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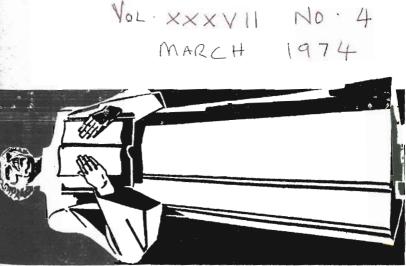
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The Historical—Critical Interpretation of the Baptism of Jesus from the Perspective of Traditional Lutheran Exegesis

DEAN O. WENTHE

THE HISTORICAL-CRITICAL METHOD as it is employed in the study of the New Testament accounts of Jesus' baptism serves to illustrate the various procedures which are characteristic of this type of exegesis. Indeed, since the practitioners of the historical-critical method are themselves often in disagreement over its precise definition, it is perhaps best to examine a case in point. An added benefit is that a direct examination of historical-critical methodology's treatment of a specific passage enables the reader to base his evaluation on primary data. No longer must he rely upon this or that opinion concerning its merits or liabilities.

# Similarities with Previous Exegisis

In looking at the various commentaries and their discussions of the accounts of Jesus' baptism, we notice that those which are written from the perspective of historical-critical methodology share many concerns with previous Lutheran exegesis (sometimes termed grammatical-historical methodology). Arriving at the most ancient and most faithful Greek reading (textual criticism), ascertaining the precise meaning of individual words, determining in so far as is possible the exact historical situation, understanding the sense of specific syntactical constructions; endeavors in these and related areas are regarded by the historical-critical exegete and the grammatical-historical exegete alike as absolutely necessary for a correct understanding of the Greek texts which pertain to Jesus' baptism. Neither type of exegete, for example, would question the use of the oldest Greek manuscripts in ascertaining the best possible reading.

Since both methods of exegesis rely upon these procedures, it is more instructive, at least for purposes of definition, to examine those aspects of each method which are uniquely its own. We look first at those areas where the historical-critical treatment of the accounts of Jesus' baptism diverges from that of the grammatical-historical method.

# FORM CRITICISM

First it is to be noted that there is a broad divergence among historical-critical exegetes with regard to the specific "form" which the various accounts assume. At one extreme stands Rudolf Bultmann who says, "The account of Jesus' baptism is legend . . . It is told in the interest not of biography, but of faith." Bultmann views the various accounts of Jesus' baptism as reflecting a literary form, namely "legend." As a result, he believes that the texts tell us not so much

about an event in Jesus' life as about the faith of the early Christians with regard to Jesus' baptism. Bultmann's effort to take into account "modifications which the life and thought of the church—both Jewish-Christian and gentile-Christian—have introduced" is form criticism in action.<sup>2</sup> Hans Conzelmann succinctly describes the foundation upon which this procedure is based when he says, "Form criticism asserts that an essential part of the tradition about Jesus is not faithful to history, but represents a theological construction made by the community." In accord with his form-critical analysis, the historical-critical exegete feels that he is justified in describing the faith of the early Christian community with regard to Jesus' baptism, but not in asserting any certainties beyond this point.

Even the historical fact of Jesus' baptism is questioned. Eduard Schweizer writes, "Although even this has been questioned recently, it is likely that the baptism of Jesus by John is historical, since it caused the early church much difficulty. . . . How many of the details are historical is open to question." It should be noted that neither Bultmann or Schweizer has any a priori objections to regarding the baptism as non-historical. Schweizer feels that the evidence, particularly what he interprets as the difficulty which the early church had with the baptismal accounts, compels him to regard at least a portion of the accounts as reflecting an event which actually occurred in the life of Jesus. If, however, Bultmann or another scholar could present him with a more plausible explanation for the supposed difficulty of the early church than that it was occasioned by the actual baptism of Jesus, Schweizer might well join those who would deny that the event took place.

LITERARY CRITICISM

Another dimension of the historical-critical method which distinguishes it from grammatical-historical exegesis is clearly shown by Walter Bundy's application of literary criticism to the accounts of Jesus' baptism. Literary criticism has been defined as concerning itself "with such matters as the authorship of the various New Testament books, the possible composite nature of a given work, and the identity and extent of sources which may lie behind a certain document."5 Bundy, in accord with this procedure, endeavors to analyze the baptismal accounts by examining the history of the texts and of the traditions behind them. This examination leads him to conclude that the source of some parts of the baptismal accounts is traceable to the imagination of the particular evangelistic author. He suggests that the accounts of Jesus' baptism have developed in three distinct stages. The step-by-step manner in which he traces these stages lends itself to an understanding of this aspect of the historical-critical method. His presentation is as follows:

First Stage

The simple statement in Mark 1:9 concerning Jesus' baptism by John is seen by Bundy as the original tradition. He, like Schweizer, regards the baptism itself as an historical fact.

Second Stage

The vision and the voice in Mark 1:10-11 are regarded as

secondary tradition. Bundy does not regard the events which are portrayed in these verses as historical occurrences. He writes:

The account of the vision and the voice is a parasitical growth that has attached itself to the solid statement in Mk. 1:9. Mk. 1:10-11 confronts the reader with the thought and theory of the early Christian church. It is simply a piece of religious fiction which has no historical value except for the nature of the religious faith from which it came and which found expression in it. Like all legendary creations, 10-11 seeks a point of contact with established history in order that it may acquire the necessary air of reality.

Third Stage

Matthew in Mt. 3:14-15 indicates that John recognized Jesus as he approached to be baptized. These verses are analyzed as the third stage in the growth of the baptism story. We read:

This dialogue seems to be the outright invention of Matthew, and wholly fictitious . . . Matthew introduces his recognition scene at the expense of history; nevertheless, it is an instructive example of how the early Christian faith revised and altered traditional materials to suit its needs, purposes, and prejudices.<sup>7</sup>

This treatment displays several typical steps of the historical-critical approach, namely the division of the text into individual traditions or sources and then a description of how or why the author or editor employed these individual units. This latter step of the analysis has typically been termed redaction criticism.

## REDACTION CRITICISM

Now though it must be emphasized that individual historical-critical exegetes might differ in some specific detail with Bundy's analysis, they would agree that his general approach by means of literary and redaction criticism is the best way to accurate exegesis. Indeed, as one surveys the literature, there is widespread agreement, for example, on the fact that Mt. 3:14-15 (John's recognition of Jesus) is a secondary addition with little historical validity. Matthew, it is claimed, inserts these verses to help explain why Jesus, though sinless, was yet baptized. F. Beare writes:

It never occured to him (Mark) that any problem was involved in Jesus' acceptance of such a baptism. But Matthew is acutely aware of the difficulty, and represents John himself as protesting that Jesus has no need of his baptism . . . This Matthaean insertion can hardly be regarded as anything but a fragment of Christian apologetic, devised to explain how the Sinless One could have come to John's baptism.<sup>8</sup>

The general agreement on this historical-critical evaluation of Matthew's motive in penning 3:14-15 indicates that the exegetes of this school are reasonably certain such a conclusion is valid.<sup>9</sup>

Another example might clarify the historical-critical approach in its use of redaction criticism. If we look at Luke's account of Jesus' baptism, we find that the majority of the historical-critical exegetes are convinced that he too had certain motives in writing his account, and that he shaped his account in accord with these motives. In this case, the motive is viewed as a desire on Luke's part to present Jesus as a pious individual. We read:

Throughout his Gospel Luke features the praying of Jesus to an extent that Matthew and Mark do not. These passages are freely supplied by Luke, who thus endows his hero with traits of human piety. Such portrayal belongs to the field of personal legend. The professional historian would describe this praying in Luke as rhetorical distortion.<sup>10</sup>

These citations are sufficient to demonstrate the general approach of redaction criticism as it is commonly applied by historical-critical methodology.

We might anticipate matters dealt with later by looking briefly at the question: How does the historical-critical view of the develop-

ment of the text affect the process of exegesis, if at all?

The exegete who assumes the above framework (which, we remember, he has also created) immediately finds himself working not with the canonical text as it is contained in the Scriptures, but rather with various levels of canonicity. Each level, he believes, spoke a word to the contemporary situation, but at the same time was conditioned by that situation so as to require the modern theologian to take account of its conditioned nature in his preaching and teaching. Anyone who simply takes the text at face value, in this view, would to a greater or lesser degree misunderstand its import and intent. This inevitably places the exegete in the position of selecting which level of canonicity or which combination of elements, drawn from the various levels of canonicity, is to be used in addressing a problem in today's church. The subjectivistic dangers are obvious; indeed, they are evidenced by the plethora of conflicts which appear in the preaching and teaching of theologians of the historical-critical school.

Perhaps an analogy would illustrate this point. If a group of theologians were invited to a banquet last evening and the host served only his renowned casserole, we could be certain that each man ate casserole. Indeed, unless someone was so impolite as to refuse the fare, we would also be certain that all the various ingredients were presently wending their way through his digestive tract, into his bloodstream, and throughout his system. The casserole as casserole would have its effect on each man's taste buds and tummy. If, however, the host set before his theological guests a cafeteria style arrangement of the various ingredients which went into his casserole, and then asked them to select their own combination of any or all of the items, the results would probably be as varied as the number of men present. Lutheranism with its Sola Scriptura and "Scripture interprets Scripture" principles has repeatedly affirmed that the canonical text of Scripture in its present form is the diet that God

would have his people feed on. He, and here we might sing a Te Deum, did not leave us with the chore of passing through a cafeteria line where we had to choose from various elements on different shelves. His grace will not even permit our "enlightened exegetical ego" to deny us the entirety of His rich Word. To extend the analogy somewhat, just as the quality and nature of the completed casserole depend not only on the ingredients, but on the order and manner in which they were mixed, so the Scriptures convey both the content of certain events and their setting. Historical-critical methodology by its very nature permits one to posit other settings for the words and events of Jesus' life. Normally this is done in two steps: first, the narrative is fragmented into what are thought to be prior units, and then these units are placed in a hypothetical "original" setting. The Lutheran exegete realizes that the authority and reliability of the Scriptures extends also to the recorded settings in which events transpired.

It should be noted that some historical-critical exegetes describe this treatment of the baptismal accounts and the historical-critical approach in general as being an exercise in historical description; that is to say, that he, as exegete, is merely engaging in a rigorous effort, using every means at his disposal, to describe what occurred and how the present baptismal account came into being.

What, it must be asked, however, causes the historical-critical exegete to remove such aspects of Jesus' baptism as the dove and the voice from the realm of history and assign them to the imagination of the early church or of a particular evangelist? A thorough reading of the New Testament accounts does not reveal a single statement to the effect that these things are less than historical occurrences. The fact that the great majority of Christian theologians, through the eighteenth century at least, regarded the dove and voice as real occurrences is ample testimony that the New Testament accounts purport to describe what happened.

Some historical-critical exegetes would argue that because the various accounts of the baptism are not identical, therefore at least some parts must be regarded as fictional. This assertion, however, faces a grave difficulty in that the varied nature of the accounts may point only to the fact that God through the evangelists has filled in the various aspects of the event. If we truly regard the Scriptures as having been written in the language of men and subject to the normal rules of grammar and communication, then it is natural that God should take advantage of various human personalities with their individual styles and viewpoints to aid His task of communication. Though God could well have employed a single human being to pen the entire Scriptures, we are undoubtedly enriched by the fact that He saw fit to lay out His plan of salvation by inspiring different men. Even in current newspaper accounts of the same event, we are able to perceive the author's individual style and method while at the same time regarding the several reports of the incident as totally accurate. The thesis that multiple accounts of the same event cannot all be true, unless they are identical, is obviously indefensible. Thus, because the other evangelists do not describe the recognition of Jesus by John in no way offers evidence or reason for positing that this narrative is an invention of Matthew's imagination and entirely fictional.

Indeed, one could justifiably argue that this procedure displays

a deep bias against the historicity of the baptismal accounts. For in-

stance, the Roman historian Tacitus, writing in the early second century concerning events half a century earlier, is considered a first-rate historical source for the period despite the fact that the oldest manuscript copy of his work which remains dates from a full millenium after he wrote. In contrast, in the case of the New Testament we have some four thousand Greek manuscripts with fragments dating from as early as 120 A.D. The fact that a man would generally accept Tacitus' record of an event, but remove the dove and the voice from the baptismal accounts reveals something less than even-handed treatment.

If, then, historical-critical methodology derives its impetus neither from the text itself, nor from the fact that the manuscript tradition is corrupt, for what reason, it must be asked, does the exegete feel justified in removing elements of the accounts from history?

An argument often heard in this regard is that the evangelists were not interested in recording history. Their primary purpose in writing, it is stated, was theological, not historical. No one would deny that each of the evangelists was a theologian, but the assumption that one is therefore rendered incapable of accurately reporting historical events is totally unproven. Rather we see a deep concern on the part of the evangelists to record events in a faithful fashion. Luke directly states that he has exercised discrimination in his use of various sources. (cf. Luke 1:1-4) The whole question has been put forth pointedly by I. Howard Marshall when he writes:

We may note, first that the basis of this general outlook, namely that the tasks of proclamation and of writing history are incompatible, is pure assumption, and baseless assumption at that. What is being suggested to us is twofold. First, it is being denied that faith can be dependent upon historical facts . . . The second suggestion that is being made in this assumption is that a person who is committed to proclamation or to theology cannot write history . . . There is no reason why the interests of the theologian and the historian should be mutually exclusive. 11

This assumption, i.e. that the evangelists could not be both good theologians and good historians, leads naturally into the idea that large sections of the New Testament and of the accounts of Jesus' baptism in particular, derive not from eyewitness accounts of the events, but from the faith of the early church. If the eyewitnesses and apostles are removed from the stage (most historical-critical exegetes would question whether Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John were the true authors of the works that bear their names), then obviously someone was responsible for composing and editing the materials which the final editors eventually employed. Typically a nebulus and nameless church is assigned this role.

It must be said, however, that this assumption is certainly far from proven, for apart from an appeal to the infallibility of Scripture

(an appeal that Lutherans gladly make because of the Lord's attitude toward the Scriptures and their own claim to accuracy), it can be argued that the evidence points in a direction exactly opposite that of a church freely creating fictitious elements and weaving them into the accounts of Jesus' baptism.

First, we can see that the early Christian's emphasis upon eyewitnesses points to their desire to have an accurate record of the Lord's life and teaching, including His baptism. (cf. Luke 1:2)

Secondly, the high regard for the apostolic office shows the desire to have a first-hand, authoritative account. It is well known that the select band which became disciples of a rabbi or teacher was obligated to preserve both his teaching and his life's work with utter and total faithfulness. A disciple who would openly invent or significantly change the words and deeds of his master would not only be subject to criticism from his peers, but would also be derelict in his obligation to the master. The moral obligation of the disciple to imitate his master in so far as was possible was a given in early Jewish society. There is evidence both that the disciples exercised extreme care in preserving a correct memory of events and that they may have jotted down notes.12 The idea that the early Christians and disciples freely created and shaped episodes in Jesus' life springs not from the Jewish soil of Palestine, but rather from the desk of a German professor's study. The Lutheran exegete will, however, want to consider other factors than these in his evaluation of the claim that the early church freely created and altered the traditions concerning Jesus' baptism.

Certainly a prime consideration for the traditional Lutheran exegete is his desire to view all of Scripture through its own claims (2 Tim. 3:16, I Peter 1:21, etc.), and as a result to regard the whole as a true and reliable description of what occured. In accord with the Scripture's own claim, the Lutheran exegete has assumed that whatever the prior sources, forms, motives, etc., may have been, the Holy Spirit has so inspired the evangelists and apostles in their employment of the materials, that the Scriptures which he reads are, in their present form, the God-intended and inspired text and, in this case, the record that God would preserve for us of Jesus' baptism. This imparts to the Scriptures a qualitative difference from all other human literature, for the Spirit Himself insured and imbued the holy writers with His unerring guidance. The greatest Lutheran exegetes and teachers have emphasized this point. Quenstedt, one of the foremost of the Lutheran fathers, stresses this feature of the Scriptures when he says:

Whatever fault or untruth, whatever error or lapse of memory, is attributed to the prophets and apostles is not imputed to them without blaspheming the holy Spirit, who spoke and wrote through them. By virtue of His infinite knowledge God the Holy Spirt cannot be ignorant of anything, cannot forget anything; by virtue of his infinite truthfulness and infallibility it is impossible for Him to err, deal falsely, or be mistaken, even in the smallest degree; and finally, by virtue of His infinite good-

Thus any speculation or enterprise which suggests that it can delve behind the present accounts in such a way as to remove certain aspects of the event from the realm of history (e.g. the recognition scene), is correctly regarded as in conflict with the Scripture's clear claim to accuracy. In fact, the subjective nature of this speculation lends itself to enthusiasm and the dangers of the Schwärmerei—each man basing his faith on his subjective experience. Traditional Lutheran exegesis in its use of grammatical-historical methodology stresses the need to work with the text as we have it.

## HARMONIZATION

Historical-critical methodology differs markedly from grammatical-historical exegesis in its attitude toward harmonization. This difference is brought sharply into focus when one looks at how traditional Lutheran exegetes engage in efforts to harmonize the various accounts of Jesus' baptism. They are convinced that each aspect of the event which the evangelists record did occur. Thus, though they may not always reach total agreement, they regard the harmonization of the various accounts as a valid and edifying enterprise. One example might demonstrate this point. William Arndt, sainted Professor of New Testament Exegesis at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., penned these words in his study of the baptismal accounts:

Matt. 3:17 "And, behold, a voice from heaven, saving, This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased."

Mark 1:11 "A voice came from the heavens: Thou art My beloved Son; in Thee I am well pleased."

It has been charged that there is a discrepancy here, because the one evangelist reports the voice as saying, "This is My beloved Son," and the other, "Thou art My beloved Son." Everybody will have to admit that in the substance of the words spoken in this connection there is no difference. The meaning conveyed is the same in both cases . . . According to Mark, the words are spoken to Jesus; according to Matthew, they are spoken of Him. The divergence is explained very readily if we assume that Mark records the words of God the Father with literal exactness, while in Matthew merely the meaning is given. 14

Where, it must be said, grammatical-historical exegetes fail in arriving at a totally satisfactory answer, they are more inclined to doubt the capabilities of their own intellectual acumen, then to doubt the reliability of what God through His evangelists has described as happening.

It should also be added that this traditional Lutheran exegesis

works with what has been called "the garden variety of truth." This means that when the grammatical-historical exegete reads a statement in Scripture he is more inclined to take it at face value and in its literal sense—barring some clear indication by the Scriptures themselves that it is not to be taken literally—than to search for some allegorical or symbolical meaning. Thus, unlike many historical-critical exegetes, he understands that if he were there at the baptism of Jesus, he would have heard John inquire about why he should be baptizing the Lord, seen the dove descend, etc.

### DOCTRINAL ENTERPRISE

Another great difference between traditional grammatical-historical exegesis and historical-critical exegesis is the fact that the former regards the accounts as the conveyors of sound teaching and doctrine. The historical-critical exegete might well protest that this is not a part of his task; however, it becomes obvious that his procedures would render such work impossible.

One example will illustrate the marked difference in approach. Luther in his commentary on St. John sees great doctrinal significance in the fact that the various events which surround Jesus' baptism witness to the presence of all three persons of the Trinity. He writes:

But now behold how glorious a thing baptism is, also how sublime a spectacle Christ's Baptism presented. The heavens opened, the Father's voice was heard, and the Holy Spirit descended, not as a phantom, but in the form and figure of a natural dove. Nor was the Father's voice an illusion when He pronounced these words from heaven: 'This is My Beloved Son; with Him I am well pleased.' These were real natural, human words. And this dove, in the form of which the Holy Spirit was seen, was real and natural. All this was done in honor and praise of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism; for this is not a human institution but something sublime and holy. Eminent personages are involved it it: the Father, who bestows and who speaks here; the Son, who receives and is baptized; the Holy Spirit, who hovers above and reveals Himself in the form of a dove.<sup>15</sup>

Obviously Luther builds his doctrinal teaching on the fact that Jesus' baptism occurred precisely in the manner the Scriptures describe. He sees in the records clear testimony to the doctrine of the Trinity, and in turn views the presence of the three persons as an indication of the sublime nature of baptism. Now such an enterprise, from the viewpoint of the historical-critical exegete, is beset by many difficulties. He would view Luther's failure to take into account the history and development of the text (the three stages discussed earlier) as a serious omission. Manifestly, if we cannot confidently assert that both voice and dove were present in the manner described, we cannot with confidence derive support for the doctrine of the Trinity from this passage. Nor can we use the presence of all three persons, as Luther does, to stress the importance of baptism. From the

perspective of the historical-critical exegete, Luther has built at least this part of his theological edifice on a rather shaky foundation.

In view of these differences, it is evident that the historical-critical exegete is engaged in something more than rigorous description. In point of fact, he is engaged in a very special type of description—one which assumes a certain philosophical and theological attitude. Elements of this attitude include allowance for such a variety of motives in the evangelist's use of the tradition that it becomes mandatory for the exegete to go beyond the clear sense of the passage and decide with reference to his critical canons as to the historicity or non-historicity of the narrative. It is obvious that if the particular exegete includes among his critical canons the proposition that the miraculous must be viewed as a mere superstition which characterized New Testament times, then he must discount the voice from heaven and other elements of the baptismal narratives as something less than historical fact.

#### Presuppositions

In conclusion it must be said that each student of the Scriptures, whether historical-critical or grammatical historical in his exegetical orientation, will examine the records of Jesus' baptism from his own perspective. This is to say that he will not begin the task of interpretation with a mind devoid of presuppositions.

Perhaps it is here that we find the source of the various differences between these two methods of exegesis, for while the historical-critical exegete approaches the text expecting certain phenomena (e.g. the church's or evangelists creation of additional, non-historical elements), the traditional Lutheran exegete comes with great respect for the clear sense of the baptismal accounts and a trust in their veracity.

Ultimately the theological stance of the exegete plays the decisive role. Despite any human longing that we might have for total objectivity, honesty requires that every exegete be viewed also as systematician. The exegete's prior attitude toward Scriptures, toward truth, toward language, and toward God cannot be neatly divorced from his task of interpretation. Lutherans in the past have derived their presuppositions from the Scriptures and have been forthright in describing their nature. These Lutheran presuppositions begin with the inspiration and infallibility of Scripture by virtue of its nature as God's very word and its own explicit claims.

In view of this the Lutheran exegete is convinced that God has indeed told him many details of that glorious day on which Jesus was baptized. In these certain facts and in the Spirit's Scriptural explanation of their meaning for him, he rests his hope and confidence.

### FOOTNOTES

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- 2. Dan O. Via, "Editor's Forward" in What is Form Criticism, by Edgar V. McKnight (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), p. vi.
- 3. Hans Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 6.
- 4. Eduard Schweizer, The Good News According to Mark (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1970), p. 36.
- 5. Dan O. Via, op. cit., p. v.
- 6. Walter Bundy, Jesus and the First Three Gospels (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), p. 55.
- 7. ibid.
- 8. Francis Wright Beare, The Earliest Records of Jesus (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), p. 41.
- 9. See also Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 159.
- 10. Walter Bundy, op. cit., p. 54.
- 11. I. Howard Marshall, Luke: Historian and Theologian (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), pp. 46-47.
- 12. Gerhardsson, Berger. Memory & Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbin's Judaism & Early Christianity (Lund: C. W. K. Geerup, 1961), Passim, but cf especially his comments on Luke 24:36-45 and other passages, pp. 250ff.
- 13. Systema, P. I., C. 4, S. 2, q. 5. (Translation by Dr. Robert Preus).
- 14. William Arndt, Does the Bible Contradict Itself? (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926), p. 56.
- 15. Martin Luther, "Sermons on the Gospel of St. John (Chapters 1-4)," Luther's Works, Vol. 22, Edited by Jarslav Pelikan, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957), p. 173.