ancient Near Eastern archaeology and languages at Johns Hopkins University. In the beginning, Catholic Bible scholars such as Joseph Bruneau and others studied with

³⁰The quotation is taken from Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation*, 207.

³¹Patricia M. McDonald, "Biblical Brinkmanship: Francis Gigot and the New York Review," in *American Catholic Traditions: Resources for Renewal*, The Annual Publication of the College Theology Society, 1996, Volume 42, ed. Sandra Yocum Mize and William L. Portier, 222-241 (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1997), 223; Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation*, 207, 227-228, and 278; Hill, "Edward Philip Arbez," 72; and Idem, "Reverend Edward P. Arbez," 113-114, 117, and 119-120.

³²Arbez was another master linguist, having studied at least: Arabic, Aramaic, Coptic, Danish, Dutch, English, Ethiopic, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Latin, Maltese, Norwegian, Spanish, Swedish, Syriac, Turkish, and Ugaritic. William Hill writes that Arbez, "mastered practically all modern European and Semitic languages to a degree of perfection," and even delivered a lecture (not a paper) in Hebrew. See Hill, "Reverend Edward P. Arbez," 117 and 121; and Idem, "Edward Philip Arbez," 73.

³³Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation*, 207.

the famous German Assyriologist Paul Haupt. In an attestation to Haupt's significance, Cyrus Gordon notes that, "by importing the German Semitist, Paul Haupt (1858-1926), Johns Hopkins became overnight the leading center for Semitics in America."³⁴ Haupt arrived to teach at Johns Hopkins with prior teaching experience from the University of Göttingen and with a doctorate from the University of Leipzig where he had studied with Friedrich Delitzsch.³⁵ At only twenty-five years old, he was already a renowned scholar of the Epic of Gilgamesh, which is why William Foxwell Albright originally chose to work with him. Haupt also edited the famous Polychrome Bible, to which both S.R. Driver and Julius Wellhausen contributed. In addition to being the 1906 president of the Society of Biblical Literature, Haupt is distinguished as having published the most articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*; they number at an impressive 75. It is noteworthy that Max Margolis's capacity as editor of the *Journal of*

³⁴Cyrus H. Gordon, *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics: A Century of Near Eastern and Biblical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 7.

³⁵Friedrich Delitzsch was a renowned German scholar of the Old Testament and ancient Near East, best known for arguing in his infamous "Babel und Bibel" lectures that the Old Testament should be replaced by German folklore. Both Delitzsch and Haupt's other instructor, Paul de Lagarde, have been criticized for their anti-Semitism. See, e.g., Bill T. Arnold and David B. Weisberg, "A Centennial Review of Friedrich Delitzsch's 'Babel und Bibel' Lectures," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121, no. 3 (2002) : 441-457; Idem, "Babel und Bibel und Bias: How Anti-Semitism Distorted Friedrich Delitzsch's Scholarship," *Bible Review* 18, no. 1 (February 2002) : 32-40 and 47; and David Laird Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 338.

Biblical Literature furnished Margolis with frequent contact with Haupt.³⁶ Later, Haupt's first doctoral student, Cyrus Adler, hired Margolis to teach at Dropsie College.³⁷ In a letter to his former mentor, Albright relates the following:

With you, thanks to the excellent linguistic and philological training received, I learned to be a philologist, and to set philological accuracy and soundness on a high pedestal....I can never forget the unequalled training given in the Old Testament seminary of Johns Hopkins. To it, I owe a very great deal, which I appreciate profoundly....³⁸

³⁶Peter Douglas Feinman, *William Foxwell Albright: And the Origins of Biblical Archaeology* (Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press, 2000), 76, 145-147, 167, 177-178, and 182; Mark S. Smith, *Untold Stories: The Bible and Ugaritic Studies in the Twentieth Century* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2001), 43 n. 81; Peter Machinist, "William Foxwell Albright: The Man and His Work," in *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*, ed. Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz, 385-403 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 392 and 398; Jack M. Sasson, "Albright as an Orientalist," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56, no. 1 (March 1993) : 4; Delbert R. Hillers, "William F. Albright as a Philologist," in *The Scholarship of William Foxwell Albright: An Appraisal: Papers Delivered at the Symposium "Homage to William Foxwell Albright," The American Friends of the Israel Exploration Society, Rockville, Maryland, 1984*, ed. Gus W. Van Beek, 45-59 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 44; Leonard Greenspoon, *Max Leopold Margolis: A Scholar's Scholar*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America Number 15 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 41; Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 52; Ernest W. Saunders, *Searching the Scriptures: A History of the Society of Biblical Literature, 1880-1980*, Society of Biblical Literature: Biblical Scholarship in North America Number 8 (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982), 25 and 117; Leona Glidden Running and David Noel Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright: A Twentieth-Century Genius* (New York: Morgan Press, 1975), 21; Hans Goedicke, preface to *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke, xi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), xi; Cyrus Adler and Aaron Ember, preface to *Oriental Studies*, ed. Adler and Ember, VII; Cyrus Adler, "Dr. Cyrus Adler's Address," in *Oriental Studies*, XIX; Idem, "Beginnings of Semitic Studies," 324 and 326; W.F. Albright, "Professor Haupt as Scholar and Teacher," in *Oriental Studies*, XXI-XXII, XXV, and XXVII.

³⁷Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 134; and Adler, "Dr. Cyrus Adler's Address," XIX.

³⁸Quoted in Burke O. Long, "Mythic Trope in the Autobiography of William Foxwell Albright," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56, no. 1 (March 1993) : 39-40. Although Johns Hopkins University was not a seminary, this was the term Albright used to describe it.

W.F. Albright: THE Dominant American Ancient Near Eastern Scholar

When Haupt was eventually replaced by his most famous student, W.F. Albright, Catholics like Joseph Fitzmyer and Raymond Brown studied with Albright at Johns Hopkins.³⁹ Mark Smith has observed, "Albright made a major impact on Catholic biblical scholarship in the United States. He trained many Catholics in Old Testament and the ancient Near East."⁴⁰ Fitzmyer explains why he and other Catholic biblical scholars like Brown went to Johns Hopkins to study:

We came to JHU not only because of Albright's reputation as a biblical interpreter but also because JHU was the rare American University where future NT professors could be trained in the Semitic background of the NT and an ability to read the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were then just beginning to be published.⁴¹

Albright, a colleague of Margolis and a teacher of Gordon, has been praised by various sources for being the dominant scholar in ancient Near Eastern studies in the 1930s-1950s, for his influence on various areas from Holy Land archaeology to Semitic epigraphy and philology, and it has been said that his "remarkable one-man achievement is perhaps unparalleled in American intellectual history."⁴²

³⁹Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation*, 186, 204, 211, 255, and 291.

⁴⁰Smith, *Untold Stories*, 70.

⁴¹Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., review of *Planting and Reaping Albright*, by Burke Long, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 60 (1998) : 334-335.

⁴²William G. Dever, "What Remains of the House That Albright Built?" *Biblical Archaeologist* 56, no. 1 (March 1993) : 25. See also Jerrold S. Cooper and Glenn M. Schwartz, prologue to *Study of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Cooper and Schwartz, 1; and Y. Yadin, "William Foxwell Albright," in *W.F. Albright Volume*, *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies Volume Nine*, ed. A. Malamat, ix-xii (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1969), ix.

Among the greatest of Albright's skills were his linguistic abilities, a facility perhaps attributable to Albright's childhood in Chile, where he was raised bilingually in English and Spanish. By the age of sixteen, Albright had begun teaching himself Hebrew in his spare time. He later began teaching himself Akkadian, and published an article on Akkadian before entering graduate school. At Johns Hopkins he encountered a demanding language load, primarily because of Haupt's instruction in the classroom, which required translating Hebrew Psalms into Arabic, Syriac, Akkadian, and even Sumerian.⁴³

Albright is known for his many famous students, as well as his own academic writings. Albright trained scores of students who taught at Harvard University and the University of Chicago, among other places.⁴⁴ He served as the president for the Society of Biblical Literature in 1939, and contributed widely to the field of Semitic epigraphy and palaeography,

⁴³Gus W. Van Beek, "William Foxwell Albright: A Short Biography," in *Scholarship of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Van Beek, 7; Hillers, "William F. Albright," 44; and Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 27. For Albright's dominant role in the American Schools of Oriental Research, see Neil A. Silberman, "Visions of the Future: Albright in Jerusalem, 1919-1929," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56, no. 1 (March 1993): 8-16.

⁴⁴One of Albright's most famous and prolific students was Frank Moore Cross, whom we met in chapter one where I showed how Cross was one of the main scholar upon whom Hahn relied in his work on covenant. Cross eventually became the Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages and Chair of the Department of Semitic Languages and History (which was changed to its current title, the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations) at Harvard University, where he directed 106 Ph.D. dissertations. Harvard University's program in the Bible and in Near Eastern Studies was heavily shaped by Albright through his students, since the leading Bible and ancient Near Eastern scholars at Harvard during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, were former Albright students, including: George Ernest Wright, Frank Moore Cross, William L. Moran, and Thomas O. Lambdin. See Mark S. Smith, "W.F. Albright and His 'Household': The Cases of C.H. Gordon, M.H. Pope, and F.M. Cross," in *"A Wise and Discerning Mind": Essays in Honor of Burke O. Long*, Brown Judaic Studies Number 325, ed. Saul M. Olyan and Robert C. Culley, 221-244 (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 2000), 237-239.

archaeology, philology, and biblical studies, among other related fields. At the time of his death, he had published just over 1,000 articles and 20 books. He also directed 57 doctoral students in 30 years.⁴⁵

It was through Albright that Raymond Brown and Joseph Fitzmyer were afforded the opportunity to be some of the earliest scholars to work with the Dead Sea Scrolls, an area in which Fitzmyer has since become one of the world's leading authorities. Fitzmyer notes that Albright encouraged Brown to pursue his interest in Johannine studies further.⁴⁶ Brown was likely appreciative of Albright's interests and approach to biblical scholarship because they were in many ways similar to that of the

⁴⁵Hillers, "William F. Albright," 45-59; Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The Contribution of W.F. Albright to Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography," in *Scholarship of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Van Beek, 17-31; Gus W. Van Beek, "W.F. Albright's Contribution to Archaeology," in *Scholarship of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Van Beek, 61-73; Saunders, *Searching the Scriptures*, 38; and Machinist, "William Foxwell Albright," 386, where Machinist also notes that by 8-9 years after earning his doctorate, Albright already had 100 publications, 6 years later 200 publications, 10 years after that, when he was only 50 years old, over 500 publications. Gordon originally met Albright in Margolis's office, when Albright was seeking Margolis's help on the topography of the Book of Joshua (Margolis and Albright also worked together in Jerusalem). Gordon later studied under and worked with Albright in Jerusalem, and was his teaching assistant at Johns Hopkins University. In Jerusalem Albright attended lectures which Lagrange gave. See, Smith, "W.F. Albright and His 'Household,'" 226 and 226 n. 16; Idem, *Untold Stories*, 47 n. 140; Leonard Greenspoon, "Max Leopold Margolis: A Scholar's Scholar (A BA Portrait)," *Biblical Archaeologist* 48 (1985) : 103-106; and Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 52-56. Albright had an intriguing relationship to the Catholic Church. He attended lectures by and admired M.-J. Lagrange, he was also an admirer of Pope Pius XII and was particularly fond of Pius's encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, and finally, Albright's wife converted to Catholicism while they were in Jerusalem. See Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 68 and 108; and Feinman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 141 n. 53.

⁴⁶Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "Qumran Literature and the Johannine Writings," in *Life in Abundance: Studies of John's Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S.S.*, ed. John R. Donahue, S.J., 117-133 (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2005), 117; Francis J. Moloney, S.D.B., "The Gospel of John: The Legacy of Raymond E. Brown and Beyond," in *Life in Abundance*, ed. Donahue, 33 n. 1; and Ronald D. Witherup, S.S., foreword to *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, by Raymond E. Brown, S.S., xi-xvi (New York: Doubleday, 2003), xi-xii.

Sulpicians previously trained at Johns Hopkins. Albright and the Sulpician scholars engaged in careful work with the original languages, acquiring the requisite skills for understanding the texts of the ancient Near East. More importantly, these Sulpicians, like Margolis and Gordon and Albright, recognized human elements in the text, and thus the importance of bringing the light of history to bear upon Scripture.

As Kauffman notes, Raymond Brown represents "a continuum of over 125 years of Sulpician scholars who have achieved international recognition."⁴⁷ And yet, Brown came at a time period very different than that of previous Sulpicians. In a sense, Brown was caught up in the middle of the ebb and flow of Catholic biblical scholarship. While he indeed is a part of the Catholic tradition that respects the biblical text as revelatory, Brown went much further in use of historical criticism than those that came before him. After Brown, Catholics have tended to be fully immersed in the flow of historical criticism, emphasizing the human element, but at times neglecting to focus on the divine element.

III. Scott Hahn and Catholic Biblical Exegesis

As discussed in the last chapter, evangelical Protestant Bible scholars taught Hahn to read Scripture, in particular training him to regard the Bible as the word of God with an inherent authority in the text itself. Catholic scholars of the Bible and of patristic exegesis have likewise

⁴⁷Kauffman, *Tradition and Transformation*, 292.

taught Hahn, through their writings, how to read, in a Catholic way, the Bible as the word of God.⁴⁸ The current section will first address what Hahn learned from the works of Catholics Dennis McCarthy and Raymond Brown. In particular, Hahn makes use of McCarthy's work on covenant and Brown's work on the Eucharist. Through his reliance upon these two scholars, we will see that Hahn has a qualified appropriation of the historical critical method that distinguishes him from the typical evangelical Protestant exegete. The section will then turn to how Henri de Lubac inspired Hahn to have a fuller appropriation of patristic and medieval exegesis in his hermeneutical method. Hahn's typological reading of the figure of Melchizedek will serve as the example of this appropriation. Following these considerations of particular Catholics, we will turn to two issues where Hahn's exegesis changed en route to his acceptance into the Catholic Church. The first of these is his understanding of Jesus' atoning death and the second is Hahn's nuanced view on biblical inerrancy. Hahn's Catholicism has transformed his understanding of both of these typical evangelical Protestant convictions.

⁴⁸Scott Hahn, e-mail to author (June 21, 2005). These Catholic scholars include Raymond Brown, André Feuillet, Dennis McCarthy, Ignace de la Potterie, Ben Meyer, Albert Vanhoye, James Swetnam, David Michael Stanley, R.A.F. MacKenzie, Jean Daniélou, and Henri de Lubac. In the works surveyed in chapter 3 of this dissertation (117 n. 33), Hahn includes the following number of citations: McCarthy (64x), Vanhoye (39x), Swetnam (34x), Daniélou (20x), Brown (10x), de Lubac (6x), de la Potterie (4x), Feuillet (4x), and Meyer (1x).

Dennis McCarthy, the Covenant, and Hahn

In his work on the covenant, Hahn relies more on Dennis McCarthy's works than on any other scholar. Covenant is a crucial theme of all of McCarthy's work, and hence, the prominent appearance of covenant in Hahn's work gives some indication of McCarthy's effect upon his work. As previously discussed, this prominence is partly due to Kline's and Hugenberg's instruction, as well as other sources like Albright students George Mendenhall and Frank Cross. And yet, McCarthy's impact is obvious; Hahn cites McCarthy 64 times in the works surveyed here, while only citing Cross 50 times, Hugenberg 43 times, Kline 30 times, and Mendenhall 21 times. In particular, his reliance on McCarthy's *Treaty and Covenant* has provided support for Hahn's understanding of ancient Near Eastern covenants in relation to the biblical covenants.⁴⁹

From the 1960s until 1983, McCarthy was one of the leading authorities on ancient Near Eastern covenants, and he published widely on ancient treaties and covenants.⁵⁰ He received training in Semitics at

⁴⁹Dennis J. McCarthy, S.J., *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963); and Idem, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, Revised Edition (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978).

⁵⁰E.g., Idem, "Covenant in Narratives from Late OT Times," in *The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall*, ed. H.B. Huffmon, F.A. Spina, and A.R.W. Green, 77-94 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1983); Idem, "Compact and Kingship: Stimuli for Hebrew Covenant Thinking," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays: Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5-7 December, 1979*, ed. Tomoo Ishida, 75-92 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1982); Idem, "Covenant 'Good' and an Egyptian Text," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 245 (Winter 1982) : 63-64; Idem, "Covenant and Law in Chronicles-Nehemiah," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 44 (January 1982) : 25-44; Idem,

the Freie Universität Berlin, followed by Scripture at the Institut Catholique de Paris and at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, where he eventually taught Old Testament studies until his death in 1983.⁵¹ At the Institut Catholique de Paris, McCarthy studied with Henri Cazelles, a French Catholic scholar whose work spans the field of biblical and ancient Near Eastern studies.⁵² Like his student McCarthy, Cazelles's doctoral dissertation was on the covenant, and, in addition to McCarthy's work on covenant, Hahn also cites Cazelles.⁵³

"Covenant Relationships," in *Questions disputées d'Ancien Testament: méthode et théologie*, ed. C. Brekelmans, 91-103 (Louvain : Leuven University Press, 1974); Idem, "Berit and Covenant in the Deuteronomistic History," in *Studies in the Religion of Ancient Israel*, 65-85 (Leiden: Brill, 1972); Idem, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions* (Richmond: John Knox, 1972); Idem, "Berit in Old Testament History and Theology," *Biblica* 53, no.1 (1972) : 110-121; Idem, "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of the Inquiry," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 27 (July 1965) : 217-240; Idem, "Hosea 12:2: Covenant by Oil," *Vetus Testamentum* 14, no. 2 (April 1964) : 215-221; and Idem, "Three Covenants in Genesis," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26 (April 1964) : 179-189.

⁵¹"In Memoriam: Dennis J. McCarthy, S.J.," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (October 1983) : 650;

and F.C. Fensham, "Prof. Dennis J. McCarthy (14/10/24-29/8/83)," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 11 (1983) : 1-2.

⁵²Fensham, "Prof. Dennis J. McCarthy," 1.

⁵³Examples of Cazelles's works on the covenant include: Henri Cazelles, "Les structures successives de la «berit» dans l'Ancien Testament," *Bulletin du Centro Protestant d'Etudes* 3 (1984) : 33-46; Idem, "Alliance nouvelle, cœur nouveau: Lecture de Jérémie et d'Ezéchiel," *Christus* 97 (January 1978) : 90-99; Idem, "Alliance du Sinaï, Alliance de l'Horeb et Renouveau de l'Alliance," in *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70.*, ed. Herbert Donner, Robert Hanhart, and Rudolf Smend, 69-79 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977); Idem, "Israël du Nord et arche d'alliance (Jér. III, 16)," *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968) : 147-158; and Idem, "L'auteur du Code de l'Alliance (Exode XX, 22-XXIII, 19)," *Revue Biblique* 52 (1944) : 173-191. Cazelles's doctoral dissertation was entitled, "Études sur le Code de l'alliance." For more on Cazelles, see also Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot, dedication to *De la Tôrah au Messie: Études d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles pour ses 25 années d'enseignement à l'Institut Catholique de Paris* (Octobre 1979), ed. Maurice Carrez, Joseph Doré, and Pierre Grelot, 3-7 (Paris: Desclée, 1981); Josef Scharbert, "«Berit» im Pentateuch," in *De la Tôrah*, ed. Carrez, Doré, and Grelot, 163; Mathias Delcor and André Caquot, avant-propos to *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und*

McCarthy's work, and Cazelle's, for that matter, are valuable to Hahn not just for the worthy scholarship, but also because the scholarship comes specifically from Catholics. In a time where the flow of covenant-centered Protestant biblical theology seems to have a primarily Calvinist source and take on an extremely juridical understanding, McCarthy reveals that covenant is a Catholic concept as well. Hahn found biblical and ancient Near Eastern scholars from numerous religious traditions, including Jews, Catholics, and both Calvinist and non-Calvinist Protestants focusing on the centrality of the covenant. McCarthy, however, stood out for Hahn because he was a Catholic. McCarthy's work is hence an example and an encouragement as well as a resource for Hahn as a Catholic exegete.

Raymond Brown: "The Premier Johannine Scholar in the English-Speaking World"⁵⁴

According to Catholic Johannine scholar Francis Moloney, no one in the English speaking world has contributed as much to Johannine studies as Raymond Brown, who he asserts has been considered "the

des Alten Testaments Band 212, ed. Kurt Bergerhof, Manfred Dietrich, and Oswald Loretz, IX-XII (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker, 1981); André Lemaire, "Le Décalogue: Essai d'histoire de la rédaction," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux*, ed. Caquot and Delcor, 259; and Smith, *Unfold Stories*, 20, 137, and 142. Cazelles studied at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris under Charles Virolleaud, one of the individuals primarily responsible for the decipherment of Ugaritic, and the professor whose course on Ugaritic Cyrus Gordon attended while living in Paris. Interestingly, in an essay Cazelles published, in a volume edited by an evangelical scholar, Cazelles relied upon the work of Meredith G. Kline. See, H. Cazelles, "The Hebrews," in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D.J. Wiseman, 1-28 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 24 n. 5.

⁵⁴This quotation is taken from Moloney, "Gospel of John," 19.

premier Johannine scholar in the English-speaking world."⁵⁵ In reaching this stature as a biblical scholar, Brown earned eight academic degrees that prepared him for his future work as a New Testament scholar, including a B.A. and M.A. in Philosophy, an S.T.B., S.T.L., and S.T.D., a Ph.D. in Semitic Languages, and an S.S.B. and S.S.L. in Sacred Scripture. Brown was named by Pope Paul VI as a member of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, and, at the time, was the only American member.⁵⁶

Brown is among the generation of Catholic biblical scholars who began their work in the wake of Pius XII's *Divino Afflante Spiritu*.⁵⁷ Because of this, Brown was able to engage primarily in historical criticism, although he chose to focus on redaction criticism rather than on source criticism or form criticism. Hence his emphasis was on the final form of biblical texts, primarily the Gospel of John.⁵⁸ When Brown examined the Johannine text, it was thus as a unified book, redacted in a particular way for particular reasons and therefore to be examined as it was redacted. This bears a

⁵⁵Ibid. See also Ibid, 20. Brown published approximately 66 articles and 11 books that deal with some aspect of Johannine studies. If we were to include the Johannine epistles and basic studies of the New Testament and of the life of Jesus, which touch on Johannine studies, we would have to add at least 10 more books to this list.

⁵⁶Ronald D. Witherup, S.S., "Biography of Raymond E. Brown, S.S.," in *Life in Abundance*, ed. Donahue, 254-255 and 257; and Idem, foreword to *Introduction to the Gospel of John*, xiii.

⁵⁷Idem, "The Incarnate Word Revealed: The Pastoral Writings of Raymond E. Brown," in *Life in Abundance*, ed. Donahue, 240; R. Alan Culpepper, "The Legacy of Raymond E. Brown and Beyond: A Response to Francis J. Moloney," in *Life in Abundance*, ed. Donahue, 41; and Francis Schüssler Fiorenza, "The Challenge of Brown's Hermeneutics: Fidelity to Both Historical Criticism and the Church's Tradition: A Response to Robert Leavitt," in *Life in Abundance*, ed. Donahue, 232.

⁵⁸Moloney, "Gospel of John," 21-24; Culpepper, "Legacy of Raymond E. Brown," 43; and Francis J. Moloney, S.D.B., introduction to *Introduction to the Gospel of John*, by Brown, 1-14.

connection to Hahn's canonical reading of biblical texts in that both Hahn and redaction critics like Brown read specific biblical texts in their final form. While a redaction criticism approach does not guarantee a faithful theological reading of the Bible, it also does not challenge such a reading. Hence when Hahn inquired into Catholic biblical scholarship, Brown appeared as a well-trained scholar, competent in the skills to examine the Bible, and yet he respected the integrity of the biblical text as such. For this reason, Brown's writing was appealing to Hahn; Brown's approach to the Bible did not negate Hahn's evangelical sensibility. As a new Catholic, what was of particular importance to Hahn was Brown's focus on the Eucharist.

Brown and Hahn on Historical Criticism

Writing about redaction criticism, Raymond Brown notes:

Even though I think there was both an evangelist and a redactor, the duty of the commentator is not to decide what was composed by whom, or in what order it originally stood, nor whether these composers drew on a written source or an oral tradition. One should deal with the Gospel of John as it now stands, for that is the only form that we are certain has ever existed.⁵⁹

Although he allows for various forms of biblical interpretation, e.g., spiritual, etc., Brown's emphasis is on what he calls the "literal" level. As is typical of historical critics, Brown regards the literal level as concerned with author intent and with audience understanding. Brown explains:

I am perfectly aware that in ongoing church life John has fed rich theological, liturgical, and spiritual reflection, and that we have no

⁵⁹Raymond E. Brown, S.S., *An Introduction to the Gospel of John*, 110-111.

right to exclude such hermeneutical development from the task of interpretation. Nevertheless, I suggest that the commentator should limit commentary to what most likely was meant by the first-century author and most likely understood by the first-century audience. That decision about limited purpose represents a firm conviction that all other subsequent reading and use of the Gospel should somehow be related to that literal sense, which is already enormously rich in itself.⁶⁰

As mentioned earlier, Brown's use of redaction criticism parallels Hahn's later canonical reading in that both methods consider the text in its final form; Hahn himself makes this comparison.⁶¹ Hahn's reliance on Brown gives some indication of Hahn's qualified appropriation of historical critical methods. Beyond redaction criticism, Hahn also considers other historical critical methods, such as source criticism. Though he does not generally follow source critical reconstructions, Hahn believes that source critical works assist him in seeing differences in the biblical narratives. The historical critical method is valuable, but Hahn believes it is the canonical reading that ultimately makes sense out of the pieces provided by historical critical insights. Hahn explains the relationship between the historical critical method and canonical reading thus:

While historical-critical methods identify distinctive sources and/or traditions in the Pentateuch (JEDP), canonical criticism must then re-interpret these variations according to their place within the text in its final narrative form. The methods should be regarded as (at least potentially) complementary. The historical critic may be likened to a tailor who turns the (literary) garment inside out in order to work on the seams; while the canonical critic must turn the

⁶⁰Ibid, 111. Brown also began to engage in narrative criticism, although a narrative criticism that was tied to historical criticism. See Francis J. Moloney, S.D.B., "Excursus: Narrative Approaches to the Fourth Gospel," in *Introduction to the Gospel of John*, 31 n. 7; Idem, introduction to *Introduction to the Gospel of John*, 1-14; and Witherup, foreword to *Introduction to the Gospel of John*, xv.

⁶¹Scott Hahn, interview by author, 22 March, 2006, telephone, numbers 1 and 2.

garment "right side out" and examine those seams in the light of its overall design and fit. To wit, one's critical appreciation of the garment should be enhanced by a greater understanding of the seamwork from both sides.⁶²

Hahn's work regarding different covenants, examined in the first chapter of this dissertation, is patently indebted to source criticism, which allowed him to understand the distinctions between the covenants in the Pentateuch. Canonical reading helped Hahn integrate the findings of source criticism and provide coherence in the texts in their final form.⁶³ Hahn correlates, for example, the three covenants involving Abram/Abraham, in Gen. 15, attributed to J, 17, attributed to P, and 22, attributed to E.⁶⁴ Hahn then can also explain the "canonical significance" of distinct Pentateuchal laws, e.g., those of the Levitical covenants, attributed to P and H (Holiness Code), as well as those of the Deuteronomic covenant, attributed to D.⁶⁵ Hahn does not weigh in on the source critical debates concerning specific authorship or dates of writing, but uses the distinctions source critics make in order to read the text canonically, that is, to turn the garment that is the biblical text "right side out" again.

⁶²Idem, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," (Ph.D. Diss., Marquette University, 1995), 107-108 n. 143.

⁶³Idem, interview by author, 22 March, 2006, telephone, number 2.

⁶⁴Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 17 n. 31.

⁶⁵Ibid.

Brown and Hahn on the Last Supper

What Hahn learned from Raymond Brown may be seen in Hahn's exegesis of the Last Supper, examined in chapter two of this dissertation. Many of the issues crucial for Hahn were subjects of study for Brown years before Hahn began to think about them. These include the eucharistic reading of the Last Supper accounts, especially in the Gospel of John, the idea that the Passover is the primary context for the Last Supper accounts, the Gospel of John's Bread of Life Discourse, and the Gospel of John's account of Jesus' passion. Hahn and Brown furthermore find eucharistic significance throughout the Gospel of John's Bread of Life discourse, including the use of specific Greek terms (φαγεῖν and τρώγω), and in the fact that John's Gospel contains no Institution of the Eucharist account at the Last Supper. In what immediately follows, I will describe Brown's treatment of the Gospel of John that aided Hahn's exegesis.

Regarding the Gospel of John's lack of an "Institution Narrative" at the Last Supper, Brown writes, "the Johannine failure to mention Jesus' eucharistic action over the bread and cup at the Last Supper can scarcely be accidental."⁶⁶ Brown also believes that the Passover lamb and the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 52:13-53:12 come together in the

⁶⁶Raymond E. Brown, S.S., *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), 21.

Gospel of John's acclamation of Jesus as the "lamb of God."⁶⁷ When commenting on the multiplication of bread in John chapter 6, Brown points out that there is a Passover/Exodus background to this passage: "The combination of marvelously supplied food and walking on water echoes Moses' miracles in the Exodus after the first Passover (manna, Red Sea), even as the murmuring of 6:41 matches the similar action of Israel in the desert wanderings (Exod 16:2, 8)."⁶⁸ Proceeding even further, Brown sees this Johannine passage as linked to the Institution Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels.⁶⁹

When Brown comes to the much contested Bread of Life Discourse, he argues that the Bread of Life refers to Jesus' flesh which must be literally eaten, and he sees the word change in Greek from φαγεῖν to τρώγω as pointing to this. Brown emphasizes that the metaphoric use in Aramaic of the phrase "eating flesh" refers to hostile action involving destruction, and can be pejorative, which points to a literal reading of this passage (he supplies the examples of Psalm 27:2 and Zech. 11:9).⁷⁰ Brown observes, "in the Aramaic tradition transmitted through Syriac, the 'eater of flesh' is the

⁶⁷Idem, *The Gospel According to John (i-xii)*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980 [1966]), 63; and Idem, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels Volume Two*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 1370.

⁶⁸Idem, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 345-346.

⁶⁹Idem, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 246-248.

⁷⁰Ibid, 272, 274, and 283-284; Idem, *New Testament Essays* (Ramsey, New Jersey: Paulist Press, 1965), 58 n. 25, 82, and 85; and Idem, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 346.

title of the devil, the slanderer and adversary par excellence."⁷¹ Writing further, Brown insists, "the use of *trōgein* is part of John's attempt to emphasize the realism of the eucharistic flesh and blood. The only other times it appears in John outside of this section is in xiii 18 where in the context of the Last Supper it is deliberately introduced into an OT citation, probably as a eucharistic remembrance."⁷²

Although Brown does not make the same connections that Hahn later makes with the four-cup Passover seder structure (with the fourth cup being Jesus' drink of sour wine from the cross), Brown does link the cup Jesus asks to be taken away from him in the Garden of Gethsemane with the cup of wine Jesus identifies as his blood at the Last Supper in the Synoptic Gospels.⁷³ Brown also interprets the cup saying in John's version of the Garden of Gethsemane as connected to the cup saying in the Synoptic accounts of the Garden of Gethsemane.⁷⁴ In his exegesis, Hahn relies upon Brown's redaction critical work here.

Brown's redaction criticism helped Hahn to see Passover connections in John's account of Jesus' passion and death. Brown does not identify the sour wine Jesus drinks on the cross in John's Gospel as the culmination of the Passover ceremony from the Upper Room at the Last

⁷¹Idem, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 284.

⁷²Ibid, 283.

⁷³Idem, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels Volume One*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 170 and 170 n. 8.

⁷⁴Idem, *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi)*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970), 813; and Idem, *The Death of the Messiah II*, 1074.

Supper in the Synoptic Gospels, but he emphasizes that the Passover imagery in John's account of Jesus' crucifixion connects Jesus' sacrifice with that of the Passover lamb. Here Brown notes that Jesus is sentenced to die at the time designated for the Passover lambs to be slaughtered. The hyssop branch used to bring the sour wine to Jesus on the cross harkens to the hyssop branches used to smear the Passover lambs' blood on the Israelite door posts. As with the Passover lambs, the Gospel of John explicitly mentions that none of Jesus' bones were broken.⁷⁵ Brown reiterates that the Passover is the key to Jesus' passion in John, since it opens this second part of John's Gospel, commonly called the "Book of Glory," in John 13:1. Both 13:1 and 19:28 point to what is finished. Brown writes, "Part of the solution is that the opening of the Last Supper and the death of Jesus on the cross are all part of the same 'hour.'"⁷⁶ Hahn relies upon these Passover connections in his own exegesis.

In sum, we see in Brown various aspects that are important to Hahn as a Catholic biblical exegete. First, Brown's primary reliance on redaction criticism as his historical critical method of choice allows for an integrity of the text similar to that afforded by Hahn's canonical reading. Brown's

⁷⁵Idem, *Gospel According to John i-xii*, 62; Idem, *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi)*, 883, 920-921, and 930; Idem, *The Gospel and Epistles of John: A Concise Commentary* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1988), 94-95; Idem, *A Crucified Christ in Holy Week: Essays on the Four Gospel Passion Narratives* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 65 and 67; Idem, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 358; and Idem, *Death of the Messiah II*, 956-957, 1076-1077, and 1371-1372. Compare with Hahn's account as described in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

⁷⁶Idem, *Death of the Messiah II*, 1070. See also *Ibid.*, 1059 and 1073 n. 107.

redaction critical methods and conclusions hence accord with Hahn's evangelical sensibility. Secondly, as a result of his training by Albright, and in the tradition of the Sulpician biblical scholars, Brown engages in the kind of philologically, textually, and archaeologically sensitive work that Hahn was taught to respect as serious biblical scholarship. As such, Brown demonstrates an attention to the specific words of the text, e.g., the word change in the Bread of Life discourse. Brown also demonstrates an interest in and knowledge of the background to the text, e.g., the use of the Passover connections. In so doing, Brown bears a resemblance to Gordon and Margolis and their students who are perhaps like academic cousins to Brown in method and training. Thirdly, Brown's biblical scholarship places the Eucharist in an important place. This is crucial to Hahn as a Catholic exegete who regards the Eucharist as central in understanding the covenant as a unifying theme of the Bible. Hence in his use of the Passover as the context to the Last Supper and Jesus' passion and crucifixion, Hahn finds Catholic support in the work of Raymond Brown, in addition to works from Jewish, evangelical Protestant, and mainline Protestant scholars.

Hahn's Retrieval of Patristic and Medieval Exegesis

Hahn's engagement with patristic and medieval biblical exegesis added a new texture to his biblical exegetical method. Already as an evangelical Protestant Hahn had been introduced to Thomism and had

made use of some patristic exegesis. Typology in particular was not unknown in Protestant traditions. Jonathan Edwards, for example, used typological exegesis.⁷⁷ Allegorical or typological interpretations became especially important to Hahn in his exegesis as a Catholic, particularly with the model of Henri de Lubac, whose *Exégèse médiévale* particularly helped Hahn appropriate the spiritual sense of Scripture as the word of God.⁷⁸ This patristic and medieval exegesis is Christocentric, as de Lubac explains:

It organizes all of revelation around a concrete center, which is fixed in time and space by the Cross of Jesus Christ....this ancient form of Christian exegesis is something quite other than just an ancient form of exegesis. It forms "the thread" of Christian literature and Christian art. It constitutes, in one of its essential aspects, ancient Christian thought. It is the principle form that the Christian synthesis had for a long time been shaped by.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Scott Hahn, e-mail to author (June 21, 2005). On Jonathan Edwards' use of typology, see especially the comments in George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 77 and 474; William J. Wainwright, "Jonathan Edwards and the Language of God," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 48, no. 4 (December 1980) : 527; Stephen J. Stein, "The Quest for the Spiritual Sense: The Biblical Hermeneutics of Jonathan Edwards," *Harvard Theological Review* 70 (January-April 1977) : 99-113; and Idem, "The Spirit and the Word: Jonathan Edwards and Scriptural Exegesis," in *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout, 118-130 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁷⁸See Hahn's encyclopedia article devoted to the spiritual sense of Scripture. See Scott Hahn, "Spiritual Exegesis," in *Our Sunday Visitor's Encyclopedia of Catholic Doctrine*, ed. Russell Shaw, 642-645 (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 1997). See also his comments in Idem, "'Search the Scriptures': Reading the Old Testament with Jesus, John and Thomas Aquinas," *Saint Austin Review* 2 (March 2002) : 12-15. On the role of spiritual interpretation see Gilbert Dahan, "Le commentaire médiéval de la Bible: le passage au sens spirituel," in *Le commentaire entre tradition et innovation: Actes du colloque international de l'Institut des traditions textuelles, Paris et Villejuif, 22-25 septembre 1999*, ed. M.-O. Goulet-Cazé and T. Dorandi, 213-230 (Paris: Vrin, 2000); de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*; Idem, *Histoire et Esprit*; and Idem, "'Typologie' et 'Allégorisme,'" *Recherches de science religieuse* 34 (1947) : 180-226.

⁷⁹Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis Volume I: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. Mark Sebanc, with a foreword by Robert Louis Wilken (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1998 [1959]), XIX.

Robert Louis Wilken, upon whose work Hahn also relies, explains this Christological assumption in patristic exegesis: "The Bible's unity came from Christ; without Christ it was not possible to see Leviticus and Proverbs and Ezekiel and Mark and Acts and 1 John as part of a single narrative."⁸⁰ One example of Hahn's use of this typological exegesis is in his seeing the figure of Melchizedek as a type of Jesus, which in turn enables Hahn to view the Melchizedek passage in Gen. 14 as eucharistic.⁸¹ This typology then affects the way Hahn reads the Book of Hebrews when Melchizedek's name appears there. The following explication of Melchizedek elucidates how Hahn's typological exegesis draws upon patristic and medieval exegesis. Hence his interpretation is in the spirit of the urgings of Leo XIII and Pius XII that Catholics read Sacred Scripture following the "interpretations of the Holy Fathers" (*Divino Afflante Spiritu* § 24).

Relying upon early targumic, rabbinic, and patristic exegesis, Hahn suggests that the figure of Melchizedek in Gen. 14 is Shem, Noah's first born son, who is mentioned in the earlier Genesis material.⁸² For Hahn,

⁸⁰Robert Louis Wilken, "In Dominico Eloquentia: Learning the Lord's Style of Language," *Communio* 24 (Winter 1997) : 862.

⁸¹Scott Hahn, "The Meal of Melchizedek," *Coming Home Journal* 1, no. 3 (1994) : 25-28.

⁸²In his later research, Hahn relies upon the work of the following scholars in regard to Melchizedek: On the traditional Jewish and Christian identification of Melchizedek as Shem, e.g., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "Melchizedek in the MT, LXX, and the NT," *Biblica* 81, no. 1 (2000) : 63-69, esp. 63 and 65; Martin McNamara, MSC, "Melchizedek: Gen 14, 17-20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature," *Biblica* 81, no. 1 (2000) : 1-31, esp. 3, 8-10, 13, and 15-16; and Florentino García Martínez,

several textual details seem to point to this. First, Shem is an important figure in the immediately preceding section of Genesis, prior to the Abram texts. Secondly, Hahn observes that, in the final canonical narrative of Genesis, Shem lives well into the period of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and in fact, lives beyond Abraham, according to the text in its genealogical material (Gen. 11:11).⁸³ Third, Hahn notes that, "the blessing of Noah indicates the figurative use and theological significance of Shem for interpreting the divine plan of the covenants throughout the canonical record of salvation history. Shem has become a figure who bridges the primeval and patriarchal narratives...."⁸⁴

Additionally, following the work of Michael Fishbane, Hahn argues that Shem's genealogies provide a bracket to the passage concerning the Tower of Babel.⁸⁵ Fishbane highlights the play of words in the Hebrew in the Tower of Babel passage, which Hahn also regards as significant. In this way he reflects another mark of early Jewish and Christian exegesis, where interpretations were sometimes made based on words sharing similarities with each other, for example, "Mankind goes eastward to 'there' (*sham*) a tower to the 'heavens' (*shamayim*), and so make a 'name' (*shem*) for itself. It was 'there' (*sham*) that human language was

"Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán," *Biblica* 81, no. 1 (2000) : 70-80, esp. 70.

⁸³Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 153-154.

⁸⁴*Ibid*, 155-157.

⁸⁵*Ibid*, 157 and 157 n. 34.

confounded, and it was 'from there' (*misham*) that mankind was scattered."⁸⁶ According to Hahn, Nimrod was trying to "build a counter-kingdom to the godly line of Shem," who had tried to magnify God's 𐤇𐤍 (name).⁸⁷ Another example can be found in Hahn's reading of two genealogies, the righteous line of Seth and the unrighteous line of Lamech; this is also based on patristic exegesis, as it is expressed in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* Book XV.⁸⁸

Hahn believes there is a narrative basis to connect Melchizedek with Shem.⁸⁹ Melchizedek provides a connection between God's covenant with Noah and the Abrahamic covenant in the Genesis texts. In the Genesis text, Abram seems to have been a vassal under the Amorites, lower in stature than the Canaanite kings (Gen. 14:7); but with the kings' defeat, Abram rises above them. And yet, while the Canaanite kings are beholden to Abram, Abram himself submits to Melchizedek, the king of Salem. Hahn notes also that in the biblical narrative in its final canonical form, Salem is identified with Jerusalem, which Psalm 76:1 makes explicit.⁹⁰

⁸⁶Michael Fishbane, *Text and Texture: Close Readings of Biblical Texts* (New York: Schocken, 1979), 38.

⁸⁷Scott Hahn, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises: God's Covenant Love in Scripture*, (Cincinnati, Ohio: Charis, 1998), 90-91.

⁸⁸St. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 595-648.

⁸⁹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 171. This excursus in his dissertation was originally much longer, but was part of the 100 + pages cut after his public defense (Idem, Interview with author, 30 August 2005).

⁹⁰*Ibid*, 171, 173-174, 173 n. 12, 173-174 n. 13, and 179; Idem, "Meal of Melchizedek," 25; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 99 and 108; Idem, "The Book of Hebrews," St. Joseph Communication, 8 audio-cassette series; Idem, "Genesis," St. Joseph Communication, 7 audiocassette series; Fitzmyer, "Melchizedek in the MT, LXX,

Hahn also finds a link between Melchizedek's priesthood (in Hebrews) and his offering of bread and wine, a type of sacrifice that foreshadows Jesus' eucharistic sacrifice.⁹¹ Hahn writes further that, "The blessing which links Abraham to Shem and Noah may reveal how the identity of Melchizedek may be inferred from the narrative itself, as reflected in many ancient Jewish and Christian interpretive traditions that quite naturally identify Melchizedek with Shem."⁹²

Again, Hahn emphasizes that, following the genealogies, Shem would have lived thirty five years after Abraham had died, and, furthermore, Abraham is a descendent of Shem.⁹³ With the identification of Shem as Melchizedek, Hahn notes:

...Shem's priesthood has a twofold basis in these interpretive traditions. Not only as Melchizedek, but Shem's status as Noah's firstborn son qualified him for the priesthood, since ancient Jewish and Christian interpreters generally recognized that a pre-levitical natural priesthood belonged to the firstborn son in the patriarchal narratives, before the Levites acquired the right at Sinai after the golden calf (Ex. 32).⁹⁴

Summarizing his interpretative trajectory, Hahn mentions that:

and the NT," 65; McNamara, "Melchizedek," 8; and García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec," 70.

⁹¹Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 175-176 and 175 n. 16.

⁹²Ibid, 177. Hahn elaborates, "the Shem-Melchizedek identification goes as far back as Jewish interpretive traditions can be traced—to which certain Targums (especially Neofiti) bear ancient witness" (177-178 n. 23). See also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971), 176. Hahn sees Shem's and Melchizedek's identification in the early church as well, in, e.g., Jerome and Clement of Alexandria (Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 178-179 n. 27). Hahn believes the Jewish and Christian evidence in the first several centuries of the Common Era reflect traditions going back to the Second Temple period. E.g., in the Targum of 1 Chronicles, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Neofiti, Rabbi Ishmael, Ephrem, Epiphanius, and Jerome.

⁹³Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 178; and Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 91.

⁹⁴Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 180-181.

a canonical interpretation of the Melchizedek narrative generates a series of important connections that will be invaluable for examining the reappearance of these traditions in the Davidic covenant (Ps. 110:4), and also in the royal high priestly Christology of Hebrews. By linking Melchizedek with Shem, and Salem with Jerusalem, we see how the canonical narrative underwrites the application of such traditions to David, and the divine covenant sworn to "the son of David."⁹⁵

Hahn hence turns to Hebrews, with the above identifications, and this makes his typological reading more explicit in its Christocentrism. Jesus receives a "name" which is better than the angels. Hahn argues that Jesus' "name" in the text has to do with his status as "firstborn son."⁹⁶ Hahn makes two observations about this "name" and its link with Jesus being God's "firstborn son." First, he states,

From a canonical perspective, we...see in this text something of a climax to the long theological development of the name-motif. In the first stage, the "name" is linked to the patriarchal period where Noah blesses his firstborn, Shem ("Name"), over and against the "name-making" tower-builders at Babel, after which Abram is introduced as the tenth in Shem's line, and then told of God's plan to make his "name" great (Gen. 9:26-12:2). In the second stage, the Mosaic covenant stipulates that Israel is to conquer the land and then bring all their offerings to "the place which God chooses for his Name to dwell" (Dt. 12:5-14; 16:6), a theme which the Deuteronomistic History applies to the house and city of David concerning the royal priestly Son of David (2 Sam. 7:9-16). In the third stage, Ezekiel further develops the name-theology by interweaving Deuteronomistic and Priestly strands into a prophetic vision of the "second Exodus" where God delivers Israel and the nations, thereby vindicating his own name by accomplishing the covenant oath he swore to Abraham (Ezek. 20:9, 14, 22, 44; 36:21-23; cf. Dt. 32:40-43). By the New Testament period, the Targums develop a full blown Name-theology around the notion of God's Memra....[the "Name" in the targumic covenant theology] is practically identified with the divine oath to Abraham at Moriah after the Aqedah which is memorialized daily in the sacrificial liturgy of the Jerusalem temple.⁹⁷

And secondly,

⁹⁵Ibid, 181.

⁹⁶Ibid, 495-498, 495 n. 9, 497 n. 12, 499-500 n. 15, and 500 n. 16.

⁹⁷Ibid, 500 n. 16.

When these two texts [Psalm 89:5-8 and Deut. 32:43] are combined and applied to Christ, they point to three periods in salvation history. First, in the patriarchal period, Israel's ancestors envisioned primogeniture in connection with the birthright and blessing (e.g., Shem), except in those (many) cases when a worthier younger brother was named primary heir instead. Second, at the time of the Passover and Exodus, Israel was called God's "firstborn son" (Ex. 4:22), and "a kingdom of priests" (Ex. 19:6) to lead the nations (and possibly their angels, judging from the LXX of Dt. 32:43). Third, in the Davidic covenant the "son of David" is divinely elevated to be God's "firstborn son" (Ps. 89:27), and enthroned at his "right hand" to reign as a priest-king "after the order of Melchizedek" (Ps. 110:1-4). In this way, he was to fulfill the royal priestly ideal as the firstborn son, after the natural model of the patriarchal family, and in accord with God's call for Israel to be "a kingdom of priests" within the family of nations.⁹⁸

Hahn thus sees a "royal-priestly element" involved in Jesus' "name," described as superior to that of the angels (Heb. 1:4).

In this reading of Hebrews, Jesus as royal high priest like Melchizedek, and firstborn son, fulfills all of the promises God made with Israel. Hebrews, according to Hahn, wishes to warn its audience about remaining under the Old Covenant with its covenant curses, and uses the Aqedah in Gen. 22, much like Paul does in Galatians, to show how Jesus fulfilled the Old Covenant, thus restoring the royal priesthood.⁹⁹

Hahn argues that Hebrews shares a common Jewish interpretive tradition, especially as evidenced in the Targums, which identified Shem as Melchizedek. Melchizedek then evidences a special priesthood that was pre-Levitical. Jesus was not a Levite in any of the New Testament texts; he was a son of David according to the New Testament documents,

⁹⁸Ibid, 501-502 n. 18.

⁹⁹Ibid, 537, 539-541, 544-545, 547-550, 552, 555, 542 n. 79 and 80, 546-547 n. 87, 549 n. 91, 552 n. 97, 554 n. 98, and 564 n. 116.

and therefore, according to the biblical genealogies, a descendant of Judah. But, as with Shem-Melchizedek in Hahn's interpretation, Jesus was a firstborn son (of God) and thereby able to be the new high priest.¹⁰⁰

Hahn explains further:

Jesus' role and identity as the faithful firstborn Son of God (1:6) establishes him as the perfect mediator between God the Father and "the children God has given me" (2:13), the "many sons" (2:10), "his brethren" (2:12), "the seed of Abraham" (2:16), who together form God's "family/house" (*oikos*) which Jesus builds and rules (3:3, 6) "as a son" (3:6). Jesus' divine sonship thus serves as the basis for the divine kingship and family solidarity of the New Covenant. He is appointed to serve as a royal high priest "after the order of Melchizedek" (5:5-10), in fulfillment of the covenant oath which God swore to Abraham (6:13-20) and to David (7:20-28)....his royal high priesthood is exercised in the liturgical cultus of the heavenly sanctuary (8:1-6), where he has established a new and superior covenant (8:7-13), through the sacrificial offering of himself (9:11-26).¹⁰¹

Hahn believes the Exodus material shows Israel forfeiting this royal priesthood with the worship of the golden calf at Sinai. That had been a kinship-type covenant, in Hahn's covenantal reading of the texts, and was followed in the canonical narrative by Moses' covenant renewals. Hebrews, in Hahn's reading, interprets Jesus as fulfilling the grant-type covenants in the Genesis and Davidic texts, thereby nullifying the curses from the treaty-type covenant at Moab in Deuteronomy.¹⁰²

In summary, Hahn reads Gen. 14 typologically, in a fashion similar to patristic and medieval exegesis. In this example, Melchizedek, as Shem,

¹⁰⁰*Ibid*, 556-568, 570-578, 583, 585-586, 588, 557 n. 106, 558 n. 108, 559 n. 109, 560 n. 110 and 111, 561 n. 112, 562 n. 114, 564 n. 116, 565-566 n. 119, 566-567 n. 120, 579-580 n. 140, and 585 n. 149.

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, 591. This is in opposition to the Levitical priesthood (see Hahn's comments on 591-592).

¹⁰²*Ibid*, 592, 596, 599, 602, 617, 619-620, 598 n. 167, and 600-601 n. 172 and 173.

prefigures Jesus. Hahn interprets the text concerning Melchizedek as prefiguring Jesus because:

- 1) As Melchizedek was Noah's firstborn son, according to Hahn, so Jesus was God's firstborn son in the New Testament texts.
- 2) As Melchizedek is depicted as a royal-priest in the canonical biblical texts, so Jesus is depicted as the royal-priest in Hebrews.
- 3) As Melchizedek offered what Hahn reads as a sacrifice of bread and wine in Gen. 14, so Jesus offers himself sacrificially under the appearance of bread and wine in the Eucharist, as found in the Last Supper passages, the Bread of Life Discourse in John 6, and the Gospel of John's account of Jesus' passion.

Though Margolis's and Gordon's exegesis, which Hahn learned from Kline and Hugenberger, prepared him to incorporate traditional patristic and Jewish exegesis, it was Hahn's reclaiming of the Catholic spiritual sense of Scripture that allowed for this interpretation. As such, reading Catholic scholars and reading patristic literature supported Hahn in reaching these conclusions.

Hahn and Jesus' Atonement

Following the Protestant Reformers Martin Luther and John Calvin, Hahn in his earliest days originally understood Jesus' atonement in purely forensic terms: Jesus' death appeased an angry God. His understanding of this event was therefore primarily juridical. Throughout the process of being trained as an evangelical Protestant, becoming Catholic, and reading the Bible as the Catholic word of God, Hahn's thinking changed regarding Jesus' atonement. He refused to engage in a specific

atonement theory and replaced the courtroom imagery with imagery of the family room in a household. This was occasioned primarily by his reconceptualization of the familial nature of covenants as applied to the Old and New Testaments. In this view, Jesus' death is no longer vicarious or substitutionary in an unqualified way, but instead can be conceptualized for Hahn as both vicarious and substitutionary within the specifically *familial* framework of Hahn's understanding of the covenant.¹⁰³

Very early in his time at Gordon-Conwell, Hahn began to encounter difficulties with atonement theories, particularly with penal substitution. Hahn's continued in-depth study of covenant led him to change his views. He was originally interested in the covenant because it was so important to the Reformers, especially Calvin. Hahn observes, however, that, "For Calvin... 'covenant' meant roughly the same thing as 'contract,' and so his spiritual progeny tended to speak of Christian religion in legal terms, of rights and duties and terms of exchange."¹⁰⁴ Through Hahn's studies of the covenant in the ancient Near East, and especially Kline's and McCarthy's works, Hahn began to see the family context to

¹⁰³Ibid, 526-527 n. 58; Scott Hahn and Kimberly Hahn, *Rome Sweet Home: Our Journey to Catholicism* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), 30 and 72; and Scott Hahn and Robert Knudson, "The Justification Debate," Catholic Answers, audiocassette.

¹⁰⁴Scott Hahn, *Ordinary Work, Extraordinary Grace: My Spiritual Journey in Opus Dei* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 23.

covenants.¹⁰⁵ His book, *Lord, Have Mercy*, written as a Catholic, represents the conclusions of this progression as he attempts to replace the courtroom language of atonement theories with what Hahn calls "family logic."¹⁰⁶

As discussed in chapter one of this dissertation, Hahn argues that the nature of Jesus' death and of God's covenant relationship with the people of God is familial, not juridical.¹⁰⁷ He explains further that, instead of viewing sin as "inciting Dad's wrath," it should be seen as "breaking Dad's heart."¹⁰⁸ Hence biblical discussions concerning God's wrath are metaphorical; and the Bible uses anger because "Anger is a relational word."¹⁰⁹ He elaborates further:

Divine *wrath*, *anger*, and *punishment* are terms that help us to understand the actions in our lives, and in history, by which God achieves justice and restores order. But these are not the ragings of a "hanging judge." They are, rather, the instrument of His mercy and kindness. God's punishments are like the chastisements of a loving father, or the press of the shepherd's rod and staff that guide us in right paths. They are remedial, restorative, redemptive, medicinal.¹¹⁰

Hahn writes elsewhere:

...God does not preside in our lives like a magistrate in a court. He judges as a father judges, with love. That's a double-edged sword, of course, because fathers will demand more from their children

¹⁰⁵Ibid; and Idem, interview by author, 22 March, 2006, telephone, numbers 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁶Idem, interview by author, 22 March, 2006, telephone, number 2.

¹⁰⁷Idem, *Lord, Have Mercy: The Healing Power of Confession* (New York: Doubleday, 2003), 2-39 and 58-144.

¹⁰⁸Ibid, 7.

¹⁰⁹Ibid, 88-89.

¹¹⁰Ibid, 89.

than a judge will demand from the accused; but fathers will also show greater mercy.¹¹¹

Hahn reaffirms that Jesus was not a penal substitute, suggesting that if that were the case, human beings would no longer suffer and die. In a passage where Hahn grants the traditional evangelical language of substitution—"Jesus paid a debt He did not owe because we owed a debt we could not pay"—he presses his point about the problems of such language:

But Christ was not merely our substitute. If he had been, we might rightly ask why we still have to bear the punishment for Adam's sin: why must our work still be arduous? As our substitute, Christ should have eliminated the need for our suffering, right? Wrong. Christ was not our substitute but our representative, and since His saving passion was representative, it doesn't exempt us from suffering but rather endows our suffering with divine power and redemptive value....(Colossians 1:24)....Jesus did not eradicate suffering, but He did enable us to suffer as He did. He endowed our suffering with divine power and redemptive value.¹¹²

Hahn thus criticizes traditional atonement theories and the legal language used in penal substitution in particular. Hahn concludes that, "Christians are saved not only *from* sin, but *for* sonship—divine sonship in Christ....We are indeed forgiven by God's grace, but not merely forgiven; we are adopted and divinized."¹¹³

Hahn relates forensic and familial language in an integral way, as do the Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic ancient Near Eastern scholars

¹¹¹Ibid, 10.

¹¹²Idem, *Ordinary Work, Extraordinary Grace*, 31-32. See also, Idem, *Lord, Have Mercy*, 99.

¹¹³Idem, *Lord, Have Mercy*, 102.

mentioned in the introduction and first chapter of this dissertation.¹¹⁴ According to Hahn's prior Calvinist training, the forensic nature of covenants, which were mere legal contracts, was stressed because of the language of sacrifice, curses, punishments, etc. Through his study of ancient Near Eastern scholarship, however, Hahn recognized, as did these scholars from diverse backgrounds, that such covenants created family relationships. In the ancient Near East, within which context the Bible was written, new family relationships were created through oath swearing and sacrifices, involving potential curses and punishments. Despite such legal language, the relationships created were those of kinship. Although his language may sound forensic to modern ears, Hahn's "kinship by covenant" discussions fit well in the Old and New Testament's ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean context.

Hahn and Biblical Inerrancy

A final area in which Hahn's exegesis has been affected by Catholicism is his understanding of biblical inerrancy. Although Hahn maintains that the Bible is "inerrant" and even uses that term in places, he does not use the term in a way identical to that of many evangelical Protestants.¹¹⁵ Unlike many evangelical Protestant biblical exegetes,

¹¹⁴E.g., Tikva Frymer-Kensky, Nelson Glueck (Jewish scholars), Alan Segal, Frank Moore Cross, W.F. Albright, N.T. Wright (Protestant scholars), Dennis McCarthy, and Henri Cazelles (Catholic scholars).

¹¹⁵Idem, "Prima Scriptura: Magisterial Perspectives on the Primacy of Scripture for Catholic Theology and Catechetics," in *The Church and the Universal Catechism: Proceedings from the Fifteenth Convention of The Fellowship of Catholic Scholars*,

Hahn's view of biblical inerrancy as a Catholic exegete does not preclude spiritual interpretations of Scripture. Nor is Hahn's version of "inerrancy" an encyclopedic version, which focuses on facts that can be catalogued.

Although the term "inerrantia" is not a traditional Catholic word, and therefore was not used at the Second Vatican Council, nor in any other ecumenical council, as a Catholic biblical exegete Hahn bases his view of biblical inerrancy on *Dei Verbum* section 11:

Cum ergo omne id, quod auctores inspirati seu hagiographi asserunt, retineri debeat assertum a Spiritu sancto, inde scripturae libri veritatem, quam Deus nostrae salutis causa litteris sacris consignari voluit, firmiter, fideliter et sine errore docere profitendi sunt.¹¹⁶

Therefore, we should maintain that all that the inspired authors or sacred writers claim is claimed by the Holy Spirit. For that reason, we must acknowledge that the books of scripture, teach the truth God willed recorded in the sacred texts for the sake of our salvation, firmly, faithfully, and without error (my own translation).

Commenting on this passage, Hahn maintains that "inerrancy" is not "restricted to faith and morals," but rather extends to all aspects of the biblical texts.¹¹⁷ In *Dei Verbum*, "without error" occurs last in a series of three adverbial modifiers (firmly, faithfully, and without error). By using the word "inerrancy" one changes this adverbial modifier into a noun. No one does this with the other two in the series. The reason that this particular

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, ed. Reverend Anthony J. Mastroeni, 83-116 (Steubenville, Ohio: The Fellowship of Catholic Scholars, 1992), 89 and 96.

¹¹⁶Norman P. Tanner, S.J., ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils Volume Two: Trent to Vatican II* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

¹¹⁷Hahn, "Prima Scriptura," 89.

phrase struck Hahn was because of his background as an evangelical Protestant. The function of *sine errore* in this passage in *Dei Verbum*, however, is the same as the other adverbial modifiers; they qualify an important claim concerning the manner in which Scripture teaches. They highlight that Scripture comes from God. Changing such an adverbial modifier into a noun redirects the central claim of the text. This phrase was debated at Vatican II, and as is typical with Church documents, it leaves some room for interpretation. Hahn's is but one of these interpretations. Hahn compares and contrasts his view of inerrancy and Fundamentalist Protestant views on inerrancy:

there is a superficial resemblance between the Catholic [i.e., Hahn's] and Fundamentalist view of Scripture; for both, Scripture is divinely inspired and infallible [and "inerrant," in this context of Hahn's article]....those who hold this view of Scripture look to the biblical writers as exegetical guides, but only the Catholic follows their interpretive example [e.g., in their use of allegory and typology]....Scripture's divine inspiration and inerrancy imply a hermeneutic that Catholics accept but Fundamentalists refuse....[Fundamentalist] Protestantism is constituted by the rejection of the typological interpretation of Scripture which Catholics derived from the New Testament writers themselves.¹¹⁸

In the endnotes to his paper, "Prima Scriptura: Magisterial Perspectives on the Primacy of Scripture for Catholic Theology and Catechetics," Hahn argues that his views on what he calls "inerrancy" are grounded not only in his reading of *Dei Verbum* § 11, but also on his reading of Leo XIII's *Providentissimus Deus*, e.g., §§ 3 and 20, where Leo

¹¹⁸Ibid, 101.

writes that Scripture is "the infallible testimony of the Holy Ghost Himself," and then adds:

But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred....For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical, are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost; and so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true.

Hahn also makes use of Augustin Cardinal Bea's comments on *Dei Verbum* §11.¹¹⁹ Pope Paul VI sent Bea to assist the Council fathers by guiding the final writing of *Dei Verbum* § 11. Bea maintained that although not using the word "inerrancy," by its use of "without error" *Dei Verbum*'s teaching on Scripture can be said to include its inerrancy. He maintains further that the entirety of the Bible is written without error and not merely issues dealing directly with faith and morals. Bea includes historical matters as being written without error, but he qualifies his statements by explaining that the Bible does not discuss such matters in a

¹¹⁹On Bea, see Augustin Cardinal Bea, *Augustin Cardinal Bea: Spiritual Profile: Notes from the Cardinal's Diary with a Commentary*, ed. Stjepan Schmidt, S.J., with a preface by Jan Cardinal Willebrands, trans. E.M. Steward (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971 [1970]); Jerome-Michael Vereb C.P., "Because He Was a German!": Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2006); Norbert Lohfink, S.J., "Augustin Bea und die Freiheit der biblischen Forschung," *Orientierung* 45 (1981) : 129-134; Idem, "Augustin Bea und die moderne Bibelwissenschaft," in *Kardinal Bea: Hinwendung der Kirche zur Bibelwissenschaft und Ökumene*, ed. von D. Bader, 56-70 (München: 1981); S. Lyonnet, "L'orientamento dato del P. Bea agli studi biblici: un contributo all'ecumenismo," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 132, no. 2 (1981) : 550-556; Idem, "Il Cardinal Bea et le développement des études bibliques," *Rivista Biblica* 16 (1968) : 371-392; and R.A.F. MacKenzie, "Bea," *Biblica* 49 (1968) : 453-456.

scientific way, and is often selective in how it relates its sacred history (see the appendix to this chapter for a more detailed discussion).¹²⁰

Hahn recognizes that the term "inerrancy," although used by Catholics like Bea, is the fruit of the development of doctrine specifically within American evangelical Protestantism. It derives from the Scottish Common Sense Enlightenment, and implies direct unmediated access to texts without interpretation.¹²¹ It is partially on account of this origin that Hahn omits using this word at all in the main text of his most recent work on the Bible, entitled *Letter and Spirit*, and replaces it, instead, with the more strictly *Dei Verbum*-inspired adverbial phrase "without error."¹²² Hahn does not view Scripture as a simple jigsaw puzzle where the pieces can be

¹²⁰Card. Agostino Bea, *La Parola di Dio e l'Umanità: la dottrina del Concilio sulla rivelazione* (Assisi: Cittadella Editrice, 1967), 187-190.

¹²¹For more on Bea's understanding of inerrancy, see Idem, *La Storicità Dei Vangeli* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1964); and Idem, *De Scripturae Sacrae Inspiratione: Quaestiones Historicae et Dogmaticae* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1935), 82-118. Unfortunately, I cannot recommend the English translation of the first book above, Idem, *The Study of the Synoptic Gospels: New Approaches and Outlooks*, ed. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. (New York: Harper & Row, 1964). This English translation omits large sections from the Italian text without any explanation or warning of abridgement. Compare, especially, pages 8-9, 20, and 46-47 in the original Italian, with pages 10-11, 19, and 47 of the English translation. Sometimes the English translation mistranslates words, e.g., translating the Italian "storicità" (historicity) as English "study," e.g., in the title of the book. At other times the English translation excises significant portions of the Italian text, most egregiously pages 8-9 in the Italian (10-11 in the English). And finally, at other times, the English translation includes lines that are nowhere to be found in the original Italian. An example of this latter, is when the English translation reads, "Except for the cautions it expresses about philosophical presuppositions and the excesses of preachers and popularizers, its tone is calm, suggestive, and illuminating" (p. 11). This is nowhere to be found in Bea's actual Italian text.

¹²²Scott Hahn, *Letter and Spirit: From Written Text to Living Word in the Liturgy* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 81. "Inerrancy" is found, however, in the endnotes to this book, e.g., 188 n. 14. The significant absence of the word "inerrancy" may likewise be noted in his recent article, "Scripture is Sacramental," *Lay Witness* 26, no. 6 (November/December 2005) : 6-7 and 41. Instead of "inerrancy," Hahn here has "without error" (twice on page 7), "free of error" (once on page 7), and "unerring" (once on page 7).

rearranged by common sense; rather he views Scripture as eucharistic, as sacramental, as incarnational. He explains this in the endnotes to his paper, "Prima Scriptura":

This understanding of inerrancy obviates the Fundamentalist need to base Scripture's inspiration and inerrancy on one's apologetic capacity to totally discharge all objections and harmonize every discrepancy. It is a mystery of faith....comparable to the sacramental presence of Christ's real and substantial humanity and divinity under the appearance of bread in the Eucharist, and to the mystery of the hypostatic union of Jesus' humanity and divinity, so the Scripture inerrantly conveys God's words in the very ordinary language of the human writers.¹²³

Writing more recently in *Letter and Spirit*, Hahn explains his eucharistic hermeneutical assumption further:

Scripture is...profoundly sacramental. Augustine spoke of each of the church's sacraments as a "visible word" (*verbum visibile*), and of the word as an "audible sacrament" (*sacramentum audibile*). In the last generation, theologians such as Lucien Deiss and F.X. Durrwell described a "real presence" of Christ in the scriptures....Scripture conveys the divine word...in a way that is analogous to sacramental efficacy. That is why the church has traditionally understood the scriptures to be without error. Yet "without error" does not adequately describe the extent of the Bible's Sacramentality. Other books can be free of error—for example, a well-edited algebra textbook in its eighth edition—but no other book has God as its author.¹²⁴

Hahn's eucharistic view of Scripture's "inerrancy," or as he phrases it in his recent book, of Scripture being "without error," and its divine inspiration,

¹²³Idem, "Prima Scriptura," 112 n. 18. Hahn claims to base the eucharistic analogy on *Dei Verbum* § 26.

¹²⁴Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 81. For a sacramental/incarnational comparison between Scripture and the Eucharist see also Idem, "Scripture is Sacramental," 6-7 and 41; *Dei Verbum* § 21; Pope John Paul II, "Address on the Interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993), in *The Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchar, § 5; Mary Healy, "Inspiration and Incarnation: The Christological Analogy and the Hermeneutics of Faith," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 29; Jeremy Driscoll, O.S.B., "The Word of God in the Liturgy of the New Covenant," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 88-91; Lucien Deiss, C.S.Sp., *God's Word and God's People*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1976), 256-257; and F.X. Durrwell, *FX Durrwell C.Ss.R.* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1972), 62-65.

nuances the traditional U.S. evangelical Protestant view of biblical inerrancy, removing it from its Scottish Common Sense philosophical context as a collection of unmediated facts, and placing it instead in a sacramental context that incorporates a four-fold hermeneutical principle (literal, allegorical, tropological, anagogical) within the two-fold senses of Scripture (literal and spiritual). This also allows Hahn to utilize historical critical methods which many evangelicals would oppose. Hahn sees the "inerrancy" of Scripture as a sub-category within the larger category of biblical inspiration.

Although the general idea that the Bible teaches truth and does not contain error can be traced back to the early Christian centuries, especially in the writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, the term "inerrancy," as noted above, is not a traditional Catholic term. In fact, no ecumenical council has ever used the term *inerrantia*.¹²⁵ Only a few standard Catholic reference works have an entry on inerrancy, for example, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* and *The New Dictionary of Theology*.¹²⁶ Most other standard Catholic reference works mention

¹²⁵Avery Dulles, S.J., "The Authority of Scripture: A Catholic Perspective," in *Scripture in the Jewish and Christian Traditions: Authority, Interpretation, Relevance*, ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn, 14-40 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1982), 26.

¹²⁶J.T. Forestell, "Inerrancy, Biblical," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia Volume 7: Hol-Jub*, 2nd ed., ed. Berard L. Marthaler, O.F.M. Conv., 446-447 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003); and Christopher Begg, "Inerrancy," in *The New Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Joseph A. Komonchak, Mary Collins, and Dermot A. Lane, 515-517 (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1987). There is also an entry on inerrancy in Gerald O'Collins and Edward G. Farrugia, *Dizionario Sintetico di Teologia* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995), 176, entitled, "Inerranza." The entry says

inerrancy only in their entries on inspiration. This is the case in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, *Sacramentum Mundi*, *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, *Dictionary of the Bible*, and *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*.¹²⁷

In his *Dictionary of the Bible*, John McKenzie explains that, "Inerrancy has never been the object of an ecclesiastical definition, but it has been so long and so clearly believed in the Church that theologians regard it as an article of faith."¹²⁸ Indeed, in addition to Cardinal Bea, a host of other Catholic historians and theologians have used the term "inerrancy" to describe a specific aspect of biblical inspiration. Karl Rahner uses the term "inerrancy," and even includes a subsection entitled, "The Inerrancy of Scripture," in one of his books, where he writes: "From the teaching that Holy Scripture is inspired, theology and the teachings of the church derive the theorem of inerrancy, of the inerrancy

with regard to inerrancy that "it refers...to an important consequence of biblical inspiration...." My own translation from, "riferisce....ad una conseguenza importante dell'ispirazione biblica...."

¹²⁷Wolfgang Beinert, "Unfehlbarkeit," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Michael Buchberger and Walter Kasper, 390-391 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001); Luis Alonso-Schökel, "Inspiration," in *Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology: Volume Three: Habitus to Materialism*, ed. Karl Rahner, S.J., 145-151 (New York: Herder & Herder, 1969); Raymond F. Collins, "Inspiration," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, S.S., Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., and Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm., 1023-1033 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990); John L. McKenzie, S.J., *Dictionary of the Bible* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1965); and E. Mängenot, "Inspiration de l'Écriture," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique: contenant l'exposé des doctrines de la théologie catholique leurs preuves et leur histoire*, vol. 7, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mängenot, and É. Amann, 2068-2266 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1927). Mängenot devotes a large subsection, a full 59 pages, to the issue of inerrancy.

¹²⁸McKenzie, *Dictionary of the Bible*, 392.

of Scripture."¹²⁹ For Rahner, inerrancy may exclude certain historical statements in Scripture since not all historical matters are asserted by Scripture.¹³⁰ Like Rahner, Gavin D'Costa uses the term "inerrancy" to describe how the council fathers viewed one aspect of scriptural inspiration in *Dei Verbum*.¹³¹

James Burtchaell asserts that in the wake of the Reformation both Protestants and Catholics "persevered in receiving the Bible as a compendium of inerrant oracles dictated by the Spirit."¹³² Writing further, Burtchaell claims that, "Plenary inspiration and total inerrancy were repeatedly urged by a succession of pontifical acts: the *Syllabus Errorum* (Pius IX in 1864), *Providentissimus Deus* (Leo XIII in 1893), *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (Pius X in 1907), *Spiritus Paraclitus* (Benedict XV in 1920), and *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (Pius XII in 1943)."¹³³ And yet Burtchaell arguably overstates his case.

Raymond Collins is more circumspect when he writes that:

¹²⁹Karl Rahner, *Grundkurs des Glaubens: Einführung in den Begriff des Christentums* (Friburg: Herder, 1976). The subsection spans pages 363-364, and the English is my own translation of, "Die Inerranz der Schrift." The English quotation above is found on page 363, and is my own translation of, "Aus der Lehre von der Inspiriertheit der Heiligen Schrift leiten die Theologie und die kirchenamtliche Lehre den Satz von der Inerranz, der Irrtumslosigkeit der Schrift ab." German has two words for "inerrancy," *Irrtumslosigkeit* and the Latin-loan word *Inerranz*. An accessible English translation of Rahner's work here may be found in *Idem, Foundations of Christian Faith: An Introduction to the Idea of Christianity*, trans. William V. Dych (New York: Crossroad, 1986 [1976]).

¹³⁰See Rahner's further comments discussing "inerrancy" in his *Grundkurs des Glaubens*, 363-364.

¹³¹Gavin D'Costa, "Revelation, Scripture and Tradition: Some Comments on John Webster's Conception of 'Holy Scripture,'" *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 6, no. 4 (October 2004): 344-345.

¹³²Burtchaell, *Catholic Theories of Biblical Inspiration*, 2.

¹³³*Ibid.*

The concentration on inerrancy tends to reduce theological discussion about inspiration to a concept that was first introduced into theological discussion in the 19th century. The term "inerrancy" has never appeared in a conciliar text (although found in papal encyclicals and the original, rejected schema of Vatican II on revelation).¹³⁴

In a similar vein, Mark Noll maintains that, "Most Christians in most churches since the founding of Christianity....have believed that the Scriptures are inspired by God, and so are the words of eternal life. The term *inerrancy* was not common until the nineteenth century."¹³⁵ And even those Catholic theologians previously mentioned like Rahner and D'Costa do not use inerrancy in the way that U.S. evangelical Protestants use the term. For example, Luis Alonso-Schökel, who states that "inerrancy" has always been taught by tradition, also explains that, "it is an error to regard the Bible as an enormous collection of propositions, each of which could be understood in isolation."¹³⁶

At the Second Vatican Council, early drafts of what would come to be *Dei Verbum*, included the word *inerrantia*. The term was removed and the chapters reorganized, partly in order to make the text less apologetic. This word change helped ensure that *Dei Verbum* would not uphold a nineteenth century encyclopedic view of biblical inspiration.¹³⁷ Cardinal

¹³⁴Collins, "Inspiration," 1033.

¹³⁵Mark Noll, "A Brief History of Inerrancy, Mostly in America," in *The Proceedings of the Conference on Biblical Inerrancy*, 1987, 9-25 (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987), 9.

¹³⁶Alonso-Schökel, "Inspiration," 150.

¹³⁷On the debates and drafting of *Dei Verbum*, including the debate on inerrancy, see Avery Cardinal Dulles, S.J., "Vatican II on the Interpretation of Scripture," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 21-22 and 22 n. 14; Hanjo Sauer, "The Doctrinal and the Pastoral: The Text on Divine Revelation," in *History of Vatican II Volume IV: Church as Communion*,

Bea's interpretation that *sine errore* refers to more than simply truths for salvation leaves open the question of what is *affirmed* by Scripture.

Hahn, like Bea, clearly believes that *sine errore* refers to matters of history as well as soteriology, though not in a sense of isolatable facts.

Inerrancy and modern notions of "facts" come from the same encyclopedic habits of mind that began to be formed in the seventeenth century. Alasdair MacIntyre explains that:

Facts, like telescopes and wigs for gentlemen, were a seventeenth-century invention. In the sixteenth century and earlier "fact" in English was usually a rendering of the Latin "factum", a deed, an action, and sometimes in Scholastic Latin an event or an occasion. It was only in the seventeenth century that "fact" was first used in the way in which later philosophers...were to use it.¹³⁸

Third Period and Intersession, September 1964-September 1965, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, 195-231 (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2003); Idem, *Erfahrung und Glaube. Die Begründung des pastoralen Prinzips durch die Offenbarungskonstitution des II. Vatikanischen Konzils* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993); Reimund Bieringer, "Biblical Revelation and Exegetical Interpretation According to *Dei Verbum* 12," in *Vatican II and Its Legacy*, ed. M. Lamberigts and L. Kenis, 25-58 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002); Riccardo Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio: La redazione della costituzione "Dei Verbum" del Vaticano II*, Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose nuova serie 21 (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1998); Idem, "La commissione «De divina Revelatione»," in *Les commissions conciliaires à Vatican II*, ed. M. Lamberigts-CI. and Soetens-J. Grootaers, 27-61 (Leuven: 1996); B.-D. Dupuy, O.P., "Historique de la constitution," in *La Révélation Divine Tome I: Constitution dogmatique «Dei verbum»*, ed. B.-D. Dupuy, 61-117 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968); Pierre Grelot, "Commentaire du chapitre III," in *La Révélation Divine Tome II: Constitution dogmatique «Dei verbum»*, ed. B.-D. Dupuy, 345-380 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1968); Joseph Ratzinger, "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation: Origin and Background," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II Volume III: Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, and Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler, 155-166 (New York: Herder & Herder, 1969 [1968]); Idem, "Sacred Scripture in the Life of the Church," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Vorgrimler, 262-272; and Alois Grillmeier, "The Divine Inspiration and the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Vorgrimler, 199-246.

¹³⁸Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 357. On pages 209-259, MacIntyre provides the background to the Scottish Commonsense Enlightenment which gave birth to the mindset behind the term "inerrancy."

Hahn's nuanced view of "inerrancy" hence leaves open for debate such potentially controversial issues as Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the interpretation of Gen. 1-3, etc. Meanwhile, his approach to viewing Scripture eucharistically, sacramentally, incarnationally, or in a Chalcedonian fashion where both the human and divine elements are joined, enables him to utilize spiritual levels of Scripture, as well as modern historical criticism while holding this nuanced "inerrancy." He is able to incorporate both traditional patristic and medieval exegesis, as well as modern source criticism, forms of interpretation foreign to many expressions of evangelical Protestant exegesis.

IV. Conclusion

Despite the numerous ways in which evangelical Protestant biblical scholars, and the Jewish scholars Margolis and Gordon through them, formed Hahn as a biblical exegete, Hahn's exegesis changed as he became Catholic; he became immersed in the ebb and flow of Catholic biblical scholarship through the centuries. Hahn began to rely more upon historical critics, primarily source and redaction critics. Hahn rejected the traditional evangelical penal substitution view of Jesus' atonement and nuanced his view of biblical inerrancy. All of these interpretive moves were assisted by Hahn's appropriation of traditional patristic and medieval exegesis, wherein he was able to incorporate the traditional two

senses of Scripture, literal and spiritual, as well as the three spiritual senses: allegorical, tropological, and anagogical.

A number of Catholic scholars aided in Hahn's transition to becoming a Catholic exegete. Catholic biblical scholar Dennis McCarthy had an impact on Hahn's views concerning the covenant in Scripture. Raymond Brown's works helped Hahn to view Scripture sacramentally and to appropriate historical criticism. Henri de Lubac, especially in his four volume *Exégèse médiévale*, helped Hahn appropriate patristic and medieval exegesis (although Hahn had already begun to appreciate patristic and medieval exegetical insights while still a Protestant).

Most importantly, in his adjustment to being a Catholic exegete, Hahn found that Catholic biblical scholars had room for the profound respect for Sacred Scripture that he brought with him from evangelical Protestantism. He realized that the magisterial documents supported the understanding that Scripture was sacred. Moreover, Hahn discovered models of Catholics who studied Scripture in a way that honored the inherent authority of the text. Some, like Dennis McCarthy and Raymond Brown, were able to do this even while utilizing historical criticism. Meanwhile, the traditional Catholic exegesis became more important for Hahn as he began to think theologically as a Catholic. In particular,

Hahn's theological thinking on the Bible turned toward the liturgy, where he has been guided by Jean Daniélou, Louis Bouyer, and others.¹³⁹

Hahn has begun to develop what he is calling a "liturgical hermeneutic," suggesting that the Church's liturgy is the primary locus for biblical interpretation.¹⁴⁰ As Hahn writes, "The liturgy is the place where tradition lives," and it is in the context of this "living tradition," as it were, that the Bible is to be interpreted.¹⁴¹ Liturgy is the very context out of which Scripture is produced. The next chapter will therefore examine Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic in more detail, showing how Hahn blends his canonical and covenantal criticism with the traditional patristic and medieval four-fold senses of Scripture.

¹³⁹These theologians also include Matthias Scheeben, Augustin Cardinal Bea, Henri de Lubac, Cyprian Vagaggini, Yves Congar and Pope Benedict XVI (as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger). See Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 4.

¹⁴⁰See, e.g., Rev. Louis Bouyer, Cong. Orat., "The Word of God Lives in the Liturgy," in *The Liturgy and the Word of God*, [no editor given], 53-66 (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1959), 53-56; Idem, *The Meaning of Sacred Scripture*, trans. Mary Perkins Ryan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), 227-228; Rev. Jean Daniélou, S.J., "The Sacraments and the History of Salvation," in *Liturgy and the Word of God*, [no editor given], 32; and Idem, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1960).

¹⁴¹Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 130.

Appendix to Chapter 4: Augustin Cardinal Bea on *Dei Verbum*

Augustin Cardinal Bea wrote a lengthy interpretation of the controversial passage in *Dei Verbum* § 11. These are Bea's comments, which Hahn uses in his own works:

A former schema (the third in order) said that the sacred books teach "the truth without any error." In the next schema, the fourth, it added, inspired by a text of St Augustine, the adjective "saving," so that the text now said that the Sacred Scripture taught "the saving truth, firmly and faithfully, integrally and without error." In the next voting 184 Council Fathers asked that the adjective "saving" be erased, since they feared that it might lead to misunderstandings, as if the inerrancy referred only to things of faith and morals, while in other things there might also be errors. Sharing in some ways these concerns, even the Holy Father himself asked the Commission to please consider, the possibility of omitting this expression since it could lead to misunderstandings....The question is actually this. It is not difficult to see that what God really wanted set in the Sacred Scripture is the revelation of God to humanity, in its fullest sense, that is in as much as it includes "events and words," (cfr. DV n. 2), and which aims at the eternal salvation of man. Now one asks oneself: concerning the relative phrase that follows the noun "truth" (namely truth "that God for our salvation desired set in writing in the Sacred Letters") does it signify *perhaps a restriction of inerrancy, for which the Sacred Scripture, teaching "without error" not all the things that it asserts, but only those concerning our salvation (and perhaps also those closely or directly connected with our salvation)....*Well then, our question about the existence or non-existence of a restriction of inerrancy does *not* refer to the events in which God actually reveals himself, but to those that constitute the historic framework and those that are proposed in the Sacred Scripture often in great detail. Concerning these latest events we ask ourselves: does the inerrancy affirmed in our text extend to accounts of these events or not? In other words: do the sacred authors teach "without error" even these latter events that are the historical framework or not? For my part I think that the answer to our question needs to be *answered affirmatively, that is to say even these events that form the framework are reported without error.* Indeed, we can say in a general way: there is *not a single* restriction of inerrancy: this extends to all that the inspired author, and therefore the Holy Spirit, through him, asserts....Now this thought...comes clearly understood to you in a sense which excludes any affirmation contrary to the reality of the facts. In particular...the Sacred Scripture is in complete agreement with the facts, naturally, *not* in the sense that the Sacred Scripture always offers a *complete* picture elaborated scientifically of them, but rather in the sense that what is asserted in the Scripture—though offering an incomplete picture or image—*does not contradict* the reality of facts. If therefore the Council had desired to introduce here a new concept, different from that stated in the recent documents of the Supreme Magisterium—which in turn reflects, as we have seen, the affirmation of the Holy Fathers—, it would

have had to explain so explicitly and clearly. Now let us ask: do there exist any indications for such a restrictive interpretation of inerrancy? The answer is decidedly negative. There does not exist even the slightest indication of that sense. On the contrary everything speaks against a restrictive interpretation....even when the theological Commission defended the expression "the saving truth," it explained that with such an expression it did not intend to restrict biblical inerrancy to the things of faith and of morals. To demonstrate that this was not the meaning of the phrase "the saving truth," it led to the reasoning, that the text spoke of the "truth" in the singular, not of the "truths," as if to introduce a difference between those that are "saving" and others which are not.... Furthermore: notwithstanding this explanation of the expression "the saving truth," it was finally erased from the text and substituted with a different expression, precisely to avoid the misunderstanding as if to restrict the scope of biblical inerrancy....In reality, the current writing does not accept any such interpretation. Why? Because the idea of salvation is no longer directly linked to the noun "truth," but rather with the verbal expression "he wanted set in writing"; in other words, the phrase where the text speaks of salvation explains the goal for which God wanted the Scripture composed, and not the nature of the truth that was thus written.¹

¹My own translation from Card. Agostino Bea, *La Parola di Dio e l'Umanità: la dottrina del Concilio sulla rivelazione* (Assisi: Cittadella Editrice, 1967), 187-190. Compare with the standard English translation in Idem, *The Word of God and Mankind* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1967), 188-191, this portion of which may also be found in Idem, "Vatican II and the Truth of Sacred Scripture," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 176-177. See also the French translation in Idem, *La Parole de Dieu et l'Humanité: Commentaires de la Constitution dogmatique sur la Révélation divine*, trans. Monseigneur Giraud (Tours: Mame, 1968 [1967]). The original Italian text, from which I made my translation, reads: "Uno schema anteriore (il terzo per ordine) diceva che i libri sacri insegnano «la verità senza alcun errore». Nel seguente schema, il quarto, si aggiunse, ispirandosi a un testo di S. Agostino l'aggettivo «salutare»; per cui il testo ora diceva che la Sacra Scrittura insegna «la verità salutare fermamente e fedelmente, integralmente e senza errore». Ora nella votazione seguente 184 Padri Conciliari chiesero che l'aggettivo «salutare» fosse cancellato, in quanto si temeva che esso si prestasse a malintesi, come se l'inerranza si riferisse solo alle cose della fede e della morale, mentre nelle altre cose vi potevano essere anche degli errori. Condividendo in qualche modo tali preoccupazioni anche il S. Padre stesso chiese alla Commissione di volere considerare, se non fosse il caso di omettere questa espressione perché si poteva prestare a malintesi....La questione è concretamente questa. Non è difficile vedere che l'oggetto proprio che Dio ha voluto fosse fissato nella Sacra Scrittura è la rivelazione di Dio all'umanità, nel senso pieno, cioè in quanto comprende «eventi e parole» (cfr. DV n. 2), e mira alla salvezza eterna dell'uomo. Ora si domanda: la frase relativa che segue il sostantivo «verità» (cioè verità «che Dio per la nostra salvezza volle fissata per iscritto nelle Sacre Lettere») significa forse una restrizione dell'inerranza, per cui la Sacra Scrittura, insegnerebbe «senza errore» non tutte le cose in essa asserite, bensì solo quelle che riguardano la nostra salvezza (e magari anche quelle strettamente o direttamente connesse con la nostra salvezza)?...Ebbene, la nostra questione sull'esistenza o meno di una restrizione dell'inerranza non si riferisce agli avvenimenti in cui Dio propriamente si rivela, bensì a quelli che ne costituiscono la cornice storica e che sono proposti nella Sacra Scrittura spesso anche molto dettagliatamente. Riguardo a questi ultimi avvenimenti ci domandiamo: l'inerranza affermata nel nostro testo si estende anche ai racconti di

questi avvenimenti o no? In altre parole: gli autori sacri insegnano «senza errore» anche questi ultimi avvenimenti che sono la cornice storica o no? Per parte mia penso che alla nostra questione bisogna *rispondere* affermativamente, che cioè anche *questi avvenimenti che formano la cornice vengono riferiti senza errore*. Anzi diciamo in maniera generale: non vi è *nessuna* restrizione dell'inerranza: questa si estende a tutto ciò che l'autore ispirato, e quindi lo Spirito Santo per mezzo suo asserisce....Ora questo pensiero...vi viene chiaramente inteso nel senso che esclude qualsiasi affermazione contraria alla realtà dei fatti. In particolare...la Sacra Scrittura la piena rispondenza ai fatti, naturalmente, *non* nel senso che la Sacra Scrittura ne offer sempre un *complete* quadro scientificamente elaborato, bensì nel senso che quello che viene asserito nella Scrittura—pur offrendo forse un quadro o un'immagine incompleta—*non contraddica* alla realtà dei fatti. Se dunque il Concilio avesse voluto introdurre qui un nuovo concetto, diverso da quello esposto nei detti recenti documenti del Supremo Magistro—i quali a loro volta riflettono, come abbiamo visto, le affermazioni dei Santi Padri—, avrebbe dovuto spiegarlo esplicitamente e chiaramente. Ora *domandiamo*: *esistono forse degli indizi per una tale restrittiva interpretazione dell'inerranza?* La risposta è decisamente *negativa*. Non esiste nemmeno il minimo indizio in questo senso. Al contrario tutto parla contro una interpretazione restrittiva....anche quando la Commissione teologica sosteneva l'espressione «la verità salutare», essa ha spiegato che con tale espressione non intendeva restringere l'inerranza biblica alle cose della fede e della morale. Per mostrare che non era questo il senso della frase «la verità salutare» essa adduceva la ragione, che il testo parlava della «verità» in singolare, non delle «verità», quasi per introdurre una discriminazione tra quelle che sono «salutari» e quelle che non lo sono.... *Inoltre*: nonostante tale spiegazione l'espressione «la verità salutare» è stata finalmente cancellata dal testo e sostituita con una espressione diversa, appunto per evitare il malinteso come se si volesse restringere l'ambito dell'inerranza biblica....Effettivamente l'attuale dicitura *non ammette* una tale interpretazione. Perché? Perché l'idea della salvezza non è più collegata *direttamente* con il sostantivo «verità», bensì col verbo «volle fosse fissata per iscritto»; in altre parole, la frase dove il testo parla della salvezza spiega lo scopo per il quale Dio ha voluto che fosse composta la Scrittura, e non la natura della verità che è stata così fissata " (subsection letters removed).

Chapter 5

Scott Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic

I. Introduction

The first chapter of this dissertation examined Hahn's canonical interpretation of Scripture by focusing on how Hahn reads the covenants with Creation, Adam, Noah, Abram/Abraham, Moses, David, and Jesus, as a unifying theme linking the Old Testament with the New Testament. The second chapter engaged in a more detailed exposition of Hahn's hermeneutics by focusing on his interpretation of the Last Supper passages of the Gospels, where Hahn combined narrative criticism and his canonical reading. The third and fourth chapters discussed respectively various ways in which evangelical Protestant and Jewish exegetes, and Catholic exegetes, taught Hahn how to read Scripture. In all of these, we have seen how Hahn ultimately regards the Bible as theological and hence engages with the scriptural text theologically.

This chapter will examine one important way that Hahn envisions the Bible as theological, namely, what Hahn refers to as his liturgical interpretation for reading Scripture. Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic is a recent development in his biblical exegesis, influenced by his canonical interpretation, by reading source critics, and by his focus on various

covenants in both the Old and New Testaments. His most recent works argue for a new liturgical hermeneutic that bases itself on traditional methods of biblical exegesis.

The task of this chapter is to examine Hahn's liturgical interpretation in detail. Prior to doing this, however, I will summarize the various hermeneutical strategies that Hahn combines in his biblical exegesis, namely, narrative, canonical, historical critical, and liturgical readings. As regards Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic, I will note, as do many others besides Hahn, that Scripture is most at home in a liturgical context. Secondly, I will survey Hahn's works concerning the meeting of canon and covenant in the liturgy. After a few comments elaborating on why Hahn sees the canon as best understood in the context of the liturgy, I will describe the Scriptural content of the liturgy, noting that the contact with Scripture during the Liturgy goes beyond the three readings found in the Liturgy of the Word. Next, I will examine how certain passages from the Old and New Testaments clearly have, in Hahn's estimation, a liturgical shape to them. In the Old Testament, Hahn locates a liturgical structure or liturgical content in the creation story of Genesis, the exodus, the covenants in general, David's kingdom, and Solomon's temple. Furthermore, Hahn believes that liturgy is what links the Old and New Testaments. Jesus, the new Adam, enacts, by his death, a liturgical covenant where salvation is the new liturgical exodus and the church the

new liturgical kingdom. Finally, I will consider the liturgical eschatology that Hahn finds contained in the Book of Revelation, which contains more references to liturgical symbols than any other book in the Bible.

II. Hahn's Hermeneutics

Hahn employs a variety of interpretive strategies for studying Scripture. He uses the Pontifical Biblical Commission's 1993 document, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," as a guide for how to read Scripture "from the heart of the Church," as both a Catholic theologian and a biblical exegete.¹ He hence engages in narrative criticism and canonical reading and also uses the findings of historical criticism as well as what one might call a "Catholic liturgical interpretation." This liturgical interpretation constitutes Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic.

Narrative Criticism

Drawing on the works of figures such as Hans Frei and Robert Alter, Hahn uses narrative criticism in his scriptural interpretation, wherein he analyzes the biblical material as a narrative in its final form.² When Hahn examines Genesis, for example, he approaches the text with an eye to its formal content; one instance is his close attention to the genealogies. Hahn sees the genealogies in Genesis as having a "historicizing function"

¹Pontifical Biblical Commission, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993), in *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings*, ed. and trans. Dean P. Béchard, S.J., 244-317, with a foreword by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002).

²Hans Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); and Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

wherein these genealogies serve as a bridge to connect the antediluvian and the patriarchal narratives by means of linking specific individuals, geographic locations, and important events.³ The second chapter of this dissertation included examples of Hahn's narrative criticism, e.g., as Hahn read the Bread of Life Discourse in John chapter 6 in its narrative context. Hahn's engagement with narrative criticism, however, is always performed from a canonical perspective.

Canonical Reading

Hahn employs a canonical reading in his overall hermeneutical strategy for biblical interpretation, which is one of the primary ways he interprets Scripture. He interprets passages of Scripture in the broader context of the whole of Scripture, that is, in the final form of the Catholic Bible canon. Such an approach resembles the canonical approach recommended by Dennis McCarthy and utilized by Brevard Childs.⁴ Precisely because of Hahn's canonical approach to Scripture, he is able to cull from various Jewish and Christian interpretive traditions which assume a canonical form of interpretation. This canonical reading also facilitates a theological approach to Scripture, as well as the embracing of the medieval Christian and Jewish manifold interpretation of Scripture,

³Scott Walker Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," (Ph.D. Diss., Marquette University, 1995), 11-14, 12 n. 19-20, and 13 n. 22.

⁴Dennis J. McCarthy, "God as Prison of Our Own Choosing: Critical-Historical Study of the Bible, Why and Whither," in *Historicism and Faith*, ed. P.L. Williams, 17-47 (Scranton, Pennsylvania: Scranton Cultural Society, 1980), 40-41; and Brevard S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985).

which moves beyond merely the literal-historical level.⁵ A canonical perspective respects the Bible as the Word of God and hence facilitates theological exegesis.

Historical Criticism

Hahn continues to utilize the findings of historical criticism, but he views the historical critical method as particularly limited when it comes to reading the Bible *theologically*. Historical critical approaches to Scripture appear in Hahn's writings, but, as seen in his dissertation, the historical critical method is not one of his primary forms of interpretation. As he explains in his dissertation, "what we are doing here is canonical interpretation, rather than a hybrid mixture of canonical and historical criticism."⁶ As he elaborates in a footnote, "historical criticism remains outside of the main interpretive process of our work."⁷ What Hahn means by this is that he himself is not engaging in a historical critical investigation of Scripture. This distinction is important in order not to confuse Hahn's "canonical interpretation with some sort of 'critical quest for the historical David,' when, in fact, all that is envisaged is the 'canonical David' (or

⁵Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 14-23, 15 n. 27, and 19 n. 35; Idem, *Letter and Spirit: From Written Text to Living Word in the Liturgy* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 4; Idem, "'Search the Scriptures': Reading the Old Testament with Jesus, John and Thomas Aquinas," *Saint Austin Review* 2 (March 2002) : 12-15; and Idem, "Spiritual Exegesis," in *Our Sunday Visitor's Encyclopedia of Catholic Doctrine*, ed. Russell Shaw, 642-645 (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor, 1997).

⁶Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 17-18.

⁷Ibid, 18 n. 32.

Shem etc.)."⁸ In his works, Hahn is not attempting to uncover the various sources underlying specific passages of Scripture. Nor is he engaging in a historical study to discover the "historical" events recounted in Scripture. Rather, Hahn uses historical critical insights of scholars, e.g., the distinction in the Abrahamic covenants in Genesis, and then he reads these historical critical distinctions together canonically.

Catholic Liturgical Interpretation

More than any of these interpretive strategies, however, Hahn's most recent work is in what he calls his liturgical hermeneutic. Hahn engages in theological interpretations involving typology, reading Scripture through the lens of Catholic liturgy. In other words, Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic is a way of interpreting Scripture in light of the liturgy. Based on his reading of the early church fathers and on modern scholarship concerning traditional biblical exegesis, Hahn has come to the conclusion that the liturgy was the primary context for biblical hermeneutics in the early periods. As Hahn explains, "the ordinary place of biblical interpretation was the church, and the ordinary time was the liturgy."⁹ This has led Hahn to develop his liturgical hermeneutic.

Crucial to this view is a reconsideration of seeing the Bible as a book. Before the invention of the printing press, Scripture was not viewed

⁸ibid, 18.

⁹Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 9. Scripture's liturgical context has Jewish roots. See Sofia Cavalletti, "Memorial and Typology in Jewish and Christian Liturgy," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 74.

as a book in the modern sense of the word, nor did most Christians encounter it as a book.¹⁰ Prior to the printing press, and even for the majority of Christians after the printing press, the Bible was primarily encountered in the liturgy, and therefore the liturgy is the privileged location for biblical interpretation.¹¹ As Pope Benedict XVI wrote while he was still known as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, "The Church's liturgy being the original interpretation of the biblical heritage has no need to justify itself before historical reconstructions: it is rather itself the standard, sprung from what is living, which directs research back to the initial stages."¹² And

¹⁰Peter M. Candler, Jr., *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction, Or Reading Scripture Together on the Path to God* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2006), 9 n. 19, 10, 13, 15, 30, 33, 74, 76-77, 79, 119, and 160; Catherine Pickstock, *After Writing: On the Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 161 n. 139; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 420 and 450; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 97, 99-101, and 103; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 134 and 137; and Walter J. Ong, S.J., *Orality and Literacy: The Technologization of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982).

¹¹Candler, *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction*, 7, 9, 15, 18, 27, 38-39, 50, 66, 74, 77 n. 17, 77-82, 151-160, and 162; and Gavin D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square: Church, Academy, and Nation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 112-113, 119-122, 132-133, and 138; Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 69 and 82; Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," §§ IIIB2, IIIB3, and IVC1; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 420 and 467; Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism and Politics: New Essays in Ecclesiology* (New York: Crossroad, 1988 [1987]), 84-85; Idem, *God and the World: Believing and Living in Our Time: A Conversation with Peter Seewald*, trans. Henry Taylor (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002 [2000]), 157; Idem, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, trans. John Saward (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), 169 and 207-209; Paul T. Stallworth, "The Story of an Encounter," in *Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: The Ratzinger Conference on Bible and Church*, ed. Richard John Neuhaus, 102-190 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989), 118; and Walter J. Ong, S.J., *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 269.

¹²Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism and Politics*, 84-85. See also Scott W. Hahn, "The Authority of Mystery: The Biblical Theology of Benedict XVI," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 112.

elsewhere, the liturgy is "the place of encounter with Jesus. It is above all in the liturgy that Jesus is among us, here it is that He speaks to us, here He lives....the liturgy is the true, *living* environment for the Bible and...the Bible can be properly understood only in this living context within which it first emerged."¹³

Others have also pointed out that throughout most of the history of Christianity, the liturgy was the primary site for encountering and interpreting Scripture. Peter Candler, for example, writes:

Even when sufficient literacy is achieved by the medieval monk so as to permit reading privately in one's cell, this form of engagement with the text is never abstracted from a rigorous daily routine of matins, masses, vespers, and so on. *Lectio divina* is, however "private" reading might be, always a matter of reading and interpreting not just communally but liturgically.... It is not a possibility for such religious to abstract their reading from the liturgical cycle of daily masses and annual feasts, the use of the entire body, hands, knees, lips, tongue, ears, not to mention the eyes, all of which the reading of such texts requires.¹⁴

Writing further, Candler notes:

there is the question of the way in which the Scriptures are present in the life of the Church. In the early and high Middle Ages, the Scriptures are present not primarily as a physical object, but rather preeminently in the memory. The Scriptures, as they are read, and importantly, heard, by the congregation over the course of the liturgical year, are assigned to certain times in the calendar, and over the course of a year the Scriptures in their entirety may be read aloud each week, and over the course of a year, the average monk would have heard each Psalm at least fifty-two times.¹⁵

¹³Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, introduction to *The Lord*, by Romano Guardini (Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 1982 [1954]), xii.

¹⁴Candler, *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction*, 7. See also Jean Leclercq, O.S.B., *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982 [1957]); and Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text*, 82.

¹⁵Candler, *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction*, 77.

All of this began to change with the invention of the printing press. As Candler explains, "After the invention of moveable type, the sense of 'the book' becomes attenuated to refer to sheets of paper bound together within a leather cover, a physical object which can be bought or sold, carried in one's pocket, read at home, opened and read at will."¹⁶ Eamon Duffy's study of the English Reformation epitomizes this transformation.¹⁷ In the English Reformation, the State began to encourage parishioners to read their Bibles in English, and formerly Latin prayer books were printed in English with revised prayers.¹⁸ With regard to the new prayer books, people "recognized that the prayer-book was merely one element in a programme which affected their religious life at every level, the dissolution of the elaborate symbolic framework within which the life of the communities had been shaped for generations. There was far more at stake than the merits of English or Latin in liturgy...."¹⁹ Reading the Bible in English became a means of showing support for the State and a way of criticizing the traditional liturgy. Groups of parishioners would bring their English Bibles to the liturgy, and would read their Bibles out loud during the Mass, in protest of the traditional liturgy and in support of the newer State reforms.²⁰ Duffy explains that, "New pieties were

¹⁶ibid, 76.

¹⁷Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

¹⁸ibid, 398, 406, 412, 450, and 486.

¹⁹ibid, 467.

²⁰ibid, 420.

forming, and something of the old sense of the sacred was transferring itself from the sacramentals to the scriptures."²¹

And yet, despite the modern popularity of the Bible as book, the Catholic Church continues to see the liturgy as a privileged place for biblical interpretation. As the 1993 PBC document states:

Today, too, it is above all through the liturgy that Christians come into contact with Scripture....In principle, the liturgy, and especially the sacramental liturgy, the high point of which is the eucharistic celebration, bring about the most perfect actualization of the biblical texts, for the liturgy places the proclamation in the midst of the community of believers, gathered around Christ so as to draw near to God.²²

Luke Timothy Johnson likewise explains:

That Catholics have always been exposed to large amounts of Scripture through the Eucharist needs no demonstration and little reminder. The ordinary of the Mass is built upon the basis of biblical language, from the *kyrie* to the *agnus Dei*. Participation in the Eucharist meant an invitation to the world constructed by Scripture. The proper portions of the Mass included not only readings from Scripture in the Latin Vulgate and preaching on the basis of the readings, but also subtle interpretations of those readings through antiphons, responses, and prayers....Catholics learned their Scripture through the practices of faith, and those practices also interpreted Scripture.²³

The liturgical calendar, liturgical time, liturgical gestures, liturgical objects, liturgical art and architecture, all of these things affect how one reads Scripture.²⁴ By these and other means, the liturgy trains Christians to

²¹Ibid, 586.

²²Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," § IVC1. See also § IIIB3.

²³Luke Timothy Johnson, "What's Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship?" in *The Future of Catholic Biblical Scholarship: A Constructive Conversation*, by Luke Timothy Johnson and William S. Kurz, S.J., 3-34 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2002), 6.

²⁴On liturgical time, see Candler, *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction*, 151-152 and 155-156; Idem, "Liturgically Trained Memory: A Reading of *Summa Theologiae* III.83," *Modern Theology* 20 (2004) : 433; D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square*, 119-122; Matthew Levering, *Sacrifice and Community: Jewish Offering and Christian Eucharist*,

read Scripture in a certain way, forming particular habits of thought. As

Candler explains:

the ability rightly to read the biblical texts is an art learned not through the strenuous exercises of a solitary mind, but rather from the use of the Scriptures in the liturgy, not to mention the larger liturgical apparatus of high medieval culture, which must include art, architecture, political relations, the mechanics of local commerce, and so forth.²⁵

The liturgy is likewise an important site for theology.²⁶ The Divine

Office, the lectionary, and the liturgical calendar are all important sites for

theological reflection, inquiry, and biblical interpretation. Hahn claims

that, "The liturgical calendar and its lectionary remain the great

illuminations: *Theory and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 92, 171, and 190; Jean Corbon, *The Wellspring of Worship*, 2nd ed., trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), 179-188; William T. Cavanaugh, "Eucharistic Sacrifice and Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001) : 599; Idem, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 222-229 and 269; Ratzinger, *Spirit of the Liturgy*, 53-61 and 92-111; and Pickstock, *After Writing*, 139 and 220-223. On liturgical gestures, see Candler, *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction*, 162. On liturgical objects, see Ibid, 158-159. On liturgical art and architecture, see Ibid, 152-155 and 157; Lindsay Jones, *The Hermeneutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison: Volume One: Monumental Occasions: Reflections on the Eventfulness of Religious Architecture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); John F. Baldovin, S.J., *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 228 (Rome: Pontificia Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987); Carol Heitz, "Architecture et liturgie processionelle à l'époque préromane," *Revue de l'Art* 24 (1974) : 30-47; and Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

²⁵Candler, *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction*, 50.

²⁶D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square*, 132-133; David W. Fagerberg, "Theologia Prima: The Liturgical Mystery and the Mystery of God," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 55-67; Idem, *Theologia Prima: What Is Liturgical Theology?*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2004), IX, 2, 41-42, 66, 78-79, 81, and 109; Idem, "Liturgical Asceticism: Enlarging Our Grammar of Liturgy," *Pro Ecclesia* 13, no. 2 (Spring 2004) : 202-214; M. Therese Lysaught, "Eucharist as Basic Training: The Body as Nexus of Liturgy and Ethics," in *Theology and Lived Christianity*, Annual Publication of the College Theology Society Volume 45, ed. David Hammond, 257-286 (Mystic, Connecticut: Bayard, 2000), 261 and 280 n. 7; and Kevin R. Seasoltz, "Liturgy and Social Consciousness," in *To Do Justice and Right Upon the Earth*, ed. Mary E. Stamps (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1993), 54.

watercourse for the stream of salvation history."²⁷ Gavin D'Costa uses the example of the Divine Office and explains that:

the meanings of scripture are never exhausted, otherwise praying the Office would be like reading and re-reading the telephone directory rather than being washed in the cyclical rhythms of sacred time. Closure of meaning is precluded, for as long as the Church continues to pray its scriptures, it expands the endless contexts of interpretation, and the complex, murky, and moving love affair (called tradition) is fueled, nourished, and critically re-appropriated while remaining an open-ended project.²⁸

Hahn believes that, "In the liturgy, the written text of scripture becomes the living word of God."²⁹ He believes this so much so that when asked in a Zenit interview what recommendation he would give to someone who wants to incorporate the Bible more into their life, he replied: "Read the Bible from the heart of the Church. Read the Bible along with the Church, with the Old and the New Testaments as they appear together in the lectionary. Listen to them in the liturgy, but read them too, either before Mass in preparation or afterward in meditation."³⁰ Hahn also emphasizes this in a newsletter he publishes through his St. Paul Center for Biblical Theology, entitled, "Breaking the Bread," which is a reflection on the readings for every Sunday Mass throughout the year.³¹

²⁷Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 136. See also the example of a liturgical hermeneutic involving the Divine Office in D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square*, 112-113.

²⁸D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square*, 138.

²⁹Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 100. See also Idem, "Scripture is Sacramental," *Lay Witness* 26, no. 6 (November/December 2005) : 6; and Jeremy Driscoll, O.S.B., "The Word of God in the Liturgy of the New Covenant," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 87.

³⁰Scott Hahn, "Vatican II, 40 Years Later: 'Dei Verbum,'" Zenit Interview with Scott Hahn, Zenit.org, May 27, 2003, accessed online at: http://www.catholic.org/international/international_story.php?id=3793, accessed on July 6, 2006.

³¹"Breaking the Bread" can be accessed online through the St. Paul Center for Biblical Theology, at <http://www.salvationhistory.com/mission/breakingbread.cfm>.

III. Canon and Covenant Meeting in Liturgy: Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic

Hahn argues that his canonical and covenantal interpretation of Scripture should be incorporated into a larger liturgical hermeneutic. Hahn explains that, "even...ancient Near Eastern treaty-covenants had a pronounced cultic-liturgical dimension....the establishment of covenants consisted essentially of a liturgy: ritual words and actions performed in the presence of Divinity."³² Hahn maintains further that the canon was established primarily on the basis of liturgical motives, i.e., to determine which sacred books should be used in the Church's liturgy.³³ Thus, in Hahn's view, the covenantal and canonical context of Scripture is primarily liturgical.

The Liturgical Context of Scripture

The context of Scripture is liturgical for Hahn in two major ways: 1) the formation of the biblical canon; and 2) the role of Scripture in the Church's liturgy. As regards the first, Hahn explains that liturgical concerns were the primary motivations for creating an official canon of Scripture. The canon was formed to decide which sacred texts should be read in

³²Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death: Διαθήκη in Heb 9:15-22," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, ed. Gabriella Gelardini, 65-88, Biblical Interpretation Series Volume 75, ed. R. Alan Culpepper and Ellen van Wolde, with a foreword by Harold W. Attridge (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 66. On the same page, Hahn elaborates on this point, explaining that ancient Near Eastern "covenants were often concluded by lengthy invocations of nearly the entire Near Eastern pantheon, calling upon the gods to witness elaborate sacred oaths confirmed by ritual sacrifices and to enforce those oaths with blessings for faithfulness and curses for transgression."

³³Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 34-35, 46-48, and 51. See also the Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," § III B1.

the Church's official liturgical celebrations. In regard to the second, Hahn notes that the liturgical arrangement of Scriptural texts within the Church's liturgy provided the primary framework for biblical interpretation for Christians throughout most of history.

Liturgical Canon

Drawing upon the works of Brevard Childs, Lee McDonald, James Sanders, Carroll Stuhlmueller, and a host of other scholars, Hahn holds that the primary motives for determining a Bible canon were liturgical. In fact, one of the primary ways in which books were determined as suitable for inclusion in the canon was by their prior presence in the Church's liturgy.³⁴ Hahn concludes, "The scriptural canon, then, was enacted primarily as a 'rule' for the liturgy."³⁵ Most Christians did not own their own personal copies of the Scriptures, nor did they have access to written copies, since the printing press was not invented and facilitating the widespread dissemination of hard copies of the scriptural texts until the end of the fifteenth century. The canon determined which books were acceptable to be read together in the Church's communal worship.

³⁴Scott W. Hahn, "Worship in the Word: Toward a Liturgical Hermeneutic," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 102-103; Brevard S. Childs, "The Canon in Recent Biblical Studies: Reflections on an Era," *Pro Ecclesia* 14 (2005) : 26-45; Idem, *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); Lee M. McDonald, *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon*, rev. ed. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1995), 246-249; Idem, "Identifying Scripture and Canon in the Early Church: The Criteria Question," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders, 416-439 (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2002), 420, 423, 432-434, and 439; James A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 162; and Carroll Stuhlmueller, C.P., *Thirsting for the Lord: Essays in Biblical Spirituality* (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1977), 102.

³⁵Hahn, "Worship in the Word," 103.

Liturgical Hermeneutics as the Church's Primary Hermeneutic

Hahn says that the canon of Scripture as used in the liturgy created a new hermeneutic, namely, a liturgical one. In the Church's liturgy, the sacred events of salvation history, as set forth in the texts of Scripture, are made present to the community gathered in worship, and to each individual in the community.³⁶ As Hahn writes, "The liturgy draws the believer into the drama of the divine economy, not as a spectator, but as a participant. The stream of salvation history cascades from generation to generation through the course of the divine liturgy."³⁷ Hahn cites Pope John Paul II's apostolic letter *Rosarium Virginis Mariae* in support of this liturgical understanding of "remembrance":

We need to understand this word in the biblical sense of remembrance (*zakar*) as a making present of the works brought about by God in the history of salvation. The Bible is an account of saving events culminating in Christ himself. These events not only belong to "yesterday"; they are also part of the "today" of salvation. This making present comes about above all in the Liturgy: what God accomplished centuries ago did not only affect the direct witnesses of those events; it continues to affect people in every age with its gift of grace.³⁸

Central to Hahn's affirmation of the need for a liturgical hermeneutic is his claim that this was the primary hermeneutic of Christians in the first millennium at least. He explains, "To read scripture 'with the church' was to read it or hear it in the liturgy. Apostolic and

³⁶Ibid, *Letter and Spirit*, 48-49 and 92.

³⁷Ibid, 93.

³⁸Pope John Paul II, *Rosarium Virginis Mariae* (2002), § 13, accessed online at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_20021016_rosarium-virginis-mariae_en.html.

patristic exegesis took place not primarily in the classroom or in the monastic cell, but in the public reading and proclamation of scripture in the liturgy."³⁹ According to Hahn, the liturgy continues to provide the proper context for Scripture. Hahn notes the unique way that various Scripture passages from the Old and New Testaments are paired together, "relate" to each other in liturgical time, and, read at the Church's liturgy, provide a specific "natural" hermeneutic in the Church's life. The liturgy places texts together that might not be naturally related from even a canonical perspective and thereby creates associations in the minds of the hearers and readers at the Church's liturgical celebrations. This provides Christological connections, in other words, the Old Testament passages are read in light of the New Testament passages, and especially the Gospel passages.

Furthermore, Hahn maintains that the liturgy itself is profoundly scriptural, so that the very words and gestures of the liturgy, in addition to the liturgical readings, also facilitate a form of liturgical hermeneutic. Examples of the scriptural background for parts of the liturgy in the Latin Rite that Hahn identifies include:

Trinitarian blessing: Matt. 28:19

Sign of the cross: Rev. 7:3; 9:4; 14:1; Ezek. 9:4

³⁹Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 142. Writing on Page 144, Hahn elaborates, "Liturgy is the place where the stream of salvation history runs swift and clear—sweeping Christians into the current of the divine and sacramental economy." And again, "Liturgy is the place where God's people have always gone to hear the covenant and to renew the covenant, with all their heart and mind, soul and body."

Amen: 1 Chron. 16:36
 Apostolic greeting: 2 Cor. 13:14
 Dominus vobiscum: Luke 1:28; 2 Thes. 3:16; 2 Tim. 4:22; Ruth 2:4
 Confiteor: Psalm 51; James 5:16
 Kyrie: Matt. 17:15; 20:31; Psalm 123:3
 Gloria: Luke 2:14
 First Reading: usually from the Old Testament, Acts, a New Testament Epistle or Revelation
 Responsorial Psalm: a Psalm or biblical canticle
 Second Reading: usually a New Testament Book
 Alleluia: Rev. 19:1-6; Tobit 13:18
 Gospel: one of the four Gospels
 Sursum corda: Lam. 3:41
 Sanctus: Rev. 4:8; Isa. 6:3; Mark 11:9-10; Psalm 118:26
 Eucharistic Prayer: 1 Cor. 11:23-26
 Great Amen: Rev. 5:14
 Lord's Prayer: Matt. 6:9-13
 Sign of Peace: John 14:27; 20:19
 Agnus Dei: John 1:29; Rev. 5:6
 Ecce Agnus Dei: Rev. 19:9
 Domine, non sum dignus: Matt. 8:8
 Dismissal: Luke 7:50; 2 Chron. 35:3
 Deo gratias: 2 Cor. 9:15⁴⁰

Thus, for Hahn, the liturgy provides a framework or context for understanding Scripture, both through the liturgical pairing of readings, as well as through the scriptural structure of the liturgy.

The Liturgical Content of Scripture: An Example of Hahn's Liturgical Hermeneutic

Hahn argues for a liturgical hermeneutic, because, he claims, "Scripture is for liturgy, and scripture is about liturgy."⁴¹ Writing elsewhere, he explains, "A liturgical reading of the canonical text discloses the Bible's

⁴⁰Ibid, 149-150.

⁴¹Ibid, 34.

liturgical trajectory and liturgical teleology."⁴² This subsection of this chapter will examine Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic by focusing on how he sees the formal canonical content of key passages in Scripture. The examination will proceed by looking at Hahn's liturgical reading of: 1) the creation accounts in Genesis; 2) the exodus; 3) the Davidic Kingdom; and 4) Jesus' salvific role in key New Testament passages.

Liturgical Creation in Genesis

Hahn believes that the creation accounts in Genesis are primarily liturgical. He has learned to read the creation accounts this way from source and form critics who argue that the liturgy is the *Sitz im Leben* of these texts. Hahn claims that the human person depicted in these accounts, known in binomial nomenclature as *Homo sapiens*, might be more aptly called *Homo liturgicus*, because both royal and liturgical or cultic language constitute these Genesis accounts of creation. Hahn thinks it is possible that the final canonical form of the Genesis creation accounts may be influenced by their use in early liturgical celebrations.⁴³

In his explanation of this, he remarks that, "Genesis 1, in fact, reads like a liturgical hymn. Creation unfolds in a series of **sevenfold** movements, beginning with the first verse which is exactly **seven** words long in Hebrew, and proceeding with the **seven** clearly defined creative speech acts of

⁴²Idem, "Worship in the Word," 106.

⁴³Ibid, 106-110; and Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 37-38.

God ('Let there be...')."44 Hahn's comment here shows his enduring focus on the number seven in Hebrew. Hahn further notes the parallels to the first account of creation in Gen. 1 with the construction of the tabernacle in Exod. 25-40. He thus concludes that Gen. 1 depicts "creation as the fashioning of a cosmic temple, a house of God which, like the later tabernacle and Temple, would be a meeting place for God and the human person made in his image and likeness."<45

When Hahn reads the second creation account in Gen. 2-3, he argues that the Garden of Eden is to be viewed as a sanctuary. Hahn points out that in this second creation account God walks around in the garden, *הלך* in the Hebrew (Gen. 3:8). Hahn mentions that this same verb, *הלך*, is used to describe God's presence in the tabernacle in Lev. 26:12, Deut. 23:15, and 2 Sam. 7:6-7. Furthermore, in this passage, Adam's purpose in the garden seems to Hahn to be to work or serve in the garden, using the Hebrew word *עבד* "serve," and to guard or keep the garden, using the Hebrew word *שמר* "guard" or "keep." Hahn underscores the fact that the only other places in the Pentateuch where these two verbs, *עבד* and *שמר*, are used together are when they are used to describe the priestly and Levitical liturgies in the sanctuary, in Num. 3:7-

⁴⁴Ibid., "Worship in the Word," 106 (emphasis added).

⁴⁵Ibid.

8, 8:26, and 18:5-6. Hahn concludes that these passages depict Adam as a royal priest or priest-king serving in the Edenic sanctuary.⁴⁶

Combining his liturgical hermeneutic with his canonical approach, Hahn examines the Ezek. 28:1-19 passage concerning the King of Tyre, where Hahn finds parallels with the creation accounts in Genesis, thus further highlighting the liturgical context Hahn sees in Gen. 1-3. Ezekiel's description of the king, in Hahn's reading, is in the context of Eden, God's garden, God's "holy mountain," which Hahn sees as a symbol in Ezekiel for the Jerusalem Temple. In Ezek. 28:14, the king is described as walking, הלך, amidst fiery stones or coals, which Hahn believes are used in Ezek. 1:3 and Psalm 18:13 as pertaining to God's presence. Furthermore, Ezek. 28:13 depicts the king as wearing the same stones mentioned in Gen. 2:12 from the land of Havilah, which was watered by Eden's river. These same stones, Hahn notes further, are the stones Exod. 28:17-20 stipulate adorn the high priest's breastplate. Hahn observes, "As the king's creation is described in Adamic and priestly terms, so his sin is characterized as a form of sacrilege and profanation punished by exile and 'deconsecration.'"⁴⁷ Hahn further compares Ezek. 28:16, 18 with Gen. 3:23-24, where the king and Adam are respectively "cast from God's presence," both passages involving cherubim.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid, 106-107.

⁴⁷Ibid, 108.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Hahn finds further liturgical parallels with the Genesis creation accounts in the tabernacle construction and liturgical regulations of Exodus. As regards the tabernacle construction, Hahn points out that the cloud of God's presence was over the mountain for six days, with Moses receiving the tabernacle plans on the seventh day. Hahn likens Moses' time with God on Mount Sinai to a "new creation," since, like the first creation account in Genesis, God worked for six days and ceased laboring on the seventh day. Hahn sees the seventh day in both stories as the culmination; in Genesis the culmination is the covenant with creation, while in Exodus, the culmination comes with the granting of the tabernacle plans. This has further liturgical implications in that the tabernacle was the place where liturgy was to be located.

This pattern involving the number seven continues in greater depth in Exod. 31:12-17. God gives Moses seven commands, over seven chapters, regarding the tabernacle's construction, and this concludes on the seventh day with rules for Sabbath observation. Furthermore, the construction of the tabernacle is conducted in the narrative in seven stages. As God rested on the seventh day in the first Genesis creation account, so God filled the tabernacle with the divine presence on the seventh day when its construction was completed in Exod. 40:34.⁴⁹ The frequent repetition of the number "seven" in these accounts emphasizes

⁴⁹Ibid, 108-110.

the liturgical aspect. As source critics note, the number seven is chosen because of the Sabbath liturgy, i.e. the liturgy of the seventh day.

Liturgical Liberation in Exodus

Hahn reads the exodus as a form of liturgical liberation, where the Israelites are freed from Egypt so that they might worship God, and do so according to specific liturgical and cultic guidelines. In his reading of Exodus, Hahn finds further parallels with the creation accounts in Genesis. The human figure in Genesis was created in the image of God, and so Israel is identified as God's people (Exod. 3:7, 10, 12; 5:1; 6:5, 7), and God's firstborn son (Exod. 4:22-23).⁵⁰ Consistent with Hahn's penchant for drawing theological significance from similarities between words, Hahn detects a wordplay involving עֲבַד in Exodus, as well as an emphasis on cultic and liturgical words:

The early chapters of Exodus involve a play on the word עֲבַד, ("serve" or "work"), the word that described the primeval vocation given to man (Gen. 2:15). The word is used four times to stress the cruel slavery ("hard service") inflicted upon the Israelites by the new Pharaoh (Exod. 1:13-14; see also 5:18; 14:5, 12). But the same word is also used to describe what God wants of the Israelites (Exod. 3:12; 4:22; 7:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 24-26). They are to serve, not as slave laborers but as a people that serves him in prayer. They are to "offer sacrifice" (זָבַח Exod. 3:18, 5:3). Moses and Aaron are instructed to tell Pharaoh that God wants Israel to hold a religious "feast" or "festival" (חַג Exod. 5:1; compare Exod. 12:14; 23:16; 34:25).⁵¹

⁵⁰Ibid, 110-113.

⁵¹Ibid, 110. The comparison Hahn is making is between the sacrifices the Israelites were to offer God, and the Passover sacrifice they eventually did offer.

Hahn sees the nature of these sacrifices in the text as relating to liturgy, specifically Egyptian liturgies. Hahn detects a connection here as well with the plagues unleashed on Egypt before the exodus.

Animal Sacrifice

Hahn reads Exod. 8:25-27 as a clue to the command to sacrifice animals in the Sinai. The sacrifices are a liturgical practice to help the people learn to worship God truly, i.e., the sacrifices were intended to get the "Egypt" out of Israel, to wean the Israelites from their idolatry. Pharaoh grants the Israelites permission to sacrifice to their God within Egypt. Moses protests Pharaoh's stipulation that the Israelites remain in Egypt to offer their sacrifices, explaining that the sacrifices the Israelites need to offer would upset the Egyptians' religious sensibilities, and the Egyptians, in their anger, may stone the Israelites. In this account, Moses therefore asks Pharaoh to permit the Israelites to journey three days into the wilderness to offer the sacrifices. Whatever the nature of the sacrificial act the Israelites must perform, Hahn is under the impression that it is intended to be a corrective to their idolatry through the proper exercise of liturgy. Moreover, Hahn points out that despite Pharaoh's refusal in this passage the Israelites eventually did make their sacrifices once they reached Sinai.⁵²

⁵²Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 44-45 and 48; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises: God's Covenant Love in Scripture* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Charis, 1998), 137-140; Idem, "Salvation History," St. Joseph Communication, 5 audiocassette series; Idem,

Hahn sees the plague narrative as supporting this reading, in that Hahn views the plagues as an attack upon Egyptian gods.⁵³ Hahn has been aided in his interpretation here by John Currid's work. Currid points out that not only in the Exodus narrative, but also in Numbers, Wisdom of Solomon, and intertestamental literature (e.g., Jubilees), the plagues are seen as an attack upon the Egyptian deities. Furthermore, Currid provides examples, which Hahn adopts, of which deities the plagues functioned as polemics against:

- 1) The first plague attacked Hapi, god of the Nile, who represented fertility and inundation, showing that true sustenance comes from יהוה alone, since the blood killed the fish of the Nile.
- 2) The second plague attacked Hekhet, a fertility goddess, who was often depicted as a human with a frog's head, showing that יהוה, who multiplied the frogs, was the one who controlled fertility.
- 3) Both the third and fourth plagues of flying insects can be seen as attacks upon Kheper, Egypt's self-generated god represented by flying beetles.
- 4) The fifth plague was probably against Apis and other Egyptian bull gods like Buchis and Mneuis, and in a sense, Ptah and Re, since bulls were viewed as embodiments of the latter two gods (possibly also Isis and Hathor, since both were depicted with bovine

"Exodus," St. Joseph Communication, 12 audiocassette series; and Idem, "Israel's Calf-Hearted Response: The Pentateuch," St. Joseph Communication, 5 audiocassette series.

⁵³Idem, "Kinship By Covenant," 44-45 and 48; Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 137-140; Idem, "Salvation History,"; Idem, "Exodus,"; and Idem, "Israel's Calf-Hearted Response." Hahn's views concerning the plagues as an attack upon the Egyptian gods finds support in the works of a number of scholars whose works he uses in his research, including, e.g., K.A. Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003), 253; Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967 [1951]), 129; and Nahum M. Sarna, *Exploring the Exodus: The Heritage of Biblical Israel* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 78-80, although Sarna and Kitchen do not believe all of the plagues can be attributed to different Egyptian gods.

features)—Currid notes that, "The livestock animals provided necessities to the people—in the form of food, milk, clothing, transportation—and they were destroyed in the fifth plague," showing that יהוה controls all.

5) The plague of boils was very likely an attack on Sekhmet and Amon-Re, since both were involved in healing (the former specifically was the goddess of plagues).

6) The plague of hail was probably directed against a number of Egyptian celestial gods like the goddess of the sky Nut, Shu (who held up the sky), and Tefnut, the goddess of moisture.

7) The plague of locusts was probably contra Senehem, a minor deity who protected against the pests that ravage crops, but also against a host of other Egyptian divinities, since so many gods (as hinted at in the Tanis Stele) apparently protected against agricultural pests, and probably also against Re or Amon-Re, the sun god.

8) The plague of darkness was most likely against Re, or Amon-Re, the sun god.

9) Finally, the death of Egypt's firstborn was an attack against the false son of god Pharaoh, and upon pharaonic succession—possibly also against Anubis, the god of the dead, showing that Anubis has no power over the Israelites, and that only יהוה controls life and death.⁵⁴

⁵⁴John D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament*, with a foreword by Kenneth A. Kitchen (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1997), 108-113. See also Jan Assman, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), e.g., 37-39 and 61-65, for early Jewish and Christian interpretations of these acts as polemics against Egyptian religion and against Egyptian deities, which Hahn uses in his works. James Hoffmeier has been the most vocal Egyptologist arguing against the view that the plagues represented Egyptian gods, although, even he admits that there may be a polemic against the sun god Re, as well as Pharaoh, who was considered divine. He believes that the plagues primarily represent an attack upon Pharaoh. See, James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 149-154; Idem, "The Arm of God Versus the Arm of Pharaoh in the Exodus Narratives," *Biblica* 67 (1986) : 378-387; Idem, "Egypt, Plagues In," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary Volume 2: D-G*, ed. David Noel Freedman, 374-378 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 376; Idem, "Egyptians," in *Peoples of the Old Testament World*, ed. Alfred J. Hoerth, Gerald L. Mattingly, and Edwin M. Yamauchi, 251-290, with a foreword by Alan R. Millard (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1994), 288.

Just as the plagues are an attack upon Egyptian gods, so Hahn sees the Israelite sacrifice of animals as a liturgical act where the Israelites are sacrificing the false gods of Egypt. This liturgical sacrifice is supposed to free the Israelites so that they can worship the one true God. The renunciation of these gods was a part of the sacrificial ritual in which they engaged at the Sinai covenant.⁵⁵

Hahn points out that, canonically, it is only after the incident with the golden calf that Israel was required to make frequent animal sacrifices. There were no daily sacrifices commanded canonically before the worship of the golden calf; it is only afterwards that God commands Israel to offer continual animal sacrifices.⁵⁶ Hahn quips that, according to the canonical texts, Israel had been taken out of Egypt, now these animal sacrifices were supposed to help get the "Egypt" out of Israel. Hahn explains the animal sacrifices using the analogy of a friend of his who struggles with alcoholism:

A friend of mine is a recovering alcoholic who sees himself as having been held in bondage for years by the power of drink. And he did not experience instant freedom by rising one morning and smashing his bottle of Jack Daniels in the sink. That would not have been enough. Like so many others, the only way he beat his addiction was by finally admitting that it was beating him and that he could not conquer it alone. Even then, one simple heartfelt prayer of renunciation didn't suffice. As he says, he had to learn to "let go and let God," and not just once but over and over again. Now he realizes that he can only maintain real freedom by taking one day at a time....For a similar reason, Israel was commanded to offer daily sacrifices. After centuries of living in Egypt...God knew

⁵⁵Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 49-50.

⁵⁶Idem, *A Father Who Keeps His Promises*, 163-167 and 169.

that Israel was hopelessly ensnared in the idolatrous ways of their host country.⁵⁷

It is thus as a liturgical practice meant to retrain Israel that Hahn reads these narratives in Exodus. As a nation of priest-kings, Hahn writes, the text of Exodus depicts Israel as "corporately what Adam was created to be individually—the firstborn of a new humanity, a liturgical people that will dwell with God in a relationship of filial obedience and worship."⁵⁸

Hahn reads the very exodus itself as a liturgical liberation. He points out that it begins with a Passover liturgy (Exod. 12), where the liturgical regulations are mentioned in detail. Hahn calls the exodus from Egypt a "ritual exit procession," which culminates with hymn singing, dancing and the use of musical instruments (Exod. 15:1-21). Furthermore, after the exodus, at the Sinai covenant in Exod. 24:1-9, Hahn detects the covenant being ratified in the text through liturgy: 1) the book of the Law is read; 2) the Israelites swear fidelity to God; 3) sacrifices are offered; 4) the sacrificial blood is sprinkled; and 5) the Israelites eat a sacred meal in God's presence.

Hahn points out further that much of the Law deals with liturgical regulations, for example, the construction plan for the tabernacle, liturgical furnishings for the tabernacle, priestly liturgical garments, the liturgical calendar, and rules and regulations for the sacrifices.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Ibid, 164.

⁵⁸Idem, "Worship in the Word," 111.

⁵⁹Ibid; and Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 39-40.

Hahn draws a further parallel between the Israelites and Adam regarding the worship of the golden calf. Hahn writes that, "In defiling itself through ritual rebellion, Israel, like Adam, is rendered unfit for its divine vocation. It is interesting that the royal-priestly title of Exodus 19:6 is never again used to describe Israel in the Old Testament."⁶⁰ Much of the rest of Israel's Old Testament history, in Hahn's reading, is also liturgical. The conquest of Jericho, for example, in the Book of Joshua, is liturgical—marching around Jericho for seven days, then seven times on the seventh day, blowing trumpets. Hahn asserts that the very purpose for conquest was liturgical; it was to protect the Israelites from Canaanite idolatry and help them to worship the one true God. This sets the stage for Hahn's reading of the narratives concerning the Davidic monarchy, particularly as displayed in Chronicles.⁶¹

David's Liturgical Kingdom

In examining the diverse narratives describing the Davidic monarchy, Hahn believes that, "With the Davidic kingdom we see the fullest expression of the Bible's liturgical anthropology and teleology."⁶² Hahn believes that the Davidic narratives reveal Israel's royal and priestly vocation, even though the pre-golden-calf-term "kingdom of priests" is not explicitly used. Nevertheless, Hahn believes the texts demonstrate

⁶⁰Idem, "Worship in the Word," 112.

⁶¹Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 40-41.

⁶²Idem, "Worship in the Word," 113.

that, "the kingdom established under David and later Solomon is to be a royal and priestly people."⁶³

Hahn reads 2 Sam. 7:14 and Psalms 110:4 and 89:26-27 as communicating that David's "seed" will be granted a "royal-priestly primogeniture." He sees this as connected to the royal-priestly vocation which was intended for the people of Israel as a whole (Exod. 3:6-17; 4:22; 19:5-6). Hahn also sees David as a new Melchizedek, since David functions somewhat like a priest and he is king of Jerusalem, which Psalms 76:2 and 110 identify as Salem. Furthermore, Hahn isolates a number of actions David takes that "are at once cultic and political, military and liturgical" in the canonical narratives concerning David.⁶⁴ After he establishes Jerusalem as his kingdom's capital, David's next act is to restore the Ark of the Covenant, a central liturgical symbol used throughout the canonical history of Israel's worship. This focus on David's liturgical actions is most pronounced in 1 Chronicles:

The Ark's restoration is depicted as a grand religious pilgrimage. It is preceded by the ritual purification of the Levites (1 Chron. 15:11), who alone are permitted to transport the Ark under the Mosaic law that David reinstitutes (Deut. 10:8; 1 Chron. 15:2). The procession is a joyous religious feast, complete with liturgical dancing and song led by David and the priests (1 Chron. 15:1-16:3; 2 Sam. 6:11-19). David wears a priest's ephod and there is a sabbatical tone to the event, highlighted by the sacrifices of the priests—seven bulls and seven rams (1 Chron. 15:25) and the joyous praise of God as creator of the world and maker of covenants (1 Chron. 16:14-18, 26). As the Ark is installed, David leads the priests in offering holocausts and peace offerings. Then he blesses the people in the name of the Lord and shares bread, meat, and a cake with every Israelite. What

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid, 113-114.

we witness here is Israel's king performing high priestly acts—leading worship, offering sacrifices, imparting the Lord's blessings. David's actions reestablish the presence of God among the people (1 Chron. 23:25). To ensure the purity of Israel's worship he organizes Aaron's descendants to be "officers of the sanctuary and officers of God" (1 Chron. 24:3, 5, 19), and installs the Levitical priests "to minister before the Ark of the Lord, to invoke, to thank, and to praise the Lord" every morning and evening and also on feast days (1 Chron. 16:4; 23:25-32).⁶⁵

This focus on David's liturgical action in 1 Chronicles signals that the Chronicler sees David as a new Moses: 1) both Moses and David glory in the divine presence in the Ark; 2) David restores the Mosaic liturgical regulations; and 3) both Moses and David were provided instructions on how to build a house for the Ark, in, first, the Tabernacle, and, second, the Temple.⁶⁶

Cosmic Temple

Hahn sees Solomon's Temple as a culmination of the liturgical reforms begun in the narratives concerning David. He explains the Temple in relation to the creation accounts in Genesis, showing that the Temple represents, for Hahn, a new creation:

the universe itself was a macrotemple, where God also dwells with his people. This is best summarized by the Psalmist, "He built his sanctuary like the high heavens, like the earth, which he has founded for ever" (Ps 78:69). Other indications of this Temple theology are found in OT parallels and Jewish traditions that link the Temple and the world closely together....After the week-long construction of the world, "God rested from all his work which he had done in creation" (Gen 2:3). Likewise, when God established order and gave the Israelites "rest" from their enemies (2 Sam 7:1), He commissioned the building of the Temple by Solomon as his "resting place for ever" (Ps 132:14; cf. 2 Chron 6:41; Sir 24:11; Is 66:1)....God's creation of the world is described as the construction of a Temple (Job 38:4-6; Amos 9:6) that is completed and blessed

⁶⁵ibid, 114.

⁶⁶ibid, 114-115.

on the seventh day (Gen 2:2-3). Similarly, Solomon built the Jerusalem Temple in seven years (1 Kings 6:38) and dedicated it in the seventh month (1 Kings 8:2) during the seven-day Feast of Booths (1 Kings 8:65)....Isaiah's vision of the Lord (Is 6:1-7) makes an implicit comparison: the Temple and the cosmos are mutually and interchangeably filled with divine glory. As the train of God's robe "filled the temple" (Is 6:1) and God's house is "filled with smoke" (Is 6:4), so the angels cry out "the whole earth is full of his glory" (Is 6:3)....Jewish writers of Jesus' day describe in great detail the Temple as a model of the universe. Josephus, Philo, and later rabbinic writings interpret the Temple's divisions, furniture, colors, and architecture as symbols of the cosmos. One tradition links the three divisions of the Temple with three realms of the world: heaven is the most holy place, the land is the holy place, and the sea is the outer courtyard and the bronze laver of water.⁶⁷

The construction of the Temple is thus, for Hahn, to be viewed as a new creation, especially in light of the pattern involving the number seven:

- 1) Creation lasts seven days and the Temple is built in seven years (Gen. 2:2 and 1 Kings 6:38).
- 2) The Temple is dedicated in seven days, specifically the Feast of Tabernacles, a seven-day feast (1 Kings 8:2).
- 3) Solomon's prayer of dedication is structured by seven specific petitions (1 Kings 8:31-53).
- 4) In the first Genesis creation account, God rested on the seventh day, while Solomon, who built the Temple, is depicted as a man of rest, *אִישׁ מְנוּחָה* (1 Chron. 22:9).
- 5) As God rested on the seventh day, so the Temple is called both a house of rest, *בֵּית מְנוּחָה* (1 Chron. 28:2) and the Ark's "resting place" (2 Chron. 6:41; Psalm 132:8, 13-14; Isa. 66:1).⁶⁸

In addition to the sacrifices which were stipulated under the Mosaic Law, e.g., in Leviticus, songs are explicitly added to the Israelite liturgy that Hahn connects with David. Songs of praise, *תְּהִלָּה*, and songs of thanksgiving, *תּוֹדָה*, become incorporated into the Temple liturgy. These

⁶⁷Scott Hahn and Curtis Mitch, *The Gospel of Matthew: With Introduction, Commentary, and Notes*, The Ignatius Catholic Study Bible (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), 60.

⁶⁸Hahn, "Worship in the Word," 115.

prayers, even as canonized in the Psalter, are often linked to sacrifice, especially in the תהלה Psalms, e.g., Psalms 18, 30, 32, 41, 66, 116, 118, and 138. What Hahn calls the liturgical vocation of humanity extends into the prophetic books of the Old Testament, foretelling a future time with a restored and transformed liturgy. Hahn views the prophets liturgically, as well as Christologically.⁶⁹

***Liturgical Link Between the Old and New Covenant:
the New Testament Viewed Through Liturgical Lenses***

As Hahn believes the covenant forms a canonical link between the Old and the New Testaments, so also the liturgical hermeneutic forges a connection between the Old and New Covenants, the Old and New Testaments. Hahn reads the New Testament as primarily a liturgical document, and therefore, he finds a liturgical significance to narratives concerning Jesus. The "Fall" and sin are, for Hahn, liturgical, although not only liturgical. Additionally, salvation is liturgical, although not only liturgical.

Salvation as a New Liturgical Genesis Made Possible by Jesus the New Liturgical Adam

Similar to his belief that the building of the tabernacle and Temple represent a new creation, Hahn reads the accounts concerning Jesus as depicting a new creation. Hahn writes that, "The first words of the New Testament canon—βίβλος γενέσεως—can stand as a kind of title for the

⁶⁹Ibid, 116-119.

whole, 'the book of the new genesis.'"⁷⁰ In the canonical New Testament, Jesus is explicitly called a "new Adam" (Rom. 5:12-20; 1 Cor. 15:45-49). Through Adam sin and death entered the world, so through the "new Adam," Jesus, life is restored, sin and death are conquered.⁷¹ Hahn views Jesus' restoration of the covenant and atonement for sin as liturgical. He explains, "...Christ's 'obedience' is...often cast in cultic, sacrificial, and priestly terms. As animals' blood was used in the liturgical worship of Israel, the New Testament writers describe Christ's blood, offered in sacrifice on the cross, as the agent of atonement for the sin of Adam and Israel."⁷²

Salvation as a New Liturgical Exodus

Hahn believes that Jesus' sacrificial death is often depicted in the New Testament as a new exodus. The old exodus brought God's people out of Egypt and into the Promised Land, while Jesus' new exodus brings God's people out of sin (figuratively Egypt) and into heaven (the Promised Land). Luke 9:31 explicitly describes Jesus' death as a type of exodus, ἔξοδον. Moreover, in this Lucan passage, Hahn notes allusions to the wilderness period (transfiguration and theophanies).

As discussed in chapter two of this dissertation, Hahn sees Jesus presented as the Passover lamb throughout John's Gospel. Indeed, in Hahn's reading of the Synoptic Last Supper accounts, as well as the

⁷⁰ibid, 119.

⁷¹ibid, 119 and 121.

⁷²ibid, 121.

Gospel of John's Bread of Life Discourse and account of Jesus' passion and death, Jesus' sacrifice is to be understood as a liturgical sacrifice, which began in the Passover liturgy in the Upper Room and ended on the cross where the liturgy was completed with the fourth liturgical "cup" of wine. Jesus functions as both the high priest presiding over the liturgical sacrifice and the victim being liturgically sacrificed.

Finally, in 1 Peter, Hahn finds more clues to Jesus' sacrifice as ushering in a new exodus for those who are baptized (1 Peter 1:13-20; 2:1-10; Exod. 12:5, 11; 15:13; 19:6): 1) the baptized are instructed to gird their loins; as the Israelites were instructed at the Passover before the exodus; 2) the baptized have been "ransomed," λυτρόω, the same word the Septuagint (LXX) uses to describe how the unblemished lamb's blood delivered Israel; 3) Christians are here described as sojourners in language reminiscent of Israel's period in the wilderness; 4) Christians receive spiritual food much as the Israelites received water from the stone; and 5) the Church is explicitly called the "new Israel," directly quoting from the LXX of Exodus and Isaiah, the latter quotation referring to a new exodus.⁷³

The Church as a New Liturgical Kingdom

Hahn reads the New Testament accounts of Jesus' church, particularly in Matthew and Luke, as a fulfillment of the Davidic kingdom, and therefore, a liturgical kingdom, where Jesus is a royal-priest, or a

⁷³Ibid, 122-124.

priest-king. Hahn explains that, "Jesus is portrayed throughout the New Testament as the son of David anticipated in the Old Testament, a priest-king according to the order of Melchizedek."⁷⁴ This royal-priestly role is highlighted especially, according to Hahn, in the Book of Hebrews. Hahn maintains that, "Hebrews is an extended meditation on the liturgy of Israel and the liturgy of the church, the liturgy of heaven and the liturgy of earth."⁷⁵ Hahn finds liturgical language throughout the Book of Hebrews, particularly in chapters 8-9, where there is a contrast between the old covenantal order and the new covenantal order ushered in by Jesus. In both orders there is a liturgical cult:

which includes a high priest (Heb 8:1, 3; 9:7, 11, 25, ἀρχιερεύς) or "celebrant" (Heb 8:2, 6, λειτουργός) who performs ministry (Heb 8:5; 9:1, 6, λατρεία) in a tent-sanctuary (Heb 8:2, 5; 9:2-3, 6, 8, 11, 21, σκηνή), entering into a Holy Place (Heb 8:2; 9:2-3, 12, 24, ἅγια) to offer (Heb 8:3; 9:7, 14, 28, προσφέρω) the blood (Heb 9:7, 12, 14, 18-23, 25, αἷμα) of sacrifices (Heb 8:3-4, 9:9, 23, 26, θυσίαι) which effects purification (Heb 9:13, ἀγιάζω; Heb 9:14, 22-23, καθαρίζω) and redemption (Heb 9:12, 15, λύτρωσις) of worshippers (Heb 8:10, 9:7, 19, λαός; Heb 9:9, 14, λατρεύοντες) who have transgressed cultic law (Heb 8:4; 9:19, νόμος). The mediation of both covenants is primarily cultic, the sacred realm of liturgy.⁷⁶

Christ's redemption in the Book of Hebrews, in Hahn's reading, is specifically described using priestly liturgical language.⁷⁷ He writes that, "Christ's death is simultaneously the legal execution of the curses of the old covenant and the liturgical ritual of sacrifice which establishes the

⁷⁴Ibid, 125.

⁷⁵Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 45.

⁷⁶Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death," 66-67.

⁷⁷Idem, "Worship in the Word," 125-126.

new."⁷⁸ Hebrews depicts the Eucharist as a participation in Christ's sacrificial offering, although the Book of Hebrews never uses the word Eucharist.⁷⁹ But it is in the Apocalypse that Hahn sees the most significance for his liturgical hermeneutic.

Liturgical Eschatology

Hahn believes that the Book of Revelation is the most liturgical of all the books of Scripture.⁸⁰ Hahn even maintains that the Book of Revelation was specifically intended to be read in the church's liturgy. Furthermore, more than any other part of Scripture Revelation contains the most references to liturgical symbols, language, figures, etc. Hahn notes the following:

Sunday worship: 1:10
 A high priest: 1:13
 An altar: 8:3-4; 11:1; 14:18
 Priests/presbyteroi: 4:4; 11:15; 14:3; 19:4
 Vestments: 1:13; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9; 15:6; 19:13-14
 Consecrated celibacy: 14:4
 Lampstands/menorah: 1:12; 2:5
 Penitence: chapters 2-3
 Incense: 5:8; 8:3-5
 Book/scroll: 5:1
 Eucharistic Host: 2:17
 Chalices: 15:7; chapter 16; 21:9
 Sign of the cross/tau: 7:3; 14:1; 22:4
 The Gloria: 15:3-4
 The Alleluia: 19:1, 3, 4, 6
 Lift up your hearts: 11:12
 Holy, Holy, Holy: 4:8
 The Amen: 19:4; 22:21

⁷⁸Idem, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death," 88.

⁷⁹Idem, "Worship in the Word," 125-126.

⁸⁰Idem, *Letter and Spirit*, 45-46.

The Lamb of God: 5:6
 Prominence of the Virgin Mary: 12:1-6; 13-17
 Intercession of angels and saints: 5:8; 6:9-10; 8:3-4
 Devotion to St. Michael the archangel: 12:7
 Antiphonal chant: 4:8-11; 5:9-14; 7:10-12; 18:1-8
 Readings from Scripture: chapters 2-3; 5; 8:2-11
 Priesthood of the faithful: 1:6; 20:6
 Catholicity or Universality: 7:9
 Silent contemplation: 8:1
 Marriage supper of Lamb: 19:9, 17⁸¹

Hahn argues that the Book of Revelation is primarily about liturgy, as he explains:

What is unveiled is nothing less than the liturgical reality of creation and the liturgical consummation of human history in Christ. The vision John sees is that of a Eucharistic kingdom, in which angels and holy men and women worship ceaselessly around the altar and throne of God. The vision unfolds in liturgical fashion, in a series of hymns, exhortations, antiphons and other cultic forms.⁸²

In Hahn's reading, humanity's divine liturgical vocation, set forth in Genesis, is finally fulfilled at the end of the Book of Revelation. Hahn describes the Book of Revelation as an "Icon of the Liturgy," which is how the book is often labeled by Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Catholic Christians.⁸³ Hahn is following a traditional Catholic interpretation of the Book of Revelation as primarily liturgical. He relies especially upon Pope Benedict XVI's eschatological works. For example, Pope Benedict XVI writes that:

The cosmic imagery of the New Testament cannot be used as a source for the description of a future chain of cosmic events. All attempts of this kind are misplaced. Instead these texts form part of

⁸¹Idem, *The Lamb's Supper: The Mass as Heaven on Earth* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 119-120.

⁸²Idem, "Worship in the Word," 127.

⁸³Ibid, 127-130; and Idem, *The Lamb's Supper*.

a description of the mystery of the Parousia in the language of the liturgical tradition.⁸⁴

IV. Conclusion

This chapter has examined Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic wherein Hahn maintains his focus on the covenant and his canonical reading coincide. Hahn argues that contemporary Catholic biblical exegesis needs to develop this liturgical hermeneutic further. This chapter began with a summary of Hahn's hermeneutics, including his use of narrative criticism, canonical reading, historical criticism, and Catholic liturgical interpretation. This was followed by a more detailed analysis of Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic, particularly: Scripture's liturgical context and Scripture's liturgical content. Hahn's view of Scripture's liturgical content was examined wherein Hahn's liturgical reading of specific passages was discussed: the creation accounts in Genesis, the exodus, the Davidic Kingdom, and specific New Testament portrayals of Jesus as New Adam, New Moses, New David, and the eschatological sacrificial lamb.

Hahn's argument is that, "Liturgy is like a golden thread that runs through the many pearls of salvation history and holds them together."⁸⁵ Moreover, a liturgical perspective of Scripture allows for a theological engagement with the biblical text. The next and final chapter will turn explicitly to the concern of making biblical exegesis theological by

⁸⁴Joseph Ratzinger, *Eschatology* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 202.

⁸⁵Hahn, *Letter and Spirit*, 35.

placing Hahn in dialogue with contemporary scholars who are calling for a new hermeneutic in an attempt to re-theologize the Bible. Scholars like Luke Timothy Johnson, David Steinmetz, and Robert Louis Wilken argue against the hegemony of historical critical method in modern biblical studies. They point to what they maintain is an impasse in biblical studies. I will argue that aspects of Hahn's exegesis, as presented in this dissertation, may prove useful in surmounting this current impasse.

Chapter 6

Bridging the Fiery Brook: Hahn's Promise for Surmounting the "Impasse" in Catholic Biblical Studies

I. Introduction

On the eve of the Second Vatican Council, Karl Rahner wrote to Catholic biblical exegetes lamenting the fact that biblical exegesis was becoming separated from theology. In Rahner's words:

Dear brethren and revered colleagues. Permit me to think that you exegetes have not always enough consideration for us theologians and our dogmatics....It seems to me...that you exegetes often forget that you are Catholic theologians....you are men, and sinners like the rest of men....The doctrines and directives of...[Church] authority are not merely a negative norm for exegesis, a boundary not to be transgressed if one wishes to remain a Catholic. They are rather a positive intrinsic principle guiding research itself in scientific work....I have the impression that you often go gaily and complacently about your work, as if it were pure philology and profane history. And when difficulties or problems arise which trouble dogmatic theology, or disturb the faith of your young theological students or lay people, you simply say that that is not your business, that is the affair of the theologians, let them deal with it. No, dear brothers....For you are Catholic theologians....one often has the impression that you are not always conscious enough of your responsibility....You must show how your results, of themselves, point on to Church doctrine as to their genuine expression....The exegete has, then, to keep the expressions of the teaching authority before his eyes....Theologians and exegetes must remember that they are not the masters but the servants of the teaching office, which Christ entrusted to St Peter and the Apostles, not to the professors.¹

¹Karl Rahner, S.J., "Exegesis and Dogmatic Theology," in *Dogmatic vs. Biblical Theology*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler, 31-65 (Baltimore: Helicon, 1964 [1962]), 34-36, 40, and 56.

Rahner's concerns before the Second Vatican Council have been echoed by others since the Council closed, and they are no longer limited just to the theologians. These worries have spread to the Catholic biblical scholars themselves, such as Luke Timothy Johnson. Reflecting on the state of contemporary Catholic biblical scholarship, Johnson writes:

From the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, the phrase "Roman Catholic biblical scholarship" would have been regarded by many as oxymoronic: it may have been Roman Catholic, but was it really scholarship? At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century, however, the phrase is equally oxymoronic: no one doubts the quality of the scholarship, but in what sense is it any longer "Catholic"?²

It seems that Ignace de la Potterie is correct in warning that, "Exegesis is...in danger of becoming a science reserved to specialists, that is, that 'separated exegesis' so feared by M. Blondel."³

Rahner's, de la Potterie's, and Johnson's laments have become so common among Catholic and non-Catholic biblical scholars and theologians that this contemporary crisis in modern biblical criticism, especially Catholic biblical scholarship, has become a commonplace in

²Luke Timothy Johnson, "What's Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship?" in *The Future of Catholic Biblical Scholarship: A Constructive Conversation*, by Luke Timothy Johnson and William S. Kurz, S.J., 3-34 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2002), 4.

³Ignace de la Potterie, S.J., preface to *An Introduction to the History of Exegesis I: The Greek Fathers*, by Bertrand de Margerie, S.J. (Petersham, Massachusetts: Saint Bede's Publications, 1993), ix. De la Potterie is referring to Maurice Blondel, *The Letter on Apologetics and History and Dogma*, trans. Alexander Dru and Iltyd Trethowan (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1994), esp. 236-238, and 274. On Blondel's criticisms, see Marcellino D' Ambrosio, "Henri de Lubac and the Critique of Scientific Exegesis," *Communio* 19 (Fall 1992) : 375. Likewise, Alister McGrath writes, in his subsection entitled, "The Babylonian Captivity of Scripture," that, "the study of Scripture has become exiled from its homeland," referring to the shift of communities wherein the Bible was interpreted from the faith community of the church to the community embodied in secular academia. See Alister E. McGrath, "Reclaiming Our Roots and Vision: Scripture and the Stability of the Christian Church," in *Reclaiming the Bible for the Church*, ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, 63-88 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995), 69.

the literature.⁴ Scholars as diverse as Jon Levenson, Robert Wilken, and David Steinmetz have criticized what they see as historical criticism's hegemony in the field of biblical exegesis.

⁴See, e.g., the varied comments in Markus Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word: Refocusing New Testament Study* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2006), entire book, esp. 31-33 and 39 for the problem of method and criteria; Gavin D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square: Church, Academy, and Nation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 15-16, 17 n. 42, and 138-139; Rowan Williams, "Historical Criticism and Sacred Text," in *Reading Texts, Seeking Wisdom: Scripture and Theology*, ed. Graham Stanton and David F. Ford, 216-228 (London: SCM Press, 2003), esp. 218; Patricia M. McDonald, S.H.C.J., "Biblical Scholarship: When Tradition Met Method," in *The Catholic Church in the Twentieth Century: Renewing and Reimagining the City of God*, ed. John Deedy, 113-130 (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 127; George Lindbeck, "The Story-Shaped Church: Critical Exegesis and Theological Interpretation," in *The Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, ed. Stephen E. Fowl, 39-52 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997); David S. Yeago, "The New Testament and the Nicene Dogma: A Contribution to the Recovery of Theological Exegesis," in *Theological Interpretation of Scripture*, ed. Fowl, 87; Terence E. Fretheim, "Exodus 3: A Theological Interpretation," in *Theological Interpretation of Scripture*, ed. Fowl, 143; Roy A. Harrisville, "The Loss of Biblical Authority and Its Recovery," in *Reclaiming the Bible for the Church*, ed. Braaten and Jenson, 47-61; Jon D. Levenson, "Response," in *The State of Jewish Studies*, ed. Shaye J.D. Cohen and Edward L. Greenstein, 47-54 (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990); Klyne R. Snodgrass, "The Gospel of Thomas: A Secondary Gospel," *Second Century* 7 (1990) : 19; David C. Steinmetz, "The Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis," *Theology Today* 37 (1980) : 27-38; C.S. Lewis, "Fern-Seed and Elephants," in *Fern-Seed and Elephants and Other Essays on Christianity*, by C.S. Lewis, ed. Walter Hooper, 104-125 (London: Fontana, 1975); and Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974). Wishing to retain the historical critical method, Robert Miller joins these scholars in seeing this method as insufficient by itself for Christian exegesis (Robert Miller II, S.F.O., "The Historical-Critical Method and the Future of Catholic Biblical Theology," unpublished paper—I am indebted to Professor William Portier for providing me with this text). More recently feminist and postcolonial studies have attacked historical criticism's hegemony in modern biblical interpretation. See, e.g., Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, "Mastering the Tools or Retooling the Masters? The Legacy of Historical-Critical Discourse," in *Her Master's Tools? Feminist and Postcolonial Engagements of Historical-Critical Discourse*, Society of Biblical Literature Global Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship 9, ed. Caroline Vander Stichele and Todd Penner, 1-30 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005); Hanna Stenström, "Historical-Critical Approaches and the Emancipation of Women: Unfulfilled Promises and Remaining Possibilities," in *Her Master's Tools*, ed. Vander Stichele and Penner, 31-46; Susanne Scholz, "'Tandoori Reindeer' and the Limitations of Historical Criticism," in *Her Master's Tools*, ed. Vander Stichele and Penner, 47-70; Hjamil A. Martínez-Vázquez, "Breaking the Established Scaffold: Imagination as a Resource in the Development of Biblical Interpretation," in *Her Master's Tools*, ed. Vander Stichele and Penner, 71-92; John W. Marshall, "Postcolonialism and the Practice of History," in *Her Master's Tools*, ed. Vander Stichele and Penner, 93-108; Madipoane Masenya (ngwana' Mphahlele), "Their Hermeneutics Was Strange! Ours

Further indications that this problem has been identified in scholarship can be found with the advent of a new commentary series. It is specifically in response to this theological clarion call that Brazos Press initiated its Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible, the first three volumes (on Acts, Matthew, and 1 and 2 Kings) of which have already arrived in print.⁵ The series editors, R.R. Reno, Robert W. Jenson, Robert Louis Wilken, Ephraim Radner, Michael Root, and George Sumner, explain that their choice of commentators was not

because of their historical or philological expertise. In the main they are not biblical scholars in the conventional modern sense of the term. Instead, the commentators were chosen because of their knowledge of and expertise in using the Christian doctrinal tradition. They are qualified by virtue of the doctrinal formation of their mental habits, for it is the conceit of this series of biblical commentaries that theological training in the Nicene tradition prepares one for biblical interpretation....⁶

Contributors to this series include Jaroslav Pelikan, David Burrell, Paul Griffiths, and Stanley Hauerwas, as well as the focus of this current dissertation, Scott Hahn.

Is a Necessity! Rereading Vashti as African-South African Women," in *Her Master's Tools*, ed. Vander Stichele and Penner, 179-194; and Athalya Brenner, "Epilogue: Babies and Bathwater on the Road," in *Her Master's Tools*, ed. Vander Stichele and Penner, 333-338.

⁵Jaroslav Pelikan, *Acts*, Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2005); Stanley Hauerwas, *Matthew*, Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2006); and Peter Leithart, *1 & 2 Kings*, Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2006).

⁶R.R. Reno, Series Preface to *Acts*, by Pelikan, 14. It should be pointed out however, that this statement by no means implies that those scholars possessing historical and philological expertise are excluded. On the contrary, as the selection of Pelikan for their first author demonstrates, at least some of these theologians are skilled historians and philologists.

Previous chapters of this dissertation examined various aspects of Hahn's biblical interpretation, describing that which Hahn learned from Protestants, Jews, and Catholics about biblical exegesis. This final chapter will move forward from this background in order to discuss the promise of Hahn's hermeneutics in pointing the way beyond the current impasse scholars have detected between biblical scholarship and theology.

This chapter will begin by critiquing the normative understanding of modern biblical criticism as a neutral, objective, and scientific method. I will question the historical critical method's claim of neutrality, particularly by exploring its origin in and connection to the realm of the political. Next, I will discuss the Bible and biblical criticism in its proper context—the context of faith as sacred for Christianity. As such, the Bible is not suited for any one method that would divorce it entirely from its spiritual implications. Rather, the Bible is best interpreted and explored using a variety of methods and with an intention to further Christian theological understanding. Crucial here is the point that traditional exegesis is not uncritical exegesis and hence the patristic and medieval interpretations of Scripture have something to offer to modern biblical criticism. In other words, what is perhaps most important is that a more honest portrayal of the historical critical method allows for a retrieval of traditional forms of exegesis among other methods.

Hence the final overarching task of this chapter is to identify how Hahn's exegesis promises to surmount the current impasse in biblical studies by employing these traditional forms of exegesis in addition to modern biblical criticism. I will argue that the way Hahn uses insights from historical criticism, incorporates multiple senses of Scripture, and reads the Bible canonically and liturgically, points theologians and Bible scholars forward in reading Scripture theologically. Hahn's reading of the biblical text, while not an entirely deliberate method, nonetheless has potential to reunite the Bible and theology. Prior to the conclusion I will also note some criticisms of Hahn.

II. The "Crisis" in (Catholic) Biblical Scholarship

The historical critical method was founded in order to provide a scientific and objective way to read Scripture. The justification was that if everyone were to read the Bible through the neutral lens of historical criticism, then regardless of the person's religious tradition—Jewish, Protestant, Catholic, etc.—the same conclusions could be reached on the basis of the same non-partisan method. This claim of neutrality has, however, been called into question by numerous theologians and scholars of other fields, who point out the impossibility of attaining pure objectivity. Peter Novick, for one, likens the quest for objectivity to "nailing

jelly to the wall."⁷ Many of these scholars likewise point out the political and partisan origins of the historical critical method. Hence, this section has two subsections. The first subsection calls into question historical criticism's claim to neutrality in and of itself, while the second furthers that line of reasoning by pointing out the political underpinnings present from the very beginning of the historical critical enterprise.

First, a note about the history behind Catholic scholars' use of the historical critical method. Although Catholic exegetes were not engaging in historical criticism as freely or as early as their Protestant counterparts, since the 1943 promulgation of the papal encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, Roman Catholic exegetes have, in the words of historian Edwin Yamauchi, "accepted the critical views of liberal Protestant scholars."⁸ Yamauchi, himself an evangelical Protestant scholar, further notes that, "Catholic scholars are now accepting interpretations that were earlier proposed by antsupernatural critics of Christianity."⁹

It should also be stated at the outset that this questioning of the historical critical method's general claim of neutrality and pure objectivity

⁷Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), see his "Introduction: Nailing jelly to the wall," 1-17, esp. 7. On the "objectivity" question, see also Terrence W. Tilley, *History, Theology & Faith: Dissolving the Modern Problematic* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), 107-115.

⁸Edwin M. Yamauchi, "Hermeneutical Issues in the Book of Daniel," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23, no. 1 (March 1980) : 19.

⁹Idem, "The Episode of the Magi," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan*, ed. Jerry Vardaman and Edwin M. Yamauchi, 15-39 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 22.

is not meant to deny the validity of the method nor the strength of the conclusions of this method. In fact, the historical critical method has supplied numerous insights, one of which—the reclaiming of Jesus' Jewish identity—will be discussed later. Hence the following subsections are not meant to destroy the historical critical method as such, but to identify its weakness in its own estimation of itself. This subsidiary contention serves to clear the way for the claim that the Bible should be read theologically, in a manner akin, perhaps, to that of Hahn's.

***Pope Benedict XVI and His Vision of "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis":
Historical Criticism's Non-Neutrality, or Historical Criticism's Relocation of
Commitment***

The pathos of modern biblical criticism is its utter lack of humility. In the words of Luke Timothy Johnson, it promises more than it can deliver.¹⁰ And yet, historical criticism has become normative precisely because of its claim of neutrality. In what follows, I call this claim into question, suggesting that the historical critical method is not as objective as it asserts it is, and its fault lies in its failure to acknowledge that no science, especially among the humanities fields, can ever be completely objective. In fact, in its very claim of neutrality it reflects a *commitment* to the ideals of the enlightenment, as several have noted.

Archbishop Francisco Javier Martínez supports this claim when he writes, in allusion to Alasdair MacIntyre: "Although surrounded by the halo

¹⁰Johnson, "What's Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 14-17, 26, and 38.

of neutrality and absolute validity that mark all that is 'scientific' in the encyclopedic and enlightened mentality, the methods of philological and historical study are fundamentally used as instruments in the service of that cultural project."¹¹ Likewise, as Johnson notes, the presuppositions inherited from the Reformation (*sola scriptura*), as well as from the Enlightenment, color and shape the methods used and hence the conclusions reached by scholars employing this method. Hence such biblical criticism is not theologically neutral, he asserts, nor are the methods and tools employed objective.¹² Rather, as noted above, there is, in fact, no such thing as disinterested scholarship in any field: "The reading of texts is always in substantial measure shaped by the premises and practices of a specific reading community."¹³

It is here that the work of current Pope Benedict XVI adds great insight to the crisis of biblical criticism. Pope Benedict XVI's views on

¹¹Francisco Javier Martínez, "Presentación," *Jesucristo, su persona y su obra, en la carta a los Hebreos: Lengua y cristología en Heb 2, 9-10; 5, 1-10; 4, 14 y 9, 27-28*, *Studia Semitica Novi Testamenti I*, by César Augusto Franco Martínez, 11-18 (Madrid: Editorial Ciudad Nueva, 1992), 9-10. My own translation from, "Los métodos del estudio filológico e histórico, aunque rodeados del halo de neutralidad y validez absoluta que enmarca todo lo «científico» en la mentalidad enciclopedista e ilustrada, son utilizados fundamentalmente como instrumentos al servicio de ese proyecto cultural." The allusion, I believe, is from, Alasdair MacInyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry: Encyclopaedia, Genealogy, and Tradition: Being Gifford Lectures Delivered in the University of Edinburgh in 1988* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990).

¹²Johnson, "What's Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 14-17, 26, and 38. Stanley Hauerwas likewise claims that, "literalist-fundamentalism and the critical approaches to the Bible are but two sides of the same coin...." See his, *Unleashing the Scripture: Freeing the Bible from Captivity to America* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), 17.

¹³Johnson, "What's Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 27.

biblical exegesis are similar to those of Rahner that began this chapter.¹⁴ Benedict has been and continues to be critical of contemporary biblical studies, which are even less theological as a whole today than when Rahner penned his exhortation. While still known to the world as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Benedict issued a clarion call in his article, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: On the Question of the Foundations and Approaches of Exegesis Today."¹⁵ This invited Catholic theologians and exegetes to remedy creatively this separation of the Bible from theology, especially since, in his estimation, a sole reliance upon the historical critical method has caused a crisis in faith.¹⁶

Benedict's work seems to indicate an appeal for a greater humility in modern biblical criticism. He calls for a "criticism of criticism," whereby critical thought focuses its finely shaped lens in order that it may analyze itself. In this statement reminiscent of the Neo-Marxist Frankfurt School's Critical Theory, popularized by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, Benedict points to an often overlooked aspect of this controversy,

¹⁴Joseph A. Komonchak, "The Church in Crisis: Pope Benedict's Theological Vision," *Commonweal* 132, no. 11 (3 June 2005) : 13.

¹⁵Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: On the Question of the Foundations and Approaches of Exegesis Today," in *Biblical Interpretation in Crisis: The Ratzinger Conference on Bible and Church*, ed. Richard John Neuhaus, 1-23 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1989). For a response to Benedict XVI's article, which attempts to adhere to his guidelines, see Gregory Vall, "Psalm 22: Vox Christi or Israelite Temple Liturgy?" *The Thomist* 66, no. 2 (April 2002) : 175-200. Also see Benedict's more recent article, Josef Cardinal Ratzinger, "Kirchliches Lehramt und Exegese. Reflexionen aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestehens der Päpstlichen Bibelkommission," *Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift: Communio* 32 (2003) : 522-529.

¹⁶Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *On the Way to Jesus Christ*, trans. Michael Miller (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005 [2004]), 9.

namely, "At its core, the debate about modern exegesis is not a dispute among historians: it is rather a philosophical debate."¹⁷ He thus tackles some of the philosophical issues involved, explaining how biblical studies, as with all studies, cannot operate without certain preconceived notions.¹⁸

Benedict proceeds to show that there are always philosophical issues involved in any form of historical, or even scientific, inquiry, which therefore necessitates a "self-criticism of the historical method." In demonstrating this, Benedict investigates the work of Rudolph Bultmann and Martin Dibelius, exposing their underlying philosophical claims.

¹⁷Idem, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis," 16. See also Ibid, 6. One of the criticisms Benedict levels is that historical criticism, all claims to the contrary aside, is not analogous to the natural sciences (6-7). Benedict explicitly makes use of Horkheimer's and Adorno's work in a number of places, e.g., Idem, *Turning Point for Europe?* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1994), 170-171, where the then Cardinal, explicitly following Horkheimer and Adorno, states that, "the total self-destruction of the Enlightenment" occurs "where the Enlightenment absolutizes itself and wishes to know only what is calculable and explicable but denies or relegates to the merely private sphere everything that is not readily at its disposal." The text upon which Benedict is relying is, Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*, 2nd ed., *Gesammelte Schriften* 3 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1984 [1944]). For an English translation, see, Idem, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, *Cultural Memory in the Present*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002 [1944]). On Benedict's appropriation of the Frankfurt School's Critical Theory, particularly Horkheimer's and Adorno's "dialectic of Enlightenment," see William L. Portier, "Mysticism and Politics and Integral Salvation: Two Approaches to Theology in a Suffering World," in *Pluralism and Oppression: Theology in World Perspective*, *The Annual Publication of the College Theology Society* Volume 34, ed. Paul F. Knitter, 255-278 (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1991), 260-262. Elsewhere, Portier spells out what critical theory's relationship might be to historical criticism: "the inner warrants of ideology critique require that the dominance of historical-critical method in biblical studies in the academic establishment be subjected to a searching hermeneutic of suspicion." See Idem, "Edward Schillebeeckx as Critical Theorist: The Impact of Neo-Marxist Social Thought on his Recent Theology," *The Thomist* 48, no. 3 (July 1984) : 366.

¹⁸Ratzinger, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis," 2-20. See also Edward L. Greenstein, "Biblical Studies in a State," in *State of Jewish Studies*, ed. Cohen and Greenstein, 37; and Idem, "Theory and Argument in Biblical Criticism," *Hebrew Annual Review* 10 (1987) : 77-92.

Although he views the historical critical method as an important form of biblical exegesis, Benedict argues, as did Johnson, that at its very foundation lies the assumption that such a method can achieve results as secure, as "objective," as the natural sciences.¹⁹ Benedict takes issue with this idea, explaining, first, that historical inquiry can never have the same precision as the natural sciences, and secondly, that there is a certain subjectivity even in the natural and so-called "hard" sciences, as the Heisenberg principle demonstrates.²⁰ What this means is that when one chooses to employ historical criticism as a tool it must be done with a

¹⁹Ratzinger, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis," 2-20. See his comments in Idem, "Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation: Origin and Background," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II Volume III: Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, and Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler, 155-166 (New York: Herder & Herder, 1969 [1968]), 158, where he acknowledges that the precise relationship between the historical critical method and the Church is unclear, even in *Dei Verbum*, with the exception of the fact that the historical critical method cannot be wholly ignored. Elsewhere, he writes that historical criticism is an important tool, despite its origins in the Enlightenment, but cautions, "In fact there is no such thing as a pure historical method; it is always carried on in a hermeneutical or philosophical context, even when people are not aware of it or expressly deny it." See, Idem, *Behold the Pierced One: An Approach to a Spiritual Christology*, trans. Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1986 [1984]), 43. Also see Idem, *God and the World: Believing and Living in Our Time: A Conversation with Peter Seewald*, trans. Henry Taylor (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002 [2000]), 203, 226, and 228.

²⁰Ratzinger, "Biblical Interpretation in Crisis," 2-20; and Idem, "Kirchliches Lehramt und Exegese," 524-528. In his analysis of Bultmann and Dibelius, Benedict relies heavily on a doctoral dissertation later published as, Reiner Blank, *Analyse und Kritik der formgeschichtlichen Arbeiten von Martin Dibelius und Rudolf Bultmann*, Bd. 16 der Theologischen Dissertationen (Basel: F. Reinhardt, 1981), which was defended at the University of Basel in 1978. On bias and subjectivity in the sciences, see R.C. Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology: The Doctrine of DNA* (New York: Harper, 1993); W. Curtis Banks, "The Theoretical and Methodological Crisis in the Africentric Conception," *Journal of Negro Education* 61, no. 3 (Summer 1992) : 262-272; and Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: Norton, 1981).

hermeneutic of faith rather than a hermeneutic of suspicion.²¹ Otherwise, the Bible remains dead, solely in the realm of long past history.²²

In short, what Benedict is calling for is the development of what he calls a "Method C" of biblical exegesis, described as follows:

You can call the patristic-medieval exegetical approach Method A. The historical-critical approach...is Method B. What I am calling for is not a return to Method A, but a development of a Method C, taking advantage of the strengths of both Method A and Method B, but cognizant of the shortcomings of both.²³

What Benedict reveals here is something that should be obvious: no human method of inquiry can ever be completely objective. Johnson takes this one step further by noting that the current study of the Bible, isolated from any theological or ecclesial concerns of the Church, is "not merely secular but often actively antireligious in character."²⁴ I will suggest in the next subsection that the political origins of the historical critical method further call into question its neutrality.

²¹Pope Benedict XVI, *A New Song for the Lord: Faith in Christ and Liturgy Today* (New York: Crossroad, 2005), 50; Idem, *Gospel, Catechesis, Catechism: Sidelights on The Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997 [1995]), 67-68; and Idem, *Eschatology* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 272.

²²Idem, *The Nature and Mission of Theology: Essays to Orient Theology in Today's Debates*, trans. Adrian Walker (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1995 [1993]), 65 and 95. See also the Pontifical Biblical Commission, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993), in *The Scripture Documents: An Anthology of Official Catholic Teachings*, ed. and trans. Dean P. Béchard, S.J., 244-317, with a foreword by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002), §§ 1A4-1A5, 1B, 11C1, and IV.

²³Benedict's conversation as cited in Paul T. Stallworth, "The Story of an Encounter," in *Biblical Interpretation in Crisis*, ed. Neuhaus, 107-108. See also Vall's discussion of this issue, as well as his proposal for what a "Method C" might look like, in "Psalm 22," 175-200.

²⁴Johnson, "What's Catholic About Catholic Biblical Scholarship," 14-17, 26, and 38.

**The Politics of Historical Criticism's Hegemony:
How "Enlightenment Biblical Criticism Became State Supported Biblical
Scholarship"²⁵**

Two of the pioneers of the historical critical method—Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza—are known to the world primarily as political theorists. Indeed, modern biblical criticism and modern politics come from the same place. Harvard's Jon Levenson proposes that "historical criticism is the form of biblical studies that corresponds to the classical liberal political ideal. It is the realization of the Enlightenment project in the realm

²⁵The quotation, with ellipsis removed, is taken from William R. Farmer, "State Interesse and Markan Primacy: 1870-1914," in *Biblical Studies and the Shifting of Paradigms, 1850-1914*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 192, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and William Farmer, 15-49 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 24. The criticisms in this subsection can be situated within the broader context of the diverse critiques of Modernity that have been leveled by scholars working in the fields of political science, theology, anthropology, and philosophy, particularly the following: Adam K. Webb, *Beyond the Global Culture War* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Peter M. Candler, Jr., *Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction, Or Reading Scripture Together on the Path to God* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2006); Gavin D'Costa, *Theology in the Public Square*; Damian Costello, *Black Elk: Colonialism and Lakota Catholicism* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2005); Francisco Javier Martínez, "'Beyond Secular Reason': Some Contemporary Challenges for the Life and Thought of the Church," *Communio* 31, no. 4 (2004) : 557-586; Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Idem, *Genealogies of Religion: Disciplines and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2003); William T. Cavanaugh, *Theopolitical Imagination* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2002); Stanley Hauerwas, *With the Grain of the Universe: The Church's Witness and Natural Theology: Being the Gifford Lectures Delivered at the University of St. Andrews in 2001* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2001); Brad J. Kallenberg, *Ethics as Grammar: Changing the Postmodern Subject* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); Catherine Pickstock, *After Writing: On the Liturgical Consummation of Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); David L. Schindler, *Heart of the World, Center of the Church: Communio Ecclesiology, Liberalism, and Liberation* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996); John Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990); Alasdair MacIntyre, *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry*; Idem, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988); Idem, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); and Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung*.

of biblical scholarship."²⁶ In this subsection, I will rely primarily upon Levenson and John Milbank in addition to others, as I suggest that the non-neutrality of modern biblical criticism is due to its political underpinnings. Among those who have commented on this connection is Scott Hahn, whose related critique will end this subsection.

Levenson is a Jewish scholar of the Bible, the ancient Near East, and the history of biblical interpretation, who has been an outspoken critic of historical criticism, particularly as regards its anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic political foundations. Levenson hence attacks historical criticism on this basis, contextualizing it within his general criticism of what he calls "liberalism."²⁷

²⁶Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 118.

²⁷E.g., Ibid; Idem, "The Perils of Engaged Scholarship," in *Jews, Christians, and the Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures*, ed. Alice Ogden Bellis and Joel S. Kaminsky, 239-246 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); Idem, "The Problem of Salad Bowl Religion," *First Things* 78 (December 1997) : 10-12; Idem, "The Universal Horizon of Biblical Particularism," in *The Bible and Ethnicity*, ed. Mark G. Brett, 143-169 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Idem, "Interpreting the Bible: Three Views," *First Things* 45 (August/September 1994) : 42-44; Idem, "The Bible: Unexamined Commitments of Criticism," *First Things* 39 (1992) : 24-33; Idem, "Theological Liberalism Aborting Itself," *Christian Century* 109, no. 5 (February 5-12, 1992) : 139, 141, 143, 145-147, and 149; Idem, "Theological Consensus or Historicist Evasion? Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies," in *Hebrew Bible or Old Testament? Studying the Bible in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. John J. Collins and Roger Brooks, 109-145 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990); Idem, "The Eighth Principle of Judaism and the Literary Simultaneity of Scripture," *Journal of Religion* 68 (1988) : 205-225; Idem, "Why Jews Are Not Interested in Biblical Theology," in *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Baruch A. Levine, and Ernest S. Frerichs, 281-307 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); and Idem, "The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism," in *The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Scriptures*, Semeia Studies, ed. R.E. Friedman and H.G.M. Williamson, 19-59 (Decatur, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987).

Levenson argues that rather than the result of careful scientific inquiry, many of the methodological principles guiding modern biblical criticism, such as the historical and source-critical methods, were actually the result of political forces, forces which he believes were driven, in part, by anti-Semitism. Levenson writes:

It is no coincidence that the early pioneers of biblical criticism—Hobbes, Spinoza, Richard Simon—lived in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. Through the famous formula *cuius regio, eius religio* (whoever's realm, his religion), the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which ended that war, established the superiority of the state over religion in fact and provided a hospitable climate for a theory to the same effect. By the end of the next century, a process of delegitimization of religious structures could be detected beneath many changes in both the Old World and the New. Churches were disestablished, the structures of Jewish communal autonomy abolished, and citizenship increasingly, if unevenly, defined in express disregard of the structures that had traditionally mediated between the individual and the state....[this] new arrangement...first [fully] emerged in the Enlightenment....historical criticism is the form of biblical studies that corresponds to the classical liberal political ideal. It is the realization of the Enlightenment project in the realm of biblical scholarship. Like citizens in the classical liberal state, scholars practicing historical criticism of the Bible are expected to eliminate or minimize their communal loyalties, to see them as legitimately operative only within associations that are private, nonscholarly, and altogether voluntary....the new arrangement...tends subtly to restrict the questions studied and the methods employed to those that permit the minimization of religious difference with relative facility....Those unwilling to pay the price are unable to participate in this type of study....Though some of its practitioners like to present it as philosophically and theologically neutral, historical criticism is not without assumptions of its own....historical criticism..."too is a tradition, with its own values and assumptions, derived in large part from the Enlightenment and western humanism." This concession is vastly more devastating to [John] Collins's argument than he seems to recognize, for the Enlightenment ethos to which he refers sought to replace tradition with reason and science and not simply to stand beside them as another option. When the legacy of the Enlightenment becomes just another *tradition*, it inevitably suffers the same deflation that Marxism suffers when it becomes another ideology. We are left with the discomfiting question: Why this tradition and not another? Why follow Troeltsch's three axioms...if they are not intrinsic to human rationality but themselves partake of historical and cultural particularity?...the secularity of historical

criticism represents not the suppression of commitment, but its relocation.²⁸

Levenson thus argues that it is appropriate for different religious communities—e.g., Jewish, Protestant, Orthodox, Catholic—to interpret the Bible theologically from within their respective theological traditions. Historical criticism is still warranted, but only if it assumes a more humble form.²⁹

John Milbank joins Levenson in criticizing the modern historical critical method for its political underpinnings, although Milbank does not relate this in terms of anti-Semitism. Milbank, rather, maintains that modern biblical criticism tends to limit the text to a single historical meaning, divorced from the Church and from theology. He notes that the stereotype of the Church during the patristic and medieval periods is that it was an oppressive institution which hindered biblical exegesis. Milbank, however, claims that the traditional exegesis fostered by the Church

²⁸Idem, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism*, 117-120 and 125. On the role of violence in the rise of the modern state and in the birth of modern politics, and especially on the importance of both for modern theology, see, e.g., William T. Cavanaugh, "Killing for the Telephone Company: Why the Nation-State is Not the Keeper of the Common Good," *Modern Theology* 20, no. 2 (April 2004) : 243-274; Idem, "'A Fire Strong Enough to Consume the House:' The Wars of Religion and the Rise of the State," *Modern Theology* 11, no. 4 (October 1995) : 397-420; James B. Collins, "State Building in Early-Modern Europe: The Case of France," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997) : 603-633; Bruce D. Porter, *War and the Rise of the State: The Military Foundations of Modern Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1994); Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169-191 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Idem, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*, ed. Charles Tilly, 3-83 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); and Samuel E. Finer, "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in *Formation of National States*, ed. Tilly, 84-163.

²⁹See, e.g., Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism*, xiv-xv, 10-15, 42-43, 75-76, 90-101, and 106-126.

allowed for a plenitude of meaning by relying on multiple "senses" of Scripture, including allegorical readings of Scripture which allowed for a fuller meaning in the biblical text. Milbank asserts that political theorists Hobbes and Spinoza (and others), as well as the Protestant Reformers prior to them, desired to do away with these allegorical interpretations, partly because they perceived the Catholic Church to benefit from such allegorical interpretation.³⁰

Milbank emphasizes that Hobbes and Spinoza went further than the Reformers, however, in that they wished to separate biblical exegesis from the Church altogether, relegating scriptural interpretation to the state sovereign. In Milbank's words, Hobbes sees the sovereign as a replacement for God, while Spinoza views the sovereign as a

³⁰More often than not, animosity towards the institution of the papacy was a driving force in curtailing allegory. See, e.g., A.J. Minnis, "Material Swords and Literal Lights: The Status of Allegory in William of Ockham's *Breviloquium* on Papal Power," in *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Scriptural Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, Barry D. Walfish, and Joseph W. Goering, 292-308 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). One of the main reasons the pope was such an issue in these debates, arguably had to do with the pope's status as a transnational authority, and therefore the pope was considered a threat to the sovereignty of temporal rulers. This has often been part of the background behind anti-Catholicism throughout history, particularly in viewing Catholicism and the papacy as contrary to notions of liberty. See the discussions in William L. Portier, "Church and State," in *Creative Fidelity: American Catholic Intellectual Traditions*, ed. R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, C.S.J., and William L. Portier, 137-155 (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004); Idem, "Church Unity and National Traditions: The Challenge to the Modern Papacy, 1682-1870," in *The Papacy and the Church in the United States*, ed. Bernard Cooke, 25-54 (New York: Paulist Press, 1989); John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: Norton, 2003); Raymond D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant Imagination: Nationalism, Religion, and Literature, 1660-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), esp. 305-320; Jenny Franchot, *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. 379-523 and 565-593.

replacement for the religious community's authority. Milbank concludes that Hobbes's and Spinoza's political philosophy determined the direction of their biblical philology, a point with which Levenson seems to concur in his work.³¹ Milbank and Levenson both claim that the most basic assumptions guiding modern biblical criticism, especially the assumption that such exegesis must be non-theological, were forged by early modern political theorists. It is hence difficult to imagine that modern biblical criticism could be completely objective, immune to such assumptions.

A number of other scholars have joined the ranks of Levenson and Milbank in questioning what they perceive as the hegemony of modern historical criticism, and what they argue to be its early modern and early Enlightenment foundations. In a passing criticism of Edward Schillebeeckx's use of historical criticism, William Portier writes:

³¹Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory*, 17-20. On the formative role of Hobbes and Spinoza for the advent of modern biblical criticism, see also, J. Samuel Preus, *Spinoza and the Irrelevance of Biblical Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Paul D. Cooke, *Hobbes and Christianity: Reassessing the Bible in Leviathan* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996); Richard H. Popkin, "Spinoza and Bible Scholarship," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology, and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, ed. James E. Force and Richard H. Popkin, 1-20 (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 1994); A.P. Martinich, *The Two Gods of Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes on Religion and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); R. David Freedman, "The Father of Modern Biblical Scholarship," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 19 (1989) : 31-38; Arrigo Pacchi, "Hobbes and Biblical Philology in the Service of the State," *Topoi* 7 (1988) : 231-239; Eugene Combs, "Spinoza's Method of Biblical Interpretation and His Political Philosophy," in *Modernity and Responsibility*, 7-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Peter C. Craigie, "Influence of Spinoza in the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament," *Evangelical Quarterly* 50 (January-March 1978) : 23-32; Sylvain Zac, *Spinoza et l'interprétation de l'Écriture* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965); and Idem, "Les avatars de l'interprétation de l'Écriture chez Spinoza," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 42, no. 1 (1962) : 17-37.

The pre-suppositions underlying much contemporary practice of historical-critical method in theology are an obvious vestige of the naïveté of early Enlightenment. Historical-critical method's integration into the liberal theological tradition and its continued dominance in the academy testify to the depth of modern theology's uncritical capitulation to the world.³²

Finally, Scott Hahn also joins Levenson and Milbank. Hahn believes that one of the chief limits of the historical critical method is its intimate relationship to modern politics.³³ Hahn writes that:

the actual circumstances in which...[the] tools [of historical criticism] were developed give us another and clearer understanding of what historical criticism is, because at root, historical criticism is grounded in a hermeneutic of suspicion—a basic distrust of tradition—and this was self-conscious on the part of those who developed the methods and of the early practitioners of them in Germany and in England and throughout the world.³⁴

Like Levenson and Milbank, Hahn finds the origin of historical criticism in the wake of the Thirty Years' War:

In many ways the historical-critical methods began to rise as a sophisticated but subtle rationalization of the state of affairs brought about by the disintegration of the Christian family that was once Christendom. Benedict [Baruch] Spinoza, a Jew excommunicated from the synagogue; Richard Simon, a priest expelled from the Oratorians; Thomas Hobbes, whose work was condemned by his fellow Protestants and the House of Commons—these three men were, for all practical purposes, the founding fathers of historical criticism....³⁵

Hahn further claims that, even now, well-established theories tied up with historical critical and source critical methods have politics driving

³²Portier, "Edward Schillebeeckx," 365-366. On page 365, Portier writes further that, "Western academic theology's commitment to historical-critical method has served over the years to drain from the scriptures their power to function religiously in the churches." See also Idem, "Schillebeeckx' Dialogue with Critical Theory," *The Ecumenist* 21, no. 2 (January-February 1983) : 25.

³³Scott Hahn, *Scripture Matters: Essays on Reading the Bible from the Heart of the Church*, with a foreword by Bishop Donald W. Wuerl (Steubenville, Ohio: Emmaus Road, 2003), 137-158. Hahn, along with his co-author Benjamin Wiker, is currently working on a book devoted to the political origins of modern biblical criticism.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 137.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 138.

their conclusions, since these conclusions presume an implicit politics in the text:

historical-critical methods are employed to find political motives behind the narrative text—for instance, when you divide up the Pentateuch into four sources (*J*, *E*, *D*, and *P*). *J*...supposedly was a tenth-century monarchist who supported the Davidic regime down south, in Judah; whereas *E*...was a representative of the Northern Kingdom, made up of the ten tribes that had revolted against the Davidic empire. The narrative stories in Genesis that seem to support the Davidic monarchy are ascribed to *J*, while the stories that would tend to support the revolutionary policies of the northern tribes that formed the Israelite kingdom are ascribed to *E*. Of course, the cultic, ritual, and sacrificial ceremonies are identified with the much later source *P*, since they represent the interests of the priestly editors who, after the Babylonian exile, took Jerusalem and built a theocracy under their own control with a priestly monopoly maintained by the very rituals that their rewritten Bibles now stipulated. (This is nothing but Realpolitik).³⁶

In addition to the now normative Documentary Hypothesis, Hahn attacks the equally well-established theory of Markan priority, believing it to have anti-Catholic origins:

the two-source theory—Markan priority—which a small minority had argued for unsuccessfully in the first half of the nineteenth century, suddenly began taking German scholarship by storm in the 1870s....[Part of the origins are in] the political circumstances surrounding the Kulturkampf, with the definition of papal infallibility in 1870 and Bismarck's reaction....measures...were administered to suppress Catholics in Germany...the German liberals were hailing Bismarck as a second Luther, especially in driving the Jesuits out and suppressing religious orders. At the time all theology professors were paid by the state, so the shortcut to promotion was by supporting a theory that undermined the proof text used by the papacy to justify its infallibility, Matthew 16:17-19. If Mark's Gospel is first, then the historical reliability of the famous Petrine primacy text is more easily attacked—indeed, scholars are denying its historicity, since it was politically correct to do so.³⁷

³⁶*Ibid.*, 140.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 141-142. On the anti-Catholic and political origins of the scholarly consensus of Markan priority, as well as the German state's influence over German universities, see the following sources, upon which Hahn relies: David Laird Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels*, Anchor Bible Reference Library (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 8, 326-329, and 338; Farmer, "State Interesse and Markan Priority," esp. 16-20, 16 n.

Though Hahn supplies the historical and political context for the Documentary Hypothesis and Markan priority in the quotations above, these connections do not necessitate their falsity. Nor does the political context necessarily mean that these hypotheses must be altogether abandoned. Knowledge of their political origins does, however, demonstrate the difficulty of maintaining that historical criticism is a purely neutral and objective method. While not reflecting an ecclesial "bias," it is no less partisan than traditional theological methods.

Spiritual Interpretation of the Bible

Up to this point, I have drawn attention to the generally unrecognized weaknesses of the historical critical method. Although acclaimed as an objective science, this method is not any more impartial than any other form of interpretation. Furthermore, in attempting to determine where its bias might lie, its political beginnings are striking. And yet, these remarks have been only supplementary in the sense that, regardless of the objectivity (or lack thereof) of the historical critical

4, 22, 24-40, 30 n. 31, and 32 n. 33; Christian Simon, "History As a Case-Study of the Relations Between University Professors and the State in Germany," in *Biblical Studies*, ed. Reventlow and Farmer, 168-196; Bo Reicke, "From Strauss to Holtzmann and Meijboom: Synoptic Theories Advanced During the Consolidation of Germany, 1830-1870," *Novum Testamentum* 19, no. 1 (1987) : 1-21; John E. Craig, *Scholarship and Nation Building: The University of Strasbourg and Alsation Society 1870-1939* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Konrad H. Jarausch, *Students, Society and Politics in Imperial Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); and C.E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany, 1700-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). It is interesting to note that it is only in the nineteenth century in Germany that Old Testament and New Testament studies become institutionally separated from each other. See Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word*, 38; and Martin Hengel, "Aufgaben der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft," *New Testament Studies* 40 (1994) : 324-327.

method, the estrangement of theology from biblical criticism remains. In other words, the objectivity of this method can be debated, but what cannot be debated is that the split between the Bible and theology is a relatively recent phenomenon. Whether or not the historical critical method caused this disjuncture is beyond the scope of this dissertation. But in attempting to bridge the gap between theology and biblical interpretation, it is clear that we cannot look to the historical critical method alone to solve this existing problem.

Historical criticism can be a valuable tool in biblical exegesis, but it cannot be the only means for interpretation. The tools that need to be retrieved, reclaimed, and restored are the spiritual interpretations of the Bible, which will be discussed under two subsections. In the first subsection I will consider the mysterious aspect of Scripture, which warrants its spiritual interpretation. The second subsection will describe the merits of traditional exegesis wherein reading the Scripture is reading Christ. In the section following these, I will consider Hahn as someone who engages in spiritual interpretation and traditional exegesis in such a way that the Bible and theology once again seem intrinsically unified.

"The Bible is Full of Mysteries"³⁸

"Gregory the Great, with midrash-like creativity, likened Scripture to a river both shallow and deep. Accordingly, it has sufficient shallowness to allow a lamb to wade, as well as enough depth to enable an elephant to swim."³⁹ William Thompson's description of Gregory the Great's image is difficult to envision when flipping through the pages of the leading international biblical journals today. While some scholars do appear to be wading or perhaps swimming in Scripture, many appear to be draining its river dry. In this subsection I suggest that the Bible is a text full of mysteries and hence by its very nature, the Bible requires interpretations that are additional to that of the historical critical method if it is to be read theologically.⁴⁰ In other words, the Bible must be read with a hermeneutic

³⁸Quotation taken from Henri de Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit: L'intelligence de l'Ecriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Aubier, 1950), 93. My own translation from, "La Bible est pleine de mystères."

³⁹William Thompson, *The Struggle or Theology's Soul: Contesting Scripture in Christology* (New York: Crossroad Herder, 1996), xi. See Thompson's entire book for reading Scripture theologically.

⁴⁰On the importance of the spiritual sense of Scripture, see, e.g., Ibid, 383, 397, and 405; Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," §§ IC2, IIB-IIB2, and IVA2; William Thompson-Uberuaga, "Balthasar's Biblical Impulse," *Josephinum Journal of Theology* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2006) : 102 and 104-106; Avery Cardinal Dulles, S.J., "Vatican II on the Interpretation of Scripture," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 20-21; Mary Healy, "Inspiration and Incarnation: The Christological Analogy and the Hermeneutics of Faith," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 31-36; Marcellino D'Ambrosio, "The Spiritual Sense in De Lubac's Hermeneutics of Tradition," *Letter & Spirit* 1 (2005) : 147-157; and Georges Chantraine, "Exegesis and Contemplation in the Work of Hans Urs von Balthasar," in *Hans Urs von Balthasar: His Life and Work*, ed. David L. Schindler (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1991), 135. Even Joseph Fitzmyer concedes that there is a place for a spiritual interpretation, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "The Senses of Scripture Today," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 62, no. 2-3 (1996-1997) : 101-117. On page 436 of de Lubac's *Histoire et Esprit*, de Lubac writes that we can "suitably remind the specialists that the Bible will never be their possession unlike so many other ancient documents." My own translation from, "rappelle opportunément aux spécialistes que la Bible ne sera jamais

of faith rather than a Cartesian hermeneutic of skepticism. Hence here I will describe the elements of a faithful use of the historical critical method. In particular, I will rely on the Pontifical Biblical Commission's (PBC) 1993 document, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," in order to discern how the historical critical method can help Christians to wade or swim in rather than drain the river of Scripture and its mysteries. Many scholars offer insight on this, and, among others, I will cite John Paul II, Benedict XVI, and Luke Timothy Johnson.

The 1993 PBC document entitled, "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," attempts to combine historical criticism with the Church's traditional manifold methods of interpretation, as well as other modern methods, such as narrative criticism.⁴¹ Contrary to conventional meanings of "exegesis," however, the PBC document uses that word in a more technical way. By "exegesis" the PBC "refers to integral interpretation, involving scholarly analysis *completed by an explanation of Scripture's meaning as the word of God for Christian faith.*"⁴²

leur bien comme sont leur bien tant d'autres documents antiques." Compare with the words of Pope Paul VI, who notes that the Scriptures have been entrusted to the Church and not to scholars, Pope Paul VI, *Sedula Cura* (1971), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, 147.

⁴¹Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church." This PBC document was composed for the 100 year anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus* and the 50th anniversary of *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. See Pope John Paul II, "Address on the Interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, § 2.

⁴²Peter S. Williamson, "Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 65 (2003) : 329 (emphasis added).

Peter Williamson, who has written two critical studies of the PBC document, argues that the document's third chapter, entitled, "Characteristics of Catholic Interpretation," is the hermeneutical key for understanding the entire document.⁴³ As with previous Church documents, the PBC document here affirms that the Bible is written both by God and by humans. Historical criticism is valuable, then, in understanding the human aspects of Scripture, and yet more is needed. Williamson explains the need for various methods thus: "Just as the fact that the Scripture comes to us in 'human language' requires that it be interpreted in the light of history, literary analysis and other sciences, so also the fact that the Bible is the word of God requires that it be interpreted 'theologically', by principles and methods suited to the understanding of divine revelation."⁴⁴ As can be seen here, the PBC document does stress the literal interpretation of Scripture, but it also emphasizes the importance of spiritual interpretations based on the literal.⁴⁵

Hence the document cautions against the historical critical method having a monopoly on the methods used in exegesis. As mentioned earlier, the historical critical method is considered to be scientific vis-à-vis

⁴³Ibid, 330 n. 9.

⁴⁴Idem, *Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture: A Study of the Pontifical Biblical Commission's The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, with a preface by Albert Vanhoye, S.J. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2001), 91.

⁴⁵Ibid, 163-188 (for the document's comments on the importance of literal interpretations) and 189-203 and 330 (for the document's comments on the importance of spiritual interpretations).

other methods. Here in the PBC document, however, the words "science" and "scientific" are understood much more broadly than the words are comprehended in English. The PBC document refers to "science" as "any systematic and critical discipline of human knowledge." In fact, "science" and "scientific," in this document is more akin to "scholarship" or "scholarly," and hence these terms do not put more weight on any method that claims to be scientific, but recognizes various methods of interpretation as scholarly work.⁴⁶

In any Catholic interpretation of Scripture, faith is an important factor, according to Benedict XVI and the PBC document. In particular, Catholics must seek to challenge their presuppositions on the weakness of faith's knowledge in contrast to reason. Benedict writes that it is Gnostic to think that faith knows nothing that pertains to history. Rather faith is a form of knowing.⁴⁷ Thoughts similar to Benedict's are found in the works of Archbishop Francisco Javier Martínez, who writes:

⁴⁶Idem, "Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture," 332-333; and Idem, *Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture*, 21-22 and 30. Compare this discussion of the meaning of "science" with Novick's discussion of the meaning of the German word, "Wissenschaft." Novick writes that, "On the denotative level, in German usage, any organized body of information is referred to as *eine Wissenschaft*...; the collective activity of scholars in gathering and interpreting information is *die Wissenschaft*....*Die Wissenschaft* means 'scholarship' or 'learning,' rarely 'science'; *eine Wissenschaft* simply means a 'discipline.'...The connotations of the word were rooted in the idealist philosophical tradition within which it developed. *Wissenschaft* signified a dedicated, sanctified pursuit. It implied not just knowledge, but self-fulfillment; not practical knowledge, but knowledge of ultimate meanings." See Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 24. On page 25 he mentions the likelihood that "late-nineteenth-century American historians" translated "Wissenschaft" simply as "science."

⁴⁷Ratzinger, "Kirchliches Lehramt und Exegese," 528-529.

the Christian faith, as it is expressed in the New Testament and in the Tradition of the Church, is perfectly capable of stimulating the assent of reason, on the condition that one understands by reason, not the merely instrumental reason and the measure of all things, but the opening to the mystery of the real.⁴⁸

Not only does reason not have to conflict with faith, but faith's perspective is important in a Catholic interpretation of Scripture.

Prayer is another important element that must be involved in using the historical critical method and other methods in a faithful manner. Pope John Paul II's preface to the PBC document emphasizes the importance of prayer for the study of Scripture. The late pope argues that scientific exegesis must be "sustained by a vigorous spiritual life," and therefore prayer is a necessary accompaniment, especially since the goal must be to help believers have a personal relationship with God.⁴⁹ Prayer allows the interpreter to read Scripture theologically and with humility. This seems to be what Nicholas Lash has in mind when, reflecting on contemporary biblical studies, he writes, "In the self-assured world of modernity, people seek to make sense of the Scriptures, instead of hoping, with the aid of Scripture, to make sense of themselves."⁵⁰

⁴⁸Martínez, "Presentación," 11. My own translation from, "la fe cristiana, tal y como se expresa en el Nuevo Testamento y en la Tradición de la Iglesia, es perfectamente capaz de provocar el asentimiento de la razón, a condición de que se entienda por razón, no la razón meramente instrumental y la medida de todas las cosas, sino la apertura al misterio de lo real." See also page 12.

⁴⁹John Paul II, "Address on the Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," § 9. See also §§ 6 and 11.

⁵⁰Nicholas Lash, *The Beginning and End of "Religion"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 147-148.

Lastly, the Church in all its richness provides a context for using the historical critical method and other methods faithfully. The fullness of the Catholic faith should inform Catholic exegesis, and this aids the interpretation to be theological. In fact, according to the PBC, "the church is not an inferior context for discovering the genuine meaning of Scripture, but is rather the privileged context for understanding it, since Scripture and the church are intrinsically linked."⁵¹ It is within this context of the Church that Scott Hahn now situates himself and his biblical interpretation.

Like his cohorts in the Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible series, Hahn does not believe one must prescind from doctrine and faith commitments in order to engage in scriptural exegesis (as opposed to eisegesis). Rather, faith and doctrine are the proper starting points of a theological reading of the Bible, as the series editor R.R. Reno explains:

The Bible is vast, heterogeneous, full of confusing passages and obscure words, and difficult to understand. Only a fool would imagine that he or she could work out solutions alone. The way forward must rely upon a tradition of reading....we...need...disciplines of vision....our attention and judgment need to be trained, especially as we seek to read Scripture as the living word of God....We need training and instruction in order to cleanse our minds....method is a discipline of vision and judgment....dogma clarifies rather than obscures....Doctrine, then, is not a moldering scrim of antique prejudice obscuring the meaning of the Bible. It is a crucial aspect of divine pedagogy, a clarifying agent for our minds fogged by self-deceptions, a challenge to our languid intellectual apathy that will too often rest in false truisms and the easy spiritual nostrums of the

⁵¹Williamson, "Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture," 334, 337-338, 342, and 344 n. 23; and Idem, *Catholic Principles for Interpreting Scripture*, 24, 57, 83, 97, 100, 106, 124, 126, and 226.

present age rather than search more deeply and widely for the dispersed keys to the many doors of Scripture.⁵²

John Paul II states that the very purpose of Bible scholarship is for "opening up to the Christian faithful the springs of living water contained in the Scriptures."⁵³ When biblical scholars are able to use the historical critical method and other methods with a prayerful hermeneutic of faith within the context of the Church, they are able to make the water of Scripture once again available for wading by the lamb and swimming by the elephant. Intertwined with this endeavor is recovering traditional exegesis, as will be discussed next.

Reading Scripture, Reading Christ: Wilken's Account of Traditional Exegesis

Notre Dame's John Cavadini, in discussing the merits of patristic and medieval exegesis, laments the fact that many modern scholars deride such exegesis as "precritical." He explains that such traditional exegesis is:

a style of exegesis that, despite the work of scholars as diverse as Henri de Lubac and Hans Frei, is still often styled "precritical," an expression that actually implies "uncritical," "unsophisticated," and even "wrong." Ultimately the phrase "precritical exegesis" presents itself as a kind of oxymoron since it suggests that the various methods of ancient exegesis, including allegory and typology, are all finally forms not of exegesis but of eisegesis....Without denying and indeed strongly affirming the gains in interpretation made by historico-critical methods of interpretation, there is no need to cast

⁵²Reno, Series Preface, 12-15.

⁵³Pope John Paul II, "Address to the Members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission on the Biblical Sciences and the Teaching Office of the Church" (1979), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, § 2.

ancient and medieval exegesis collectively as their "precritical" shadow....Ancient exegesis...is "differently critical"...not uncritical.⁵⁴

While the previous subsection described ways to make the historical critical method theological, this subsection will urge a recovery of traditional forms of exegesis in addition to the historical critical method. Such a recovery would further aid in reuniting theology and the Bible as reading Scripture once again denotes reading Christ. In this subsection I will rely primarily upon the work of Robert Louis Wilken of the University of Virginia, who, along with Luke Timothy Johnson and others, wishes to appropriate patristic and medieval exegetical methods to assist in this retrieval of a theological reading of the Bible.⁵⁵

⁵⁴John C. Cavadini, "Exegetical Transformations: The Sacrifice of Isaac in Philo, Origen, and Ambrose," in *In Dominico Eloquentia: In Lordly Eloquence: Essays on Patristic Exegesis in Honor of Robert Louis Wilken*, ed. Paul M. Blowers, Angela Russell Christman, David G. Hunter, and Robin Darling Young, 35-49 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2002), 47-48.

⁵⁵In addition to Johnson and Wilken on this issue, see, e.g., Ignace de la Potterie, "The Spiritual Sense of Scripture," *Communio* 23 (Winter 1996) : 738-756; Peter J. Casarella and Robin Darling Young, "Spirit and History: The Intelligence of Scripture," *Communio* 24 (Winter 1997) : 843-845; Brevard S. Childs, "On Reclaiming the Bible for Christian Theology," in *Reclaiming the Bible for the Church*, ed. Braaten and Jenson, 1-17; Brian E. Daley, S.J., "Is Patristic Exegesis Still Usable?: Reflections on Early Christian Interpretation of the Psalms," *Communio* 29 (Spring 2002) : 185-216; Karl P. Donfried, "Alien Hermeneutics and the Misappropriation of Scripture," in *Reclaiming the Bible for the Church*, ed. Braaten and Jenson, 19-45; Denis Farkasfalvy, "A Heritage in Search of Heirs: The Future of Ancient Christian Exegesis," *Communio* 25 (Fall 1998) : 505-519; Robert W. Jenson, "Hermeneutics and the Life of the Church," in *Reclaiming the Bible for the Church*, ed. Braaten and Jenson, 89-105; Charles Kannengiesser, "A Key for the Future of Patristics: The 'Senses' of Scripture," in *In Dominico Eloquentia*, ed. Blowers, Christman, Hunter, and Young, 90-106; Jody L. Vaccaro, "Digging for Buried Treasure: Origen's Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture," *Communio* 25 (Winter 1998) : 757-775; and William L. Portier, "Response to William M. Thompson, 'Balthasar's Biblical Impulse,'" unpublished paper presented at the Conference on Theology and the Academy: The Achievement of Hans Urs von Balthasar, Allentown, PA, August 22, 1998. On the importance of reclaiming patristic exegesis, see also, Pope Benedict XVI, *Images of Hope: Meditations on Major Feasts*, trans. John Rock and Graham Harrison (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006 [1997]), 34; Idem, *Principles of Catholic Theology: Building Stones for a Fundamental Theology*, trans. Sister Mary Frances McCarthy, S.N.D. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987 [1982]),

Johnson's inspiration for rediscovering traditional patristic and medieval exegesis comes from the pronounced difficulty of finding biblical scholars who display theological depth. Johnson also notes that it is difficult to find any biblical scholar today who is a scholar of the entire Bible.⁵⁶ This is in marked contrast to Christianity's past where theologians were Bible scholars and Bible scholars were theologians. Wilken explains that in the patristic and medieval periods, "biblical exegesis was not a specialized discipline carried on independently of theology; it was theology."⁵⁷

Hence Wilken has been another vocal proponent of the recovery of patristic and medieval biblical exegesis.⁵⁸ Wilken explains the important

134-137, 145, and 147; and Idem, *The Theology of History in St. Bonaventure* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1971), 204 n. 10. The Church's ecumenical councils also support such a retrieval, e.g., the Council of Trent, Session 4 (8 April 1546), 2nd Decree; the First Vatican Council, *Dei Filius*, § 2; and the Second Vatican Council, *Dei Verbum*, § 8.

⁵⁶Luke Timothy Johnson, "Rejoining a Long Conversation," in *Future of Catholic Biblical Scholarship*, by Johnson and Kurz, 35-63. Johnson is joined here by David Steinmetz as well, "Superiority of Pre-Critical Exegesis," 27-38.

⁵⁷Robert Louis Wilken, foreword to *Medieval Exegesis Volume I: The Four Senses of Scripture*, by Henri de Lubac, S.J., trans. Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1998 [1959]), X.

⁵⁸E.g., Idem, "In Defense of Allegory," *Modern Theology* 14, no. 2 (April 1998) : 197-212; Idem, "Interpreting the New Testament," *Pro Ecclesia* 14, no. 1 (Winter 2005) : 15-25; Idem, "Allegory and the Interpretation of the Old Testament," 11-21; Idem, "Cyril of Alexandria, Biblical Exegete," in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity Volume II*, by Charles Kannengiesser, 840-869 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Idem, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought: Seeking the Face of God* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), esp. xvii, 43-45, 50-79, and 312-321; Idem, "Interpreting Job Allegorically: The *Moralia* of Gregory the Great," *Pro Ecclesia* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2001) : 213-226; Idem, "Wilken's Response to Hays," *Communio* 25 (Fall 1998) : 529-531; Idem, foreword to *Medieval Exegesis Volume I*; Idem, "In Dominico Eloquentia: Learning the Lord's Style of Language," *Communio* 24 (Winter 1997) : 846-866; Idem, "Interpreting the Bible: Three Views," *First Things* 45 (August-September 1994) : 44-46; Idem, "Another Look at the 'Spiritual Interpretation' of the Bible," *Una Sancta* 22 (1965) : 33-37; and Idem, "'Bread from Both Tables': Scripture and Tradition in the 21st Century Church," paper presentation at the Letter & Spirit Conference, Saturday, December 10, 2005.

role Jesus played as a key to understanding early Christian biblical interpretation: "The Bible's unity came from Christ; without Christ it was not possible to see Leviticus and Proverbs and Ezekiel and Mark and Acts and 1 John as part of a single narrative."⁵⁹ The norm for interpretation for Christians reading the Bible was the hermeneutical key of Christ himself. Wilken maintains that Christians must recover the unity of the Bible with Christ as the key if they want to read the Bible theologically.

Wilken notes that the Bible for early Christians was preeminently the Church's book, and therefore was interpreted in the light of the Church's faith and lived experience, as well as the creeds, practices, and especially the liturgy. The world depicted in the Bible was viewed as the real world for the church fathers, and "Thinking took place through exegesis, and the language of the Bible became the language of Christian thought."⁶⁰ Wilken maintains that this allowed the early church fathers to read Scripture in multiple ways, including the literal sense, typology, a tropological (moral) sense, and anagogical interpretation.

The allegorical or spiritual interpretation of Scripture proliferated in the early church, especially in Alexandria, where the fathers borrowed from Philo and other Hellenistic interpreters. Such allegory found its paradigm in the Bible, however, especially in Gal. 4:21-24 and 1 Cor. 10

⁵⁹Idem, "In Dominico Eloquentia," 862.

⁶⁰Idem, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought*, 77. See also Idem, "In Dominico Eloquentia," 863 and 865.

and was always guided by the rule of faith. The apostle Paul taught the early Church how to use the allegorical method, which, as noted above, was always Christological. Above all, the Bible was read canonically, even though, before the end of the fourth century the canon was not firmly fixed. The Scripture portions read in the liturgy were to be interpreted as a whole, in light of each other.⁶¹ Wilken concludes that:

any effort to mount an interpretation of the Bible that ignores its first readers is doomed to end up with a bouquet of fragments that are neither the book of the church nor the imaginative wellspring of Western literature, art, and music. Uprooted from the soil that feeds them, they are like cut flowers whose vivid colors have faded.⁶²

Wilken suggests that a recovery of patristic and medieval exegesis will have to take the liturgical context of Scripture seriously. He uses the examples of Easter Vigil and the Christmas Midnight Liturgy to demonstrate the typological hermeneutics that such a liturgy helps construct and foster. He further explains, discussing the Mass and the Divine Office, that the Mass lectionary is itself a form of biblical interpretation in that the texts chosen for any particular day direct, implicitly, the faithfuls' hearts and minds in order "to understand biblical persons, events, words and images within the context of the Church's life."⁶³ Wilken further explains:

Allegory resists the tyranny of historicism and invites us to see things as they are, not as we imagine them to have been centuries ago. This is one reason for the formative power of the liturgy on interpretation. The Church at prayer spans the great divide

⁶¹Idem, "In Defense of Allegory," 200-201, 203, and 206.

⁶²Idem, *The Spirit of Early Christian Thought*, xvii.

⁶³Idem, "In Dominico Eloquentia," 849; and Idem, "Bread from Both Tables."

separating what the text *meant* from what it *means*. Allegory is about what has come to be, the accommodation that is inevitable because of what happened in Christ, in the Church, and what continues to unfold.⁶⁴

Wilken's understanding of the significance of liturgy for interpreting Scripture is shared by Scott Hahn, who can be seen as combining the many elements of this last section. When using the historical critical method, Hahn does so with a hermeneutic of faith and within the context of the Church. Hahn employs various other forms of interpretation as well, however, including traditional patristic and medieval exegesis. Hahn hence represents a unique site where all of these methods interact and where Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic interpretations meet.

III. How Hahn's Exegesis Promises to Help Surmount the Impasse

Before moving on to discuss Hahn as a help in surmounting the impasse, let us recapitulate the problem identified in the beginning of this chapter. R.R. Reno captures it well when he writes:

Theological work continues. Sermons are preached. Biblical scholars turn out monographs. Church leaders have meetings. But each dimension of a formerly unified Christian practice now tends to function independently....Theology has lost its competence in exegesis. Scripture scholars function with minimal theological training. Each decade finds new theories of preaching to cover the nakedness of seminary training that provides theology without exegesis and exegesis without theology.⁶⁵

In the current academic situation where the Bible is estranged from theology, and vice-versa, a work such as Hahn's can facilitate a reunification of the two, making it possible once more to read the Bible

⁶⁴Idem, "Allegory and the Interpretation of the Old Testament," 18.

⁶⁵Reno, preface to *Acts*, 15.

theologically in an academic context. In line with Johnson's and Wilken's criticisms of historical criticism, and their desire to recover patristic and medieval exegesis—partly inspired by Henri de Lubac's *Exégèse médiévale*—Hahn likewise wishes Catholic biblical exegesis to appropriate multiple senses of Scripture. As with Wilken, Hahn believes that the liturgy specifically provides an important context for biblical interpretation, and thus he is convinced that his own call for a liturgical hermeneutic will help in this project to read the Bible theologically. This section will include three subsections. The first will treat Hahn's understanding of how historical criticism can be used theologically and hence beneficially. The second will discuss the merit of other interpretive strategies in Hahn's work, particularly this liturgical hermeneutic. The third will discuss problematic aspects that, despite Hahn's promise, remain in truly claiming Hahn's hermeneutics as the bridge to the gap between the Bible and theology.

Using the Historical Critical Method Faithfully

In an above section, I discussed how the historical critical method could, according to the PBC and others, be used faithfully. Here I will delve into greater detail on this topic, particularly as concerns Hahn's intentions in his own use of the historical critical method. At the outset, it should be clear that Hahn recognizes historical criticism as important yet

with a history and use fraught with dangers. Hahn agrees with Ephraim

Radner when the latter writes:

most practitioners of the historical-critical study of the Scriptures, since the seventeenth century, have used their studies apologetically as a primary means of commending a vision of Christian truth—they have been believing Christians, however idiosyncratic, or if not quite Christian, they have been apologists for a kind of religiosity that might at least embrace Christianity.⁶⁶

It is this risk of using the historical method to present a watered down view of Christianity that is devoid of the supernatural element that most worries Hahn.

Hahn, however, does not wish to abolish historical criticism. He agrees with John Paul II on this point, as well as with Benedict XVI, Rahner, Levenson, et al, in their discussions above; the historical critical method is essential for contemporary Catholic biblical exegesis.⁶⁷ It can be used by theology, but historical criticism is not by itself theological. It is *extra-theological*. Hence it is theologically possible and theologically prudent to use the historical critical method, precisely for theological reasons: the Bible was written by humans as well as inspired by God. This is why Vatican II advocated using the historical critical method in *Dei Verbum* § 12.

Theology must use historical criticism with due caution. Like Benedict XVI, Hahn wishes to see the development of a "criticism of

⁶⁶Ephraim Radner, *Hope Among the Fragments: The Broken Church and Its Engagement of Scripture* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Brazos Press, 2004), 164.

⁶⁷*Dei Verbum* § 12; Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," §§ 1A, 1A2-1A4; John Paul II, "Address on the Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," § 7; Idem, "Address to the Members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission on the Nature of Catholic Interpretation of the Bible" (1991), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, §§ 3-4.

criticism." And in his own work, Hahn guards against the hazards of historical criticism by incorporating it within a larger theological framework. He explains his view vis-à-vis a canonical reading thus

While historical-critical methods identify distinctive sources and/or traditions...canonical criticism must then re-interpret these variations according to their place within the text in its final narrative form....The historical critic may be likened to a tailor who turns the (literary) garment inside out in order to work on the seams; while the canonical critic must turn the garment "right side out" and examine those seams in the light of its overall design and fit.⁶⁸

These comments are instructive for Hahn's overall perspective. Though Hahn uses historical criticism, it is theology that determines his interpretation; he incorporates both a synchronic approach and a diachronic approach.⁶⁹ This means that Hahn studies the Bible both as it is now in the present as well as within its historical context. In his words, "our canonical interpretation of biblical texts are illuminated by historical critical insights; but illumination is not the same as domination."⁷⁰

This understanding of historical criticism as illumination rather than domination represents one of the most beneficial insights pertaining to Hahn's use of historical criticism. Hahn is aware that for historical criticism to be critical it must be self-critical, and with this knowledge he is able to ascertain various insights from the historical critical method. Arguably the

⁶⁸Scott Walker Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant: A Biblical Theological Study of Covenant Types and Texts in the Old and New Testaments," (Ph.D. Diss., Marquette University, 1995), 107 n. 143.

⁶⁹On the importance of integrating the diachronic with the synchronic, see John Paul II, "Address on the Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," § 14; and Pope Paul VI, "Address to the Members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission on the Ecclesial Role of Biblical Studies" (1974), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, § 3.

⁷⁰Hahn, "Kinship By Covenant," 10. See also page 11.

most important insight historical criticism has provided has been the appreciation of Jesus' Jewish background and the Jewish roots of Christianity, as John Cavadini suggests when he writes: "Surely one of the most enduring fruits of historico-critical examination of the Bible is a deeper awareness of the 'Jewishness' of Jesus and of what it meant to be a Jew in the sectarian environment of the first centuries before and after the birth of Christ."⁷¹ Recalling Hahn's arguments regarding the four-cup structure of the Passover seder and the two calendars in use at the time of Jesus discussed earlier in this dissertation, it is clear that Hahn could not do his theological work without this crucial illumination of historical critical insights. Though these are only two examples, they give some indication of Hahn's dependence upon the historical critical method in his interpretation.

Moving On: The Liturgical Hermeneutic

In order to read Scripture as Scripture, however, the reader must move beyond the merely historical level, and here Hahn provides further insight. While narrative criticism can be useful in addition to the historical critical method, for Christians, a version of Hahn's canonical reading based on the work of Brevard Childs can be even more constructive. Reading the Bible as a unified spiritual whole enables Christians to take

⁷¹John C. Cavadini, "The Use of Scripture in the Catechism of the Catholic Church," *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006) : 50. See also Bockmuehl, *Seeing the Word*, 200-201. I initially drew this conclusion before reading Cavadini's article or Bockmuehl's book.

the canon seriously.⁷² Additionally, a Christological focus provided by the Church's traditional manifold senses of Scripture viewed through the lenses of a canonical interpretation can aid a Christian theological reading of Scripture.⁷³ The above is, in fact, what the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* recommends (§§ 109-119).⁷⁴ Hahn blends various hermeneutical methods of Scripture, as I have shown in chapters 1, 2, and 5 of this dissertation. And yet, what is increasingly Hahn's most important interpretive strategy is his liturgical hermeneutic, which provides further hope of bridging the gap between the Bible and theology.

Anthropologist Talal Asad, reflecting on how the Bible was read in antiquity, observes that:

the divine word, both spoken and written, was necessarily also material. As such, the inspired words were the object of a particular person's reverence, the means of his or her practical devotions at particular times and places. The body, taught over time to listen, to recite, to move, to be still, to be silent, engaged with the acoustics of words, with their sound, feel, and look. Practice at devotions deepened the inscription of sound, look, and feel in his sensorium....The proper reading of the scriptures that enabled her

⁷²On the central importance of a canonical reading see, e.g., Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," § 1C1; and Dulles, "Vatican II on the Interpretation of Scripture," 21 n. 13.

⁷³Although, of course, one may gain spiritual insight from some passages without an explicit reference to Christ.

⁷⁴*Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994). Here the *Catechism* states that interpreters must pay attention to both the human and divine elements of Scripture (§§ 109-111). The Bible must also be read canonically: "Different as the books which comprise it may be, Scripture is a unity by reason of the unity of God's plan, of which Christ Jesus is the center and heart, open since his Passover" (§ 112). The Bible must also be read within the living Tradition of the Church and by the analogy of faith (§§ 113-114). The *Catechism* then emphasizes the importance of the two senses of Scripture, and of the three types of spiritual senses (§§ 115-118). The Magisterium is finally an important guide for Catholic exegesis (§ 119). For an analysis of the *Catechism's* use of Scripture, including its appropriation of both insights from the historical critical method and traditional forms of exegesis, see Cavadini, "The Use of Scripture in the Catechism," 43-54.

to hear divinity speak depended on disciplining the senses (especially hearing, speech, and sight).⁷⁵

Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic is based on an outlook similar to that represented by Asad's comments above. By incorporating all of the senses, the liturgy helps provide a multi-textured approach to biblical interpretation for those who actively participate in the Church's liturgical celebrations, and this enhances a theological reading of Scripture. As Benedict XVI wrote before becoming a cardinal, "The reading of Scripture...reaches its highest point when the Church listens to the word of God in common in the sacred liturgy and within this framework itself experiences the active presence of the Logos, the Word in the words."⁷⁶

Taking Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic seriously allows for a theological reading of the Bible.⁷⁷ With this understanding, the Bible does

⁷⁵Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, 37-38.

⁷⁶Joseph Ratzinger, "Sacred Scripture in the Life of the Church," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Vorgrimler, 271. See also *Dei Verbum* §§ 21 and 23. In § 21 *Dei Verbum* explains that Scripture is revered "most especially in the sacred liturgy." My own translation from, "maxime in sacra liturgia." In § 23 *Dei Verbum* highlights the importance of actually studying liturgy along with studying Scripture. In § 25 *Dei Verbum* underscores the necessity of prayer for Scripture study. On the importance of the liturgy for encountering and understanding Scripture, also see Pope John Paul II, "Address Commemorating the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of *Dei Verbum*," (1990), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, § 4; Idem, *Scripturarum Thesaurus* (1979), in *Scripture Documents*, ed. Béchard, § 1; Scott W. Hahn, "The Mystery Unveiled: The Nuptial Meaning the Temple," paper presentation at the Letter & Spirit Conference, Friday, October 27, 2006; Idem, "The Liturgical Hermeneutic: Reading the Bible from the Heart of the Church," paper presentation at the Letter & Spirit Conference, Friday, December 9, 2005; Wilken, "Bread from Both Tables,"; Fr. John S. Custer, "Holiness, the Kingdom of God, and the Liturgy," paper presentation at the Letter & Spirit Conference, Saturday, December 10, 2005; William Wright, "The Christological and Liturgical Significance of Psalm 69," paper presentation at the Letter & Spirit Conference, Saturday, December 10, 2005; and David W. Fagerberg, "Divine Liturgy, Divine Love," paper presentation at the Letter & Spirit Conference, Saturday, October 28, 2006.

⁷⁷On the importance of the liturgy for biblical interpretation, see, e.g., Pontifical Biblical Commission, "Interpretation of the Bible in the Church," §§ IIIB3 and IVC1.

not appear as a dust-filled collection of ancient historical documents from a long dead past, but rather as a living Word for today. And yet, those truths revealed to us are not primarily an explanation of the events we find in the daily newspaper, nor is the Bible meant solely to be read in dialogue with the daily media, correlating biblical passages with current events. Contemporary news coverage is not the primary context for reading the Bible, but rather the liturgy is the proper context in which to read, pray, and live Scripture. The liturgy reveals to us truths about our present and ourselves in a way much more profound by providing the perspective of the living Church, united geographically as well as through the ages in its harmonization of Scriptural texts.

Denys Turner lends perspective in understanding this as he describes the important role the liturgy played in monastic biblical interpretation of the Song of Songs:

The monk's normal exposure to the Song was going to come through the liturgy in the first instance, not through personal reading or study. That liturgical context imposed its own primary hermeneutic on the Song. For there, in the Office or Mass text, readings from the Song were set alongside others, not only from the Old Testament but also from the New....⁷⁸

One does not have to be living in a medieval monastery to benefit from this juxtaposition of Scriptural texts, however, as Turner notes: "Even today, in a Sunday eucharistic liturgy, the placing of readings from the Old and New Testaments in immediate succession within the Liturgy of the Word

⁷⁸Denys Turner, *Eros and Allegory: Medieval Exegesis of the Song of Songs*, with a foreword by Bernard McGinn (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1995), 162.

has the effect of provoking the reading of one in terms of the other in a manner which would have been familiar, through daily practice, to the mediaeval monk."⁷⁹

Wilken's outlook is similar as he challenges the normative view of Scripture study taking place in a university office or classroom. Wilken explains: "So accustomed are we to think of the locus of interpretation as the scholar's study that we forget that liturgy is the most pervasive and enduring setting for interpretation. Even in the solitude of study early Christian interpreters were never far removed from the Church's worship."⁸⁰

Hahn's ideal for and, indeed, practice of reading Scripture reflects the views of both Turner and Wilken. In commenting on *Dei Verbum*, Hahn reflects how the document, "provides a golden setting for the jewel of the Scriptures when it speaks about Tradition. What comes across most clearly is the fact that Tradition is alive....Tradition possess[es] its greatest vitality....[in] the liturgy, where the Scriptures are proclaimed each day."⁸¹ Hence by interpreting Scripture in light of how passages are liturgically juxtaposed, we can read Scripture theologically, that is, as it relates to the

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Wilken, "Allegory and the Interpretation of the Old Testament," 15.

⁸¹Scott Hahn, "Vatican II, 40 Years Later: 'Dei Verbum,'" Zenit Interview with Scott Hahn, Zenit.org, May 27, 2003, accessed online at: http://www.catholic.org/international/international_story.php?id=3793, accessed on July 6, 2006.

liturgical calendar and to the lives of individual believers and the Church proper.

Of course, the liturgical hermeneutic is not meant to limit scriptural interpretation solely to the liturgy, but such an interpretation would provide one crucial way of reading the Bible theologically. Take for example, Psalm 31:5—"Into your hands I commit [commend] my spirit."⁸² It is difficult for Christians to read Psalm 31:5 without thinking about Jesus' crucifixion, not merely because these words to that psalm are placed in Jesus' mouth in the Gospels, but rather also because the liturgy sets these texts together during Holy Week. Additionally, this psalm finds a place in compline, the night prayer of the Church, making the connection between nightly sleep and the sleep of death, and in both, commending one's spirit to God, as did the psalmist and as did Jesus on the cross. Allowing the liturgy to help shape our word, image, and scriptural associations hence cannot but affect how we read the Bible, as it affected Christians in the patristic and medieval periods. This liturgical hermeneutic thus provides a context for theological biblical interpretation today as well as bringing out the nature of the patristic and medieval interpretation generally regarded, in the words of Cavadini, as "uncritical" and "wrong," rather than as "differently critical."

⁸²My own translation from, "בִּידֶךָ אֶפְקִיד רוּחִי," taken from, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, ed. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997 [1969]). In the Hebrew, this is found in Psalm 31:6. Some translations designate it as 30:5.

Potential Drawbacks: Why Hahn's Hermeneutics Have Not Already Been Adopted

From what has been written here about the many benefits of Hahn's integration of methods and liturgical context, one may wonder why Hahn, his work, and his hermeneutics have not been more widely acclaimed in an academic setting. Though Hahn combines elements of Protestant and Catholic interpretation, Catholic scholars have not taken him seriously, while evangelicals seem, on the whole, to ignore him.

One serious stumbling block for both Catholics and evangelicals is that Hahn's numerous lay publications identify him primarily as someone who is non-academic and concerned first of all with communicating to a popular audience. Indeed, one can understand why scholars might doubt that Hahn has the kind of academic and critical skills to make a genuine contribution to the fields of theology or biblical scholarship.

In addition to this, Hahn's location at Franciscan University of Steubenville marks him as a conservative, a label which implies to mainstream theologians and exegetes that he is, in fact, dismissible. This small Catholic college adds to the distrust generated by the popular nature of most of his work and hence puts Hahn in a position where he has not been able to engage fully with other colleagues in his field.

The most serious potential drawback to claiming Hahn as the bridge between biblical studies and theology, however, is the stage in which his work is currently found. Hahn's use of a canonical reading and liturgical

hermeneutic have already provided various insights, and yet his integration and use of these strategies are not yet firmly set in a way that provides clear guidelines or understanding of how others may engage similarly in the biblical texts. Though his work is often dependent upon the insights of the historical critical method, which he incorporates into his interpretations, Hahn can be faulted for not fully engaging in the historical critical method. In other words, he might be criticized for sidestepping the diachronic approach that treats Scripture more fully within its historical context.

Finally, Hahn has yet, at this point in his career, to turn the lens on himself and his own method in order to be self-critical in the manner recommended to historical criticism. It is not clear that Hahn currently understands and has fleshed out his own philosophical presuppositions and theological method. In order to strengthen the bridge that Hahn forms between biblical scholarship and theology, he will have to find the time to engage in this self-criticism, identifying the prejudices that influence his work. And in order for others in the field to take him seriously, his academic work must be expanded and his scholarly publications more widely noticed. It may be that time is all that is needed both for Hahn to scrutinize more fully his own method and for his colleagues to allow his work to challenge them. When and if this happens, Hahn's work will

become that much more capable of bridging the fiery brook currently existing in Catholic biblical scholarship.

IV. Conclusion

Biblical studies and theology are indeed at an impasse. The historical critical method is an essential tool for better understanding the Bible, but for too long has it remained the sole tool in use by many, although not all, Bible scholars. Contrary to its claims about itself, historical criticism does not represent a neutral or objective method, but rather represents the relocation of commitment, as Levenson et al. have demonstrated. The *ressourcement* movement of retrieving traditional exegesis represents an important counterweight to historical criticism's hegemony. As Benedict XVI has pointed out, however, *ressourcement* alone is insufficient for a proper reading of the Bible. Historical critical findings and theological readings of Scripture must be integrated. In the words of Hans Urs von Balthasar:

what we intend is the spiritual, contemplative sense and not simply philology, but certainly a spiritual sense which is embedded in philology. Eyes of faith are required, which alone are able to perceive the form of faith, but supported by eyes which are able to read history critically. Only when both aspects are found in their hierarchical unity will they correspond adequately to the phenomenon being offered; and this double sense, in so far as it belongs to the Church, is the principle of dogmatics as the interpretation of revelation.⁸³

⁸³Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics Volume I: Seeing the Form*, trans. Erasmo Leiva-Merikakis, ed. Joseph Fessio, S.J. and John Riches (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982 [1961]), 591-592.

By his reliance upon historical critical insights, his use of traditional Jewish and Christian biblical exegesis, his canonical reading of Scripture, and, finally, his liturgical hermeneutic, Hahn's exegesis promises to bridge the gap between contemporary biblical scholarship and Catholic theology, particularly if Hahn grows in self-criticism and becomes better known in academia. Hahn is a unique American site where Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic meet in a way that is at once critical and theological.

Conclusion

J.R.R. Tolkien wrote the following parable as a criticism of the state of contemporary *Beowulf* scholarship at the time:

A man inherited a field in which was an accumulation of old stone, part of an older hall. Of the old stone some had already been used in building the house in which he actually lived, not far from the old house of his fathers. Of the rest he took some and built a tower. But his friends coming perceived at once (without troubling to climb the steps) that these stones had formerly belonged to a more ancient building. So they pushed the tower over, with no little labour, in order to look for hidden carvings and inscriptions, or to discover whence the man's distant forefathers had obtained their building material. Some suspecting a deposit of coal under the soil began to dig for it, and forgot even the stones. They all said: "This tower is most interesting." But they also said (after pushing it over): "What a muddle it is in!" And even the man's own descendants, who might have been expected to consider what he had been about, were heard to murmur: "He is such an odd fellow! Imagine his using these old stones just to build a nonsensical tower! Why did not he restore the old house? He had no sense of proportion." But from the top of that tower the man had been able to look out upon the sea.¹

In examining this parable, it is clear that there are benefits to be gained from examining the tower's individual stones, and by attempting to discover how the blueprint and design for assembly of the stones functioned in constructing the tower. The problem, however, is that when the stones are left in heaps on the ground or in laboratories miles away, the tower will always lack a functionality.

¹J.R.R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics," in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, ed. Christopher Tolkien (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 7-8.

The *Beowulf* scholarship of Tolkien's time, it seems, is not so different from today's biblical scholarship. Though historical criticism has done an excellent job discerning various details of history and recovering beneficial bits of information, it has also left the Bible alienated from the theology it should be empowering. Theologians and biblical scholars need to regain a common location and language, such that together we can envision, reassemble, and climb the steps of the tower of Scripture in order that we may once more look out upon the heavenly sea.

In this dissertation, I have attempted to further what Brant Pitre identifies as, "the important task of bridging the lamentable gulf that currently exists between biblical studies and dogmatic theology."² Scott Hahn's biblical hermeneutics serve an important heuristic function in pointing the way beyond the impasse between Catholic biblical studies and Catholic theology. In his canonical reading, Hahn demonstrates one way to read the Bible faithfully while also relying upon the historical critical method as well as others. In his liturgical hermeneutic, Hahn models a recovery of traditional patristic and medieval exegesis, while bringing the Bible and hence the liturgy, back to life for Christians today. Hahn is able to combine these elements because of his unique situation as someone who has learned from Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic biblical exegetes.

²Brant Pitre, *Jesus, the Tribulation, and the End of the Exile: Restoration Eschatology and the Origin of the Atonement* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2005), VIII.

The first chapter of this dissertation examined Hahn's canonical interpretation, which focused on the concept of covenant as a key to understanding the unity between the Old and New Testaments. A focus on covenant enables Christians to read the Old Testament Christologically, with the knowledge that Christ's life, death, and resurrection was the fulfillment of all earlier covenants. The second chapter focused on the details of this human and divine covenant by using a specific example that is important to Hahn, namely, the Eucharist. Hence the evaluation of his exegesis here hinged on passages he believes to be connected to the Last Supper accounts. The third chapter examined what evangelical Protestant scholars, and through them Jewish Bible scholars, taught Hahn about how to read the Bible. For Protestants this involved reliance upon a canonical interpretation. With regard to traditional Jewish exegesis, Hahn was prepared for the traditional ways in which Catholics in the patristic and medieval periods interpreted the Bible. Most importantly, these scholars affirmed Hahn's commitment to respecting the inherent authority of the biblical text. As such, Hahn maintained his evangelical sensibility of the Bible as the Word of God.

The fourth chapter investigated what Catholic biblical scholars taught Hahn about how to read Scripture, demonstrating that Hahn here learned how to read the Bible using multiple levels of interpretation (literal, allegory, tropology, anagogy). He also learned how to interpret the Bible

liturgically, and how to integrate the results of historical criticism, primarily source and redaction criticism, into his biblical hermeneutic. Ultimately, Hahn realized that as a Catholic exegete he could continue to read the Bible as the Word of God, although now this theological reading became explicitly Catholic. The fifth chapter focused on Hahn's liturgical hermeneutic, where Hahn argues that the Bible is saturated with liturgical content, and that the liturgy is the most important context for biblical interpretation. Finally, the sixth chapter situated Hahn in the current debate about contemporary Catholic biblical studies, and argued that Hahn's exegesis moves us beyond the contemporary biblical theological impasse by his integration of various methods and, in particular, by placing the Bible back into the context of the liturgy where it has always been.

Hahn is an important American site where Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic meet in his evangelical Catholic biblical exegesis. The promise of his interpretation for reuniting the Bible and theology, furthermore, extends beyond Hahn to those similarly situated as Catholics with an evangelical flavor to them. Hahn's evangelical Catholic biblical hermeneutics, like the younger evangelical Catholics described by William Portier in his article, are a unique American phenomenon within the broad U.S. Catholic experience. By his awareness of important historical critical concerns, Hahn is able to read the Bible theologically, not simply in an arbitrary

individualist manner, but rather with the Tradition of the Church. His theological reading navigates through the potential pitfalls of purely subjective individualist interpretations, precisely because he relies upon the great interpretive traditions of the early church, both east and west, and of the grand interpretive traditions of Israel.

And yet, it must be noted that Hahn's promise is itself historically located. This is a time where biblical scholarship and theology are isolated from each other. This was not the case in the past, and it may not be the case in the future. In other words, right now the historical critical method reigns, while traditional forms of exegesis are all but forgotten by Bible scholars. In the future, we may need to re-emphasize the historical critical method, if it suffers the same fate as traditional exegesis. Modern questions need to be taken seriously. Modernity brings with it certain questions about tradition and the Bible that are difficult to answer. If these questions are simply ignored or dismissed offhand by future generations, these later generations will need to be reminded of their significance. Henri de Lubac notes that there is an "ebb and flow" to theology; in the future, it may be that the *ressourcement* will point to a recovery of the historical critical method.³ In the current situation, however, Hahn's

³Henri de Lubac, *The Mystery of the Supernatural*, trans. Rosemary Sheed, with an introduction by David

L. Schindler (New York: Crossroad, 1998 [1965]). The quotation is taken from the title of de Lubac's first chapter, "Ebb and Flow in Theology," pages 1-18.

integrative interpretive strategies involving a hermeneutic of faith appear to be the most fitting.

By combining the various forms of interpretation and seeking to understand the Bible within the context of the Liturgy, Hahn provides a vision for how the tower of Scripture might be reassembled. His work is thus one step toward the possibility of climbing the steps tread by so many of the now deceased saints of our Church for whom Scripture was always liturgical and, therefore, always theological.

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