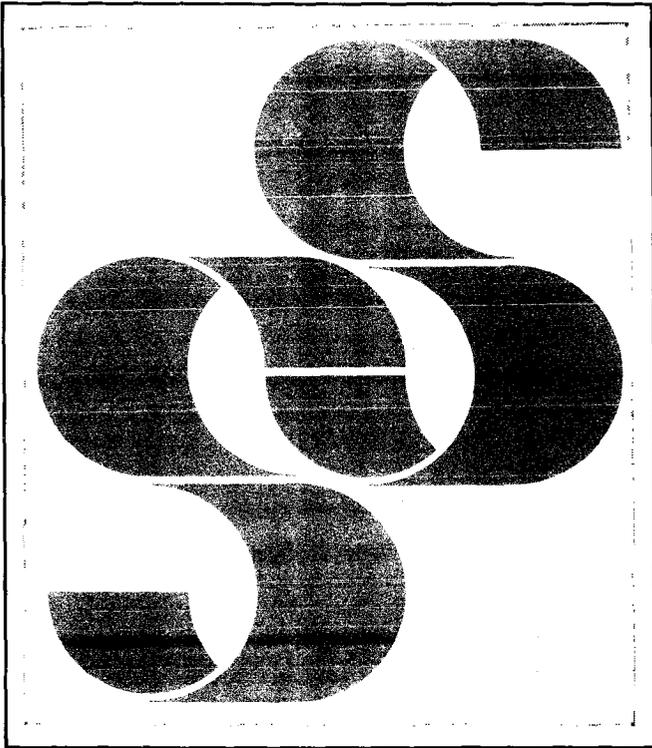


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PIERRE VIRET ON THE SABBATH COMMANDMENT

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER
Andrews University

Although in studies on the Reformation there are few references to the fourth, or sabbath, commandment of the Decalogue (third commandment in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran reckoning), this commandment stirred more discussion than is usually assumed. The wrangling between Luther and Karlstadt is well known.¹ The activities of seventh-day keeping Anabaptists were noted by Luther, Erasmus, and Calvin, and inspired Capito of Strasbourg to write a book on the sabbath.² Because of the rejection of Catholic holidays, there were some who wanted to discard Sunday-keeping also. Calvin, we are told, had to face a certain Colinaeus who had totally rejected any thought of religious rest.³ The matter of required church attendance became a bone of contention in several centers of the Reformation.⁴ Perhaps the most consistent references to the sabbath commandment came at the religious debates between Catholics and Protestants. As the Protestants expounded about *sola*

¹See Andreas R. Bodenstein von Karlstadt, *Von dem Sabbat* (1524), in *Karlstadt-Schriften aus den Jahren 1523-1525*, ed. E. Hertzsch (Halle/Saale, 1956), 1: 23-47, and compare Luther's comment, "If Karlstadt were to write more about the Sabbath, even Sunday would have to give way, and the Sabbath that is Saturday would be celebrated. He would truly make us Jews in all things!" (*Against the Heavenly Prophets* [1525], in *Luther's Works* [henceforth abbrev. *LW*], 40 [St. Louis, Mo., 1959]: 94). See also *How Should Christians Regard Moses* (1525), in *LW*, 35: 164-166.

²Gerhard F. Hasel in his article "Sabbatarian Anabaptists," *AUSS* 5 (1967): 101-121 and 6 (1968): 19-28, gives an excellent account of their activities and the reaction of the mainline Reformers.

³A.-L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des réformateurs*, (1866; reprint, Nieuwkoop, 1965), 4: 27-29.

⁴Several attempts were made at Strasbourg to enforce Sunday observance. See F. Wendel, *L'église de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1942), especially pp. 43-44, and 206-207. At Geneva the *Ordonnances de campagne* also tried to impose Sunday observance. See *Calvini Opera* 10/1 (Braunschweig, 1872; reprint, New York, 1964): 51-54.

scriptura and the duty to hold strictly to what Scriptures say, regardless of human traditions and ideas, their opponents often asked coyly why the defenders of *sola scriptura* kept Sunday as their day of rest, a rest for the institution of which they could find no foundation in Scripture and which was solely a church institution. This occurred at the Zurich Disputation,⁵ the Baden Disputation,⁶ the Bern Disputation,⁷ the Lausanne Disputation⁸ and at both Pre-Reformation debates in Geneva in 1534 and 1535.⁹ John Eck used this argument with great skill.¹⁰

Commentaries on the fourth commandment present a great deal of interest since they often set in relief an author's attitude on various significant matters. They frequently treat the authority of Scripture and tradition, the relation between the OT and NT, the ecclesiological outlook of the person, and the way in which piety becomes manifest. Besides, they deal with points of social significance, such as the understanding of work and leisure, the duties of masters to servants and animals, etc.

⁵The issue of Sunday-keeping was raised during the first Zurich disputation. See Ulrich Zwingli, *Selected Works*, ed. Samuel M. Jackson (1901; reprint, Philadelphia, 1972), p. 98, n. 1.

⁶John Eck brought this matter up. See Thomas Mulner, *Die Disputacion vor den XII Orten zu Baden ... geholten* (Luzern, 1527), leaf 341^r.

⁷Johannes Buchstab's remark that Sunday-keeping is a thing of which the Bible says nothing evoked a lengthy answer from Bucer. See Martin Bucer, *Die Berne-Disputation*, in *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh, 1960), 4: 106-111.

⁸*Actes de la Dispute de Lausanne*, ed. A. Piaget (Neuchâtel, 1929), pp. 47-48.

⁹On the 1534 debate see H. Neff, *Les origines de la réforme à Genève* 2 (Geneva, 1968): 500-502, and Claude Roset, *Letres certaines ... avec la dispute faite l'an 1534* (Geneva, 1535), pp. 47-50. On the 1535 debate, see Th. Dufour, *Un opuscule inédit de Farel* (Geneva, 1886), pp. 201-240. See my article "Sunday in the Pre-Reformation Disputations in French Switzerland," *AUSS* 14 (1976): 265-277.

¹⁰"Therefore it thus is clear that the Church is older than Scripture, and Scripture would not be authentic without the Church's authority. . . . Scripture teaches: 'Remember to hallow the Sabbath day; six days shall you labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath day of the Lord your God.' etc. Yet the Church has changed the Sabbath into Sunday on its own authority, on which you have no Scripture." *Enchiridion*, ed. & trans. F. L. Battles (Pittsburgh, 1976), p. 12.

1. *Viret in Comparison with Other Reformers*

Pierre Viret's ideas on the fourth commandment are found in his *Instruction chrestienne*, published in Geneva in 1564. In order to appreciate his originality and his analytical capacity, we should first sketch the stance of the main Reformers on this topic. In general, they adopted the Augustinian mystical understanding of the sabbath rest, i.e., our rest as a symbol of the rest which we have received already from Jesus Christ and which we will receive in a still greater manner from him in the eschatological consummation. To that they added the moral dimension, namely, that we stop our work so that God may do his saving work in us.

In this common Protestant approach there is, therefore, no special sanctity attached to any day of the week. This view was quite different from the most common Catholic teaching, held since the days of the great masters of Scholasticism, that Sunday is the Christian sabbath, to be kept holy according to the prescriptions of the Decalogue.

Because Luther could not find any support in natural law for the keeping of the seventh day, he concluded that it was purely a Jewish commandment. A day is not holy intrinsically, he explained, but it becomes holy by the use that is made of it. Besides, the keeping of a day of rest guarantees rest for the servants who otherwise would be exploited to death. Philip Melancthon, too, emphasized the natural and moral requirement of setting aside a time for public worship.

At Strasbourg, Bucer was the advocate of a much more sabbatarian concept of Sunday-keeping. In his *De Regno Christi*, he refers with approval to the thought of reenacting the provisions of the Pentateuch for sabbath-keeping by rulers who sincerely wish the kingdom of Christ to be established in their realms. We know that the Protestant ministers at Strasbourg made a strong, but vain effort to have Sunday observance enforced by the magistrates.

More than any other of the Reformers, Calvin emphasized the vital significance of the day of rest for personal spiritual growth as well as its necessity for public worship. The sabbath was both a sign and a promise of salvation, an excellent and unique mystery that Christ is found in the sabbath. For Calvin, the sabbath as a sign of sanctification was very important. On the other hand, while in the 1536 *Institutes* he had upheld the commandment as an

expression of the principle of equity—a point of great importance in understanding his treatment of the commandments—, he later placed less and less emphasis on the value of the sabbath commandment as a safeguard of the servants' welfare. This concept was due to his hermeneutical principle that the commands of the first table rule man's relationship with God and those of the second table man's relations with one another. Calvin reasoned that since the fourth commandment is a part of the first table, it cannot have much to say about the master-servant relationship.

It is rather interesting that all those Reformers made only casual reference to the relation between Sunday and the resurrection. Since all days were considered to be equally holy, there was obviously no need to find the motive of a special holiness for the first day of the week. For that reason, one should note that this connection is drawn very vividly in Erasmus's *Symbolum*, where a contrast is made between God's rest after creation and Christ's rest after his crucifixion which commends to us the evangelical Sunday.

2. *The Introduction of Viret's Argument*

Viret's large volume is written as a dialogue between two young men, Timothy and Daniel, a device which betrays the humanistic bent of the author. As to the literary value of the dialogue, we may say that it is not a blinding success. Timothy merely asks the right questions, and his friend Daniel gets easily carried away into rather ponderous and wordy elaborations. Viret, however, shows real skill in bringing up meaningful images drawn from nature, life, and history.

In the long introduction to the section on the commandments, Viret asserts that the law of God is the only true rule by which all good and holy policy should be regulated. It is the true Christian ethics, the true Christian politics, the true Christian economics, far superior to the words of Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, or Cicero.¹¹ By its precepts, the Christian rulers should guide their activities and their government, for otherwise one may expect nothing but utter confusion. We find ourselves, therefore, in the mainstream of

¹¹*Instruction chrestienne en la doctrine de la loy et de l'evangile . . . le tout divisé en trois volumes* (henceforth abbrev. IC) (Geneva, 1564), p. 255.

Reformed social and moral thought. The Ten Commandments are the tool with which a ruler can erect the kingdom of Christ.

Viret begins the discussion of the fourth commandment by presenting the meaning of the first word of the commandment, "Remember," a point to which little attention is given by other commentators of that time.¹² He reminds us that no commandment is introduced in a more solemn way than this one, since God himself said: "Remember." He also makes note of the fact that no other command was brought to the attention of the Israelites more forcefully or more often than the sabbath commandment, since the restoration of true sabbath-keeping was part of all great reform movements. Yet, Daniel admits, this precept raises more questions than any other. Why is a command about ceremony included in the moral law, and, just as disturbing, why was it included in the first table? Those puzzling questions compel us to recognize that it contains some higher secret than what is immediately apparent.

This leads Viret to state what is the key theme in all Reformation commentaries, namely, that this precept is kept when we stop our own work in order to allow God to work in us.¹³ Thus, the observance of the sabbath day becomes a sacrament, a sign of regeneration and sanctification. The fourth commandment is, therefore, also the proper sequel to the first three: The first tells about what knowledge of God we must have; the second and the third, about the proper public confession we must make in both our works and words; and the fourth, by what means that knowledge can be communicated. Melancthon also, in his *Loci*, had tried to relate functionally the commandments of the first table, stating that "the first commandment speaks of the heart; the second of the tongue; and the third of ceremony."¹⁴ Luther, in the *Treatise on Good Works*, speaks of the "pretty golden ring these three commandments and their works make of themselves, for they all act within the sphere of the first commandment."¹⁵

Another aspect of the sabbath commandment which Viret mentions is its role in the spreading of the knowledge of the true

¹²*IC*, p. 410.

¹³*IC*, p. 417.

¹⁴*Loci* (1555), ed. C. L. Manschreck (New York, 1961), p. 95.

¹⁵*Treatise on Good Works*, in *LW*, 44: 79.

God; but in dealing with this matter, Viret cannot resist engaging in a bit of polemic about Roman worship in a foreign tongue.¹⁶ When God has made such a clear provision to provide a message, Rome has made it a sound that cannot be understood.

Viret, who calls the sabbath a sacrament, next compares it with a Christian sacrament, baptism, which has essentially the same significance of dying and being born again to a new life. "When we live in the spirit of our baptism," he states, "we keep the fourth commandment."¹⁷

3. *Questions about the Hallowing of the Day*

The dialogue format allows Viret to pass rather abruptly from one topic to another. So, at that point Timothy, the questioner, asks a series of questions about the hallowing of the day. He wonders how time can be sanctified. He further questions the point of man's sanctifying a day already sanctified by God, and he cannot understand why one day only should be sanctified. Viret reminds his reader that the commandments speak of sanctifying the *day* of rest, rather than rest as such. A period of time is sanctified when it is totally dedicated to holy pursuits. The idea is a commonplace Protestant sabbath interpretation. His argument reveals, however, Viret's concern with exegesis, with the need to be true to the biblical text. His approach is systematic and academic, a fact which stands out boldly when one compares it, for instance, with Luther's deep emotion in the *Treatise on Good Works* as he talks of dying to sin through the discipline of the flesh with fastings and exercises determined by the ebb and flow of the pride and lust of the flesh.¹⁸

Timothy's questions on the sanctifying of time provide Daniel, Viret's mouthpiece, with the opportunity to engage in a little controversy again. This time he castigates the popish holidays, celebrated in a pagan way, since each Sunday is dedicated to the feast of some mortal. A satanic plan indeed, he exclaims. He asks himself why Satan has instituted so many holidays, and he replies

¹⁶IC, p. 413.

¹⁷IC, p. 414.

¹⁸*Treatise on Good Works*, in *LW*, 44: 74-75.

that it is to reduce man to idleness and provide him with both the temptations and the time to destroy himself in taverns, gambling dens, and bordellos. Thus, the day of God is dedicated to the gods of the flesh, Bacchus and Venus, and to Mars, the god of fights.¹⁹

The opposition to holidays was general among the Reformers. Luther, e.g., in the *Treatise on Good Works*, expresses the wish that "in Christendom there were no holidays except Sundays, and that we made all the festivals of Our Lady and the Saints fall on Sundays."²⁰ At Strasbourg, Bucer questioned the value of most holidays because they were of pagan origin, and for a time he forbade their celebration.²¹ Perhaps the best-known instance of the Protestant opposition to the many feasts of the church was the edict of the Consistory at Geneva on November 16, 1550, prohibiting all festivals except Sunday, which it described as God-ordained.²²

The fact that the command to rest on the seventh day includes also an order to work on the six other days gives Viret an opportunity to include in his polemic an attack on monastic life, which, according to him, is the choice of a life of idleness under the pretense of dedicating oneself to God.²³ To those who allude to the many Jewish holidays, Viret replies that they did not really interfere with labor, for they came after the spring work and after the autumn harvest was completed, and therefore one could rest with good reason.

At that point Viret recognizes, however, the right of the church to institute some holidays, a notion which he defends by the example of Jesus, who took part in the celebration of the Feast of Lights, a celebration that was not appointed by God.²⁴ This admission is rather interesting in view of the strong Reformed tradition of opposition to any ritual that is not clearly specified in Scriptures, and on this point Viret and Calvin do not fully agree.

¹⁹*IC*, p. 417.

²⁰*IC*, p. 153.

²¹*Wendel*, pp. 206-207.

²²*The Register of the Company of Pastors of Geneva in the Time of Calvin*, ed. P. E. Hughes (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), p. 130.

²³*IC*, p. 418.

²⁴*IC*, p. 420.

4. *Creation and the Day of Rest*

The dialogue turns next to the relationship of creation to the day of rest, a topic that receives very scant or no attention in other discussions of the fourth commandment by the Protestant Reformers.²⁵ Viret reminds us of how little attention most people lend to the thought of the Creator. Aristotle himself denied creation, yet belief in creation is the foundation for accepting some of the most important doctrines of the church. It leads to faith in one God only, in his ownership of all things. It compels us to accept God's freedom to do what he wants with his own creatures, and therefore it conditions man to refuse to be scandalized by believing in the doctrine of predestination. How philosophers could miss the concept of a Creator is a puzzle for Viret, but it represents the normal result of a refusal to step beyond reason. Yet, the world is full of images of the Creator, "since the whole world is nothing more than a great temple of God filled with images, self-portraits of God."²⁶ At that point Viret becomes very lyrical as he ponders what might happen if ploughmen, astronomers, physicists, and philosophers could properly read the great book of nature.

The Change of the Day

Viret now faces a corollary question: "Do not Christians need to be reminded of Creation?"²⁷ If the answer is that the sabbath has been abolished, then what right do they have to keep another day? If there really is a need for a day of worship, why could not the Christians have kept the day specified in the commandment? There is no question in his mind about the need of a day set apart for public worship. If it were to be discarded, the church would come to naught. Then why did the day have to be changed?

He offers several reasons for the change of the day. It was important, for instance, to publicize the fact that Christians no longer expect the Messiah.²⁸ It was indispensable also to separate Christianity from the Jewish superstition of attributing holiness to

²⁵*IC*, pp. 422-423.

²⁶*IC*, p. 423.

²⁷*IC*, p. 426.

²⁸*IC*, p. 428.

a certain portion of time.²⁹ Furthermore, it was perhaps the only way to be set free from the outward celebration of the day of rest.³⁰ In this line of reasoning we are reminded of Calvin's argument: "Because it was expedient to overthrow superstition, the day sacred to the Jews was set aside."³¹ But, in this case, how then can Sunday be sacred? The sacredness is not derived from the entity itself, Viret argues, but from its sacred use, very much like common bread and common wine become sacred when used for communion.³²

Servants and the Weekly Day of Rest

The discussion turns now to what is commonly called the third use of the sabbath commandment: the protection of a weekly rest for the servants. Here Viret's reasoning is quite original. Instead of stressing the suffering and economic loss that result when servants cannot rest properly, he emphasizes human rights. The right of servants to celebrate the day of rest is based upon their creation in the image of God, he declares.³³ They have, therefore, the same right to religious instruction as their masters. Thus, the fourth commandment is closely linked with the proclamation of human dignity. (This was also the argument used for requiring church attendance of all, whether masters or servants, in the 1547 country-church ordinances at Geneva.)³⁴

Animals and the Weekly Day of Rest

But, Timothy asks, how can this argument lead to justifying the demand for the rest of animals, a stipulation that concludes the sabbath commandment?³⁵ After all, animals were not created in the image of God. Viret gives several reasons in response: First, by not working farm animals on the sabbath, the servants who take care of them are also free to worship. In the second place, by being more

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰IC, p. 430.

³¹*Institutes* (1559) 2.8.33.

³²IC, p. 429.

³³IC, p. 431.

³⁴*Calvini Opera*, 10/1: 51.

³⁵IC, p. 432.

humane toward animals, we will be better amenable to the equity that should exist between men. Finally, by reflecting upon God's care for animals, we are led to reflect upon his interest in man. Incidentally, Erasmus also had paid attention to this facet of the commandment.³⁶

Strangers and the Weekly Day of Rest

There is still a major problem left, however: Why are strangers required to keep the day of rest? If they are unbelievers, why should they be subjected to a religious ordinance? How can there be a spiritual rest, when there is no spiritual interest? How, indeed, can a sacrament be shared with unbelievers? Viret's answer gives an important reflection of his view of religious freedom: "If we do not stop evil where God has given us the power to do it, we share in it. For if an idolater, a blasphemer, an adulterer, a gourmand, a drunkard, a gambler, or any others have the license to live in idolatry, to blaspheme, to commit adultery, to drink and gamble, and to do all sorts of evil things in their own country, it does not follow that we must endure such where God has given us power and authority to prevent it. For if we tolerate that the land which God gave us should be polluted and defiled, it will never stop asking vengeance from God."³⁷ We recognize here the Bucerian tone of the passage, with its demand for the enforcement of Sunday observance.³⁸

In a sermon of June 1555, two years after Servetus's execution, Calvin considered also the problem of giving the sacrament of Sunday to strangers, who obviously cannot and may not share in the divine rest. Calvin said that in this case the command to the Gentiles was not for their sake, but for the sake of God's children. If cattle and strangers were required to respect the sabbath, rebels to God's truth must not be allowed to flourish among God's people. Even passers-by must be stopped. Making allusion probably to an illustrious passer-by, Servetus, he adds, "If anyone hears a transient

³⁶*Symbolum*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. J. Leclerc (1706; reprint, Hildesheim, 1962), 5: 1189.

³⁷*IC*, p. 433.

³⁸*Opera Latina*, ed. F. Wendel (Paris, 1950), 15: 81.

blaspheme, if he mocks God and that is tolerated and his deed is covered up, is it not profanation?"³⁹ He attacks violently also the idea of allowing papists a place where they might celebrate what he calls "their idolatries and superstitions." It is interesting, however, that in his commentaries on the Pentateuch, Calvin does not say a word about the possibility of restoring the death penalty for Sunday-breaking.⁴⁰

5. Conclusion

What does this study reveal concerning Viret? He is a careful exegete, following carefully all the details of the text. He is also a very systematic interpreter, who considers all the problems a doctrine may raise. This leads him to give much attention to specific issues, such as the relationship of the commandment to creation and the importance of this doctrine for Christians.

Viret is much more polemical in his treatment of the commandment than are the other Reformers. Furthermore, he is well trained in the methods of logic and is usually very clear and readable, although at times his care in examining every detail becomes a bit tiresome.

On the whole, Viret is more academic than inspiring. He writes and talks like a teacher rather than a pastor. In so doing, however, he provides one of the fullest and most systematic discussions of the fourth commandment that stems from the Reformation period.

³⁹*Sermons on Deuteronomy*, in *Calvini Opera*, 26: 207.

⁴⁰*Calvini Opera*, 24: 583. See also "Answer to Dutchman," in *ibid.*, 9: 589.

THE FATE OF JEHOIAKIM

ALBERTO R. GREEN
Rutgers College
Rutgers: The State University
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

Attempts to determine the date of Jehoiakim's death have been based on the assumption that his successor, Jehoiachin, acceded to the throne of Judah immediately upon the death of his predecessor. Utilizing as a starting point the date of Jehoiachin's surrender to Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kgs 24:12), and figuring back the three months of his reign (2 Kgs 24:8), we are thereby able to arrive at the death date of Jehoiakim. Presumably, 2 Chr 36:9 gives us a more exact figure of three months and ten days for the length of Jehoiachin's reign, in contrast to the round number of three months given in 2 Kgs 24:8. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Nebuchadrezzar seized the city of Judah (=Jerusalem) and captured its king (=Jehoiachin) on 2 Adar of his 7th regnal year, or March 16, 597 B.C.¹ Figuring three Hebrew-Babylonian months and ten days of Jehoiachin's reign back from March 16, 597, would place the dates of Jehoiakim's death and Jehoiachin's accession on December 9/10, 598 B.C.²

¹See BM 21946 in D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicle of the Chaldean Kings (626-556) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), pp. 72-73 (hereinafter cited as *CCK*); and A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Vol. 5, Texts from Cuneiform Sources (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1975), p. 103 (hereinafter cited as *ABC*). For more recent and extensive studies on the history and chronology of Judah under its last kings, see B. Oded, "The Last Days of Judah and the Destruction of Jerusalem (609-586 BCE)," in *Israelite and Judean History*, eds. John H. Hayes and Maxwell Müller (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 469-476; A. Malamat, "The Twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian-Babylonian Maelstrom," *VTSup* 28 (1975): 121-145; E. Stern, "Israel at the Close of the Period of the Monarchy: An Archaeological Survey," *BA* 38 (1975): 26-54; and E. Kutsch, "Das Jahr der Katastrophe: 587 v. Chr.," *Bib* 55 (1974): 520-545.

²See especially S. H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," *AUSS* 5 (1967): 15; and now more recently,

Though mathematically worked out correctly, these very precise figures may be based on a scribal error, in the transmitted form of the MT. This will be noted below. My suggestion is that a more accurate estimate of the date of Jehoiakim's death may be ascertained, and that that date in turn may provide us with some insight into the yet obscure circumstances surrounding the death of this king. It may also reveal some additional insights on the following oracle on Jehoiakim in Jer 22:18-19:

And so this is what Yahweh has
said concerning Jehoiakim ben Josiah,
king of Judah: "Woe to this man!
They'll not lament him,
'Ah, my brother! Ah, sister!'
They'll not lament him,
'Ah, Lord! Ah, his majesty!'
They'll give him a donkey's funeral!
—Hauled out and dumped
Outside Jerusalem's gates."³

1. *The Chronological Data*

With regard to Jehoiakim's death and the subsequent accession of Jehoiachin, one of the evident discrepancies is in the chronological datum on Jehoiachin's age when he assumed the throne: 2 Kgs 24:8 gives his age as 18 years; however, 2 Chr 36:9 states that he was only 8 years old. It is generally agreed that the statement in 2 Kgs 24:8 on Jehoiachin's age is probably correct, and that this datum has been incorrectly given in the Chronicler's account.⁴

Malamat, pp. 132-133. Specific data on these calculations are also available in Hayes and Miller, pp. 682-683; E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), p. 168; and R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence, R.I., 1965), p. 27.

³John Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21 (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), pp. 137-138.

⁴The LXX also reads 18 years rather than 8. See additional discussion on this problem in W. F. Albright, "King Jehoiachin in Exile," *BA* 5 (1942): 53; H. G. May, "Jehoiachin," *IDB* 2: 811-813; and Jacob M. Myers, *II Chronicles*, AB 13 (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), p. 218.

Since Jehoiachin was already married to more than one wife when he was deported (2 Kgs 24:15), and since five of his sons are mentioned in a ration tablet written in Babylon five years after his deportation,⁵ it seems more likely that he was 18 rather than 8 years old when he assumed the throne.

A closer evaluation of 2 Chr 36:9 appears to indicate that this is not the only incorrect chronological statement bearing on the reign of this king. I would suggest that the addition of ten days to Jehoiachin's three-month reign in this verse may also be incorrect, and could have occurred through a scribal error during the course of transmission of the text prior to the Chronicler's time. This study proposes that these two scribal errors are related and probably developed through an inadvertent transposition of the word "ten" from the first to the second of the two chronological phrases in this verse. An illustration of this proposal can best be appreciated by a comparison between the Hebrew text of 2 Chr 36:9 with that of 2 Kgs 24:8. The word "ten" was transposed to its new location following "months," and the word "days" was then added to explain its presence there.

2 Kgs 24:8	2 Chr 36:9
בְּנִשְׁמֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה	בְּנִשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנִים
יְהוֹיָכִין בְּמָלְכוֹ	יְהוֹיָכִין בְּמָלְכוֹ
וְשָׁלֹשׁ חֳדָשִׁים	וְעֶשְׂרֵת יָמִים
מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם	מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם

This proposed adjustment of the datum in 2 Chr 36:9 consequently leads to the conclusion that we should view the presumably *less specific* chronological datum in 2 Kgs 24:8 as the more accurate figure from which to estimate the date of Jehoiakim's death. This figure must remain, however, an estimate only, because the round figure of three months does not permit us to narrow the date down any more precisely than within the correct month. Even though our data do not permit a greater precision, it is, nevertheless, constructive to consider the range of possibly important political developments which may be involved here.

⁵A. L. Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," *ANET*, p. 308.

2. *Political Developments and Their Chronology*

Jehoiachin surrendered to Nebuchadrezzar on 2 Adar, in the 12th month of the Hebrew and Babylonian calendars, thus ending his reign.⁶ The two days of Adar mentioned here count for the third of Jehoiachin's three months, given the method of inclusive reckoning utilized by the Hebrews and other ancient peoples.⁷ Thus, the second month of Jehoiachin's reign was Shebat, the 11th month of the calendar year; and his first month, the month of his accession to the throne, was Tebeth, the 10th month of the year. On the other hand, if his reign was 3 months and 10 days, his first month would have to be the last 9 days of Kislev, the 9th month, in order that his surrender could agree with the Babylonian datum of 2 Adar, the date of the capitulation of the city. This study, therefore, has concluded so far that Jehoiakim died sometime during the month of Tebeth, the 10th month of that year, rather than in Kislev, the 9th month.

The Babylonian Chronicle indicates that Nebuchadrezzar with his army left Babylon for Jerusalem in Kislev, the 9th month of that year.⁸ The precise day of the army's departure in the month of Kislev has not been given by the Babylonian Chronicler; hence, here again, we have a range of possibilities to consider. However, when this datum is compared with our earlier range of possibilities for the death date of Jehoiakim, our conclusion is that Nebuchadrezzar left Babylon sometime between the beginning and the end of the 9th month of the year 598/597 and that Jehoiakim died sometime between the beginning and the end of the 10th month of that same calendar year.

It is evident from the study of Nebuchadrezzar's Chronicle that the Babylonian king did not conduct a general campaign throughout the West in 598/597, for he did not leave Babylon until late that year, and when he did leave, the Chronicle indicates that he set out

⁶See n. 1.

⁷There are various biblical examples of this method of computing time which includes the first and last units of a period, whether these units are complete or not. So, e.g., in 2 Chr 10:5, 12, Rehoboam instructs the people to "come to me after three days," and later "all the people came to Rehoboam the third day as the king said." Note also 2 Kgs 18:9, 10.

⁸CCK, pp. 71-72; ABC, p. 102.

directly for Jerusalem to besiege and subdue the rebellious Jehoiakim.⁹ Since it is clear that Judah was his primary objective, we may allow a little more than a month for his troops to arrive at their destination.¹⁰

3. *Chronological Correlations and the Circumstances of Jehoiakim's Death*

There is a range of chronological correlations which may offer some interesting possibilities as to the circumstances leading to Jehoiakim's death. If Nebuchadrezzar's army did not leave Babylon until sometime towards the end of the 9th month, then Jehoiakim probably had died by the time the army reached Jerusalem, as it would have taken the Babylonian army over a month to reach Judah. In that case, the factors surrounding Jehoiakim's death remain obscure. If, on the other hand, the army left Babylon towards the beginning of the 9th month and there was only a three-month reign for Jehoiachin reckoned inclusively, then Jehoiakim did not die until sometime towards the end of the 10th month, and the possibility exists that Jehoiakim still occupied the throne of Judah when the Babylonian army took up their positions around the city.

If the latter of the two hypotheses is correct, it seems plausible to theorize that when the siege of the city began, there was deep concern among the residents of Jerusalem in general and among the pro-Babylonian faction in particular. This concern and fear

⁹He obviously became a vassal of the Babylonian king along with other kings of the region when Nebuchadrezzar decisively defeated the Egyptian army at Carchemish in 604. Cf. *CCK*, pp. 66-67; *ABC*, p. 99. The Hebrew writer notes that Jehoiakim had served Nebuchadrezzar for three years (2 Kgs 24:1) and subsequently rebelled. This rebellion can plausibly be connected with Nebuchadrezzar's impotence after the heavy losses he sustained in a subsequent battle against the Egyptians under Necho II, in 601. See *CCK*, pp. 71-72, and *ABC*, p. 101.

¹⁰Jehoiachin's accession was sometime in the 10th month, immediately upon the death of Jehoiakim. Nebuchadrezzar's departure from Babylon early in the 9th month would allow his army more than a month traveling time in order to capture Jerusalem on 2 Adar. The distance involved can be calibrated by the rate at which the Babylonian army traveled. On the calibration of these rates, see D. J. A. Clines, "Regnal Year Reckoning in the Last Years of the Kingdom of Judah," *AJBA* 5 (1972): 29-32; and Malamat, pp. 132-133.

precipitated blame upon Jehoiakim for the political problems which were moving the city toward destruction, and it could legitimately have been felt that if Jehoiakim had remained a loyal vassal to Nebuchadrezzar, the Babylonian army would not then be investing the city. As this sort of sentiment deepened and spread among the residents of the city, the next step could easily have been an attempt to remedy the situation by eliminating the cause of it, namely, Jehoiakim himself. Under such circumstances, if the king was still alive when the Babylonians arrived, he could have died in the ensuing coup at the hands of the pro-Babylonian faction in the city as that faction attempted to save Jerusalem from destruction. His body could, in that case, have been thrown out as a sop to appease Nebuchadrezzar and to induce the Babylonian king to change his mind about conquering the city.

This reconstruction would fit well with Jehoiakim's fate as described in Jer 22:19. Based on chronological data from the available sources, it provides a plausible explanation for Jehoiakim's fate which previously has gone unexplained. Evidently, if the plot I have envisaged was attempted, it is apparent that it was unsuccessful. The siege of Jerusalem continued for more than another month before the new king Jehoiachin decided that it was more expedient to surrender than to continue his resistance—an initiative on his part which may explain the special treatment he subsequently received in Babylon. Thus, assuming the correctness of the datum in 2 Kgs 24:8 as contrasted with 2 Chr 36:9, and taking into consideration the travel time of more than a month for the Babylonian army to arrive at Jerusalem and begin the investment of the city, it is possible to explain the circumstances surrounding the death of Jehoiakim and the disposal of his body.

It should be noted, in concluding, that Nebuchadrezzar's binding of Jehoiakim in bronze chains for deportation to Babylon (2 Chr 36:6) probably should be separated from this episode and attributed to a time earlier in his reign. This may have occurred in 605 or 604, prior to the three years when Jehoiakim served Nebuchadrezzar as a faithful vassal (2 Kgs 24:1). If Jehoiakim's capture is attributed to an earlier time in this way, it would indicate that Nebuchadrezzar apparently had a change of heart about deporting him, and instead, returned him to the throne. Under these circumstances, 601 would be the most likely year for

Jehoiakim's rebellion at the end of his three years of faithful service. In that year, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, the Babylonians fought an important battle against the Egyptians.¹¹ The result of this battle was either a draw or a defeat for the Babylonians, a factor which provided Jehoiakim with the opportune circumstance for rebellion. Due to the urgent need of revamping and strengthening his army, Nebuchadrezzar was unable to deal directly with the rebellious Judean king during the years 600 and 599.¹² If one were to attribute Nebuchadrezzar's capture of Jehoiakim to the latter king's last days, that interpretation would also fit well with the chronological correlations suggested above. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that such an event fits better into a time earlier in Jehoiakim's reign.¹³

¹¹*CCK*, pp. 71-72; *ABC*, p. 101.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³See also W. F. Albright, "The Nebuchadrezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles," *BASOR*, no. 143 (1956), p. 31; *CCK*, pp. 28, 68-69; *ABC*, p. 100.

THE PASTOR AS A MANAGER OF CONFLICT IN THE CHURCH

ARNOLD KURTZ
Andrews University

Conflict, such a real part of everyday life, has not by-passed the church and its leaders. Traditionally, however, clergymen have not dealt effectively with it. Successful management of conflict requires administrative skills and a considerable knowledge of organizational strategies, neither of which has generally been given very high priority. Because the church is so vulnerable to conflict today, the creative handling of controversy is no longer an option but a necessity.

The formal study of conflict is a relatively recent academic undertaking. In fact, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* was first published in the spring of 1957. Although work has been going on in Europe since World War II to develop a science of peace and conflict research, it is generally true that there, as in America, "the findings of modern conflict analysis have not yet been applied to the church."¹

The turbulence of social change in the 1960s swept the churches of America into experiences of conflict which many were ill-prepared to handle. Out of necessity arose an eclectic search for appropriate coping tools, as inquiry was made of the behavioral and social sciences, organizational research, and labor-management-conflict studies. In recent years, a science of conflict management (moving beyond elementary human relations principles) has taken its first tottering steps in the church.²

¹Ingo Hermann, "Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Church," *Concilium*, March 1972, p. 107.

²Seminaries have introduced conflict-management courses into the curriculum, particularly in connection with Doctor-of-Ministry programs. A recent book which surveys the literature relating to application of conflict-management principles to the church is Donald E. Bossart, *Creative Conflict in Religious Education and Church Administration* (Birmingham, Ala., 1980).

The present article will survey in general terms (1) basic concepts for understanding and managing conflict, and (2) strategies for the management of conflict. A follow-up article will treat the matter of institutionalizing conflict management in the church so as to provide benefit to the congregation itself while at the same time reducing the pastor's load in this respect.

1. *Basic Concepts for Understanding and Managing Conflict*

Action training projects in conflict management appear to support the notion that attitudinal change is most influenced by an understanding of the nature of conflict and its development.³ We should admit the inevitability of conflict. For man, in his present condition of brokenness, controversy is a normal part of life lived in groups and communities. To assume otherwise is a mistake for which the church must pay a high price. Human beings are too varied in background, disposition, education, and expectation to respond in identical ways. Realistically, a measure of the health and effectiveness of a congregation would be, not the absence of conflict, but the way the congregation and its leaders handle it.

Precise definitions of conflict are difficult to formulate without aspects of delimitation or description. Synonyms such as "clash," "tension," "struggle," and/or "friction" are usually employed, but they do not stand alone, or are inadequate in themselves, in providing definitions. Is, for instance, the "tension" or "struggle" intra- or inter-personal, intra- or inter-group? And is the "tension" and "struggle" over one or more of the following general areas of conflict noted by John L. Hoff: "(a) money; (b) power (including authority and structure); (c) value and belief; (d) loyalty to persons and groups?"⁴

The varied nature of definitions that are given is illustrated by four that I have seen recently:

A struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, inspire, or eliminate their rivals.⁵

³John L. Hoff, "Conflict Management: An Organizational Principle," *The Christian Ministry*, January 1973, p. 18.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York, 1956), p. 8.

By "conflict" we simply mean a struggle, for power by contending forces, a clash of views, or a difference of opinion.⁶

... the structure of a system within which there exist mutually irreconcilable concepts of the goal of the system, such that the achievement of one goal would exclude the achievement of the other.⁷

... the experience of pain or the threat of pain in interpersonal relationships. Conflict is ... a way of experiencing relationship.⁸

Pastors will probably relate readily to the last definition or even more readily to the simple, matter-of-fact observation by Paul Tournier that "it is not possible for people to work together at a common task without there being differences of opinion, conflicts, jealousy and bitterness."⁹ What is important for our purposes in this essay is that we approach the subject without ethical pre-judgment. If we think of conflict, not as warfare, but as the *appearance of difference*, or in psychological terms, as the *interacting of desires*, we eliminate the connotation of good or bad.

More useful, perhaps, than definitions would be an examination of the nature of conflict and conflict management by means of a series of analytic and contrasting dyads such as the following: (1) functional versus dysfunctional conflict, (2) substantive versus emotional issues, (3) integrative versus distributive strategy, and (4) control versus resolution in conflict management.

Functional versus Dysfunctional Conflict

It is essential to remember that conflict can be either creative or destructive, functional or dysfunctional. Controversy was, in fact, a part of the life of the early church. The NT gives clear evidence, for example, that there was dissension over whether circumcision was essential to salvation and that there were interpersonal disputes between Paul and Barnabas and between Peter and Paul, but that these were creatively handled and produced a

⁶Robert Lee and Martin Marty, eds., *Religion and Social Conflict* (New York, 1964), p. 4.

⁷Hermann, pp. 107-108.

⁸Hoff, pp. 17-18.

⁹Paul Tournier, *The Meaning of Persons* (New York, 1956), p. 38.

good result (see, e.g., Acts 15:5-27, 36-41; Gal 2:9-14). Indeed, disputes of a nature to "tear apart," creating factions and broken relationships, are scripturally condemned (see, e.g., 1 Cor 1:10-13).

Among the positive values attributed to conflict are the following:

1. Conflict may serve as a stimulus. It may yield new ideas which might not have been conceived without this stimulus. Saul Alinsky insists that "Controversy has always been the seed of creation."¹⁰ It often stimulates participation and involvement in the decision-making processes by people who may have become inactive or passive in an organization.¹¹ Conflict may increase motivation and energy for the tasks of a social system as well as increase the innovativeness of individuals through the healthy interchange of viewpoints.¹² Growth is promoted by involvement in significant encounters in which people are free to make their contributions to the directions of change. It has well been said that "a non-controversial congregation is a dead one."¹³

2. Conflict may help to sharpen the issues and enable people to distinguish more clearly between two points of view. It provides an impetus for critical examination, and it generally supplies a floodlight of publicity to help expose all sides of an issue. Clearer vision results if we are free to test our convictions against opposing views.

3. Conflict serves to clarify and sharpen identities. Dean Kelley's thesis in the book *Why the Conservative Churches Are Growing* supports this point. Where church groups actively contend for their faith and at the same time resist pressures "to confuse it with other beliefs/loyalties/practices . . .," a high sense of identity is generally maintained.¹⁴

¹⁰Quoted in Stephen C. Rose, "Saul Alinsky and His Critics," *Christianity and Crisis*, July 20, 1964, p. 145.

¹¹Lyle E. Schaller, *Community Organization: Conflict and Reconciliation* (New York, 1966), p. 78.

¹²Richard E. Walton, *Interpersonal Peace-making: Confrontations and Third-Party Consultation* (Reading, Mass., 1969), p. 5.

¹³Dan W. Dodson, "The Creative Role of Controversy," *Social Action*, February 1963, p. 13.

¹⁴Dean Kelley, *Why the Conservative Churches are Growing* (New York, 1972), pp. 121-122.

Advocates of pluralism see a value in conflict in this connection. "If conflict between them [American denominations] disappeared, people would lose their identities and be blurred into a vague 'Americanistic' understanding of life."¹⁵ It seems generally accepted by sociologists that the distinction between ourselves (the "in-groups") and everybody else (the "out-groups") is established in and through conflict. As a corollary to this notion, there are those who argue that conflict is a primary way, perhaps the only way, to achieve and sustain intimacy.¹⁶ "It appears that it is primarily through conflict that we come to understand each other and are thereby enabled to push past the differences to the commonalities that link men."¹⁷

4. Conflict enhances the principles of democracy and freedom. The "cutting edges" of a democratic society are at its points of tension and difference. If freedom is to be real, the possibility of advancing new or old ideas must be present as well as the concomitant possibility of controversy. Free controversy is the only method known to man whereby the heavy hand of coerced conformity may be diverted and creative energies released. "Only a totalitarian society in practice knows—at least in appearance—that general agreement and unity, that grey single sameness, which is the mark of the *societas perfectas*."¹⁸

5. Finally, conflict has been ascribed positive value by social activists as a means of hastening change. The human tendency to cling to the status quo, it is argued, does not yield without struggle. Carefully managed, this kind of conflict can serve a positive use wherever change is planned.¹⁹

Churchmen generally, however, have not been very comfortable with the idea that conflict may have constructive consequences. It must be conceded that there are risks and liabilities. Insecurity, anxiety, hunger, bloodshed, and annihilation may be among them. Conflict can rend and destroy. Conflict which produces prolonged or permanent disruption of relationships, or conflict which, though

¹⁵Will Herberg as cited by Martin Marty in *Religion and Social Conflict*, p. 176.

¹⁶George Simmel. *Conflict*, trans. Kurt K. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill., 1955), pp. 17-18.

¹⁷Hoff, p. 17.

¹⁸Hermann, p. 111.

¹⁹Lyle E. Schaller, *The Change Agent* (New York, 1972), chap. 6.

temporary, is of such intensity as to be disabling, is obviously "dysfunctional."

Many Christians are especially uncomfortable with the deliberate use of conflict for social change. Critics of the conflict theory—conflict as a strategy for change²⁰—argue that God calls Christians to be reconciling agents whose every act must be performed in a spirit of love. "The role of the church in this age of alienation is to serve as a channel for God's reconciling love as it flows from God to man to his brother. Clearly there is little room for the use of conflict in this argument."²¹

An important philosophical argument against the deliberate use of conflict for change is based on the ancient question of ends and means. Is it possible for a "bad" method to produce a "good" end? If mild conflict can escalate into violence and hate, will the end product be corrupted by the means used to achieve the end? These are vital moral questions which the Christian must address.

Perhaps the best that can be said at this point is that, given the inevitability of conflict where persons exist and act in interrelationship and interdependence, as they do in the church, it is important to learn how to contain these tensions and to channel them to constructive ends. It is also necessary to distinguish between healthy differences and pathological differences—between disagreement which is to be encouraged because it enriches problem-solving and productivity and disagreement which disables a group.

Substantive versus Emotional Issues

Richard Walton draws a distinction between substantive and emotional issues in conflict.²² *Substantive issues* involve such disagreements as might occur over policies, practices, and role relationships—i.e., differences of opinion. *Emotional issues* involve negative feelings between parties such as anger, distrust, scorn, resentment, fear, and rejection.

²⁰As applied by Saul Alinsky in labor-management relations and later by civil-rights activists. See Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (Westminster, Md., 1969).

²¹Schaller, *Community Organization*, p. 83. He adds, "On the other hand it can be argued that in many times and places neighbor-centered love *requires* the Christian to resort to the use of conflict."

²²Walton, pp. 2, 73-75.

While it may be useful to sort out the issues in a conflict in this way, in actuality it is difficult to draw a neat line between the two. By nature, conflict involves emotion. Where a policy or opinion is held with deep feeling or conviction and where that policy or opinion is confronted by a threat of high magnitude, we have the occasion for conflict. Or again, participants in emotional conflict may point to substantive issues to dignify or justify their dispute.

A related view is expressed by Lewis Coser, who distinguishes between what he calls "realistic" and "nonrealistic" conflict. In the former, conflict is a means to an end with a rational basis, whereas in the latter, conflict simply arises from aggressive tendencies as an end in itself. In realistic conflict, *means* other than conflict are available (hostility is not necessarily involved), or there is a possibility of choice between various forms of contention. In nonrealistic conflict, since it affords only tension release, the *chosen antagonist* can be substituted for by any other suitable target.²³ Realistic conflict can be "managed," but nonrealistic may require therapy. On balance, conflict that is based on nonrealistic interests or even unlimited conflict that is based on realistic interests can be regarded as more harmful than creative.

It is important for clergymen to understand the emotional factors involved in conflict. They must understand and deal sensitively with the "threat fields" of individuals—those areas of life in which people feel especially vulnerable and for which defenses and barricades have been built. There are times when the pastor must patiently serve as a blotter for the hostilities of troubled people. He endures, obeying the dictum of Spinoza: "Do not weep. Do not wax indignant. Understand."

The pastor will recognize that the church like all "conviction communities" (i.e., where a certain commonality in beliefs and endorsement of human values is assumed), is particularly vulnerable to conflict. The likelihood of an admixture of nonrealistic elements is greater, according to Coser, "in groups in which the members participate in their total personality than in groups in

²³Coser, pp. 48-50, 156. For instance, displaced father hatred may attach itself to the boss, policeman, or board chairman.

which they participate only segmentally.”²⁴ Church fights and “holy wars” have always been embarrassingly difficult to handle. The worst of our “fallings out” are those in which each protagonist contends that “the Lord” is on his or her side. There is no more dogmatic position than that of an individual who claims the Lord’s support.²⁵

Distributive versus Integrative Strategy

Often, conflict is of such a nature that the simple or obvious way to deal with it is to make a distribution of the goods or values involved. Frequently, however, the distribution is such that if I get more, you get less; or if you get more, I get less. We have, then, a win-or-lose situation. Such win/lose-conflict situations tend to make people cautious, secretive, insecure, and belligerent. Hasty voting in the church on business items or other issues is among the more common practices that tend to produce these win/lose confrontations.

Integrative strategy, by contrast, aims at a win/win situation in which, if I win, you win too. The church, like a school, is an integrative social situation, not a distributive one. In it there may exist the positive conflict of a healthy interchange of ideas, friendly competition to produce the clearest analysis of a situation, or the zest of determination to do the best possible job for the group—forms of conflict which cause all to win.

Integrative strategy involves a quest for consensus and cooperation. As early as 1925 Mary Parker Follett was advocating this approach for labor-management conflict.²⁶ She describes three

²⁴Coser, p. 58.

²⁵If it is any comfort, research indicates that emotional levels in conflict are often cyclical. After experiencing the consequences of open conflict for a time, the antagonists may back away, the conflict becoming latent for a time. If they remain in interdependence, manifest conflict will tend to recur at some point. The issues or the form of the conflict may also change from one cycle to the next. A group might openly resist a proposal when it is first introduced, then move into a period of latency on that issue, only to reconsider it favorably at a later time. See Walton, pp. 72-73.

²⁶H. C. Metcalf and L. Urwick, eds., *Dynamic Administration: The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett* (New York, 1940), chap. 1, “Constructive Conflict,” pp. 30-49.

main ways of dealing with conflict: domination, compromise, and integration. The first and easiest way is the win/lose approach. Under compromise, the most common approach, each side gives up a little in order to have peace, but conflict can be expected to rise in some other form because only part of the desired objective has been achieved and the sides are not content to let it rest there. When two desires are *integrated*, however, then a solution has been found in which both desires have found a place and neither side has had to sacrifice anything.²⁷

Some contemporary ecclesialogists are advocating consensus decision-making as particularly appropriate to the nature of the church. The vote approach, it is argued, tends to divide: “. . . it must force individuals to argue and attempt to convince, rather than help them work together to reach mutually agreeable solutions. The vote just is not an option for the Church.”²⁸

E. L. Mascall, in a penetrating analysis of the foibles of ecclesiastical assemblies points to an instance where an important issue involving historical church tradition hung on two votes. “No one would hang a cat on such a vote as this.” Is it sufficient, he asks, to justify the abandonment of a historic tradition of Christendom on such a basis?²⁹ It is contrary to the nature of the church, he contends, to rely simply on numerical voting for the conduct of the church’s affairs. “Every religious community is familiar with the fact that, unless it is to be maimed and frustrated, contentious issues have to be settled not by snap votes but by humble and persistent dialogue in the spirit of faith and charity until a common mind is formed.”³⁰

²⁷Follett explains that under this cooperative approach a “reevaluation” of desires takes place on the part of the participants so that neither party is really “giving in.” This is discussed further in the next section as the strategy of “working in the overlap.”

²⁸L. O. Richards, *A New Face for the Church* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970), p. 189. Perhaps it is true in the church, as in the contemporary controversy over the political separation-of-powers doctrine in America, that if somebody wins, the game is over. If nobody loses, everybody wins.

²⁹E. L. Mascall, “Some Reflections on Ecclesiastical Assemblies,” *Theology*, January 1971, p. 209.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 210-211. Elton Trueblood describes this process as it was employed by the Quakers: “In the characteristic business meeting of Quakers all over the world, the decisions are made without voting, and without adherence to ordinary

It is not being suggested here that integration is possible in all instances. There are cases where competing desires appear to be mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, clergymen, who have so often been habituated by the way of life in modern society to a win/lose approach to conflict, should experiment, where feasible, with integration as a strategy. The advantages are compelling. Certainly, in a consensus situation, resistance forces are seen in a positive light; indeed, members are urged to express doubts and problems. The likelihood is greater, therefore, that resistance forces will be handled without destroying either the unity of the group or the group's mutual commitment to its goals.³¹

Control versus Resolution in Conflict Management

One can distinguish between resolution and control as different goals of conflict management. Sometimes, however, all that is possible is a temporary de-escalation of conflict forces to a level where work can go on.³²

Control of conflict can also be said to be achieved in an anticipatory way—what Mary Parker Follett calls *anticipation of response*. Referring to labor management, she states: "It isn't enough merely to study the actual reactions of your employees; you

parliamentary rules of order. The hope is that the clerk will be a highly sensitive person who can find the 'sense of the meeting' without a show of hands. He is supposed to try to search for essential unanimity and to judge by 'weight,' rather than by mere numbers. When there is a clear division, the usual practice is to postpone a decision for at least a month or to settle into a time of worship and prayer. Frequently, the effect of such waiting verges on the miraculous. It does not always succeed, but it succeeds so often that there is no serious doubt concerning the wisdom of the method. One beneficent effect is the avoidance of 51-49 decisions which almost always leave a residue of bitterness. The Quakers method of reaching decisions is slow and outwardly inefficient, but the results are often healing. That it has not always been faithfully followed is evidenced by the few unhappy divisions which Quakers have experienced in the course of more than three centuries" (D. Elton Trueblood, *The People Called Quakers* [New York, 1966], "Appendix A, Quaker Organization," p. 285).

³¹For practical guidelines for this method, see Caesar B. Moody, *Preparation for Cooperative Decision Making*, Association for Student Teaching, Bulletin No. 12, 1960. See also Richards, pp. 187-191.

³²Walton, p. 5. See also his discussion on pp. 90-93 of coping techniques where the goal is the de-escalation of conflict to the point of eliminating some of the symptomatic issues.

must anticipate their reactions, beat them to it." Comparing this method to a chess game, she points out, "As the real conflict between two good chess players is a conflict of possibilities that would be realized if they played them out, so in business you do not have to make all the moves to make your integrations; you deal with antecedents, premonitory symptoms, etc."³³

The pastor needs to develop an early warning system by means of which he can recognize a situation before it flares out of control. Among the simple indices of tension change which might serve as clues are the following: voting patterns indicating rise of opposition, open protests of policy or decision, change in attendance or revenue (both up and down, but mostly down), a persisting issue of an abrasive nature, increasing polarization of groups, and withdrawal of key persons or groups from communication.³⁴

Anticipation of response includes an awareness of the circular nature of response. In the game of tennis, "A" serves the ball. "B's" return depends in part on the way it was served; A's next play will depend on his own original serve plus the return of B, and so on and on. "The conception of circular behavior throws much light on conflict, for I now realize that I can never fight you, I am always fighting you plus me."³⁵

The leader of a group is in a position to control whether the behavior cycle shall be malevolent or benevolent. The question as to whether emotional remarks are responded to emotionally and thus made self-perpetuating, or whether they are to be taken as evidence of the need to think through a problem, depends upon the leadership. Leadership determines the balance.

Resolution of conflict comes with the complete elimination of the conflict issues and the achievement of agreement and trust. Little needs to be said about this objective since it is obvious and straightforward, although it is often the most difficult to reach.

These, then, are a few of the directions toward which a pastor's search might lead him in an attempt to build a foundation for understanding and managing conflict.

³³Metcalf and Urwick, p. 44.

³⁴Charles A. Dailey, "The Management of Conflict," *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register*, May 1969, p. 3.

³⁵Metcalf and Urwick, p. 45.

2. *A Strategy for the Management of Conflict*

Turning more specifically to guidelines for monitoring conflict, we begin by proposing the obvious—that one's strategy must fit the nature of the conflict. It is clear that where conflict is confined largely to substantive issues, interventions will be more of a problem-solving character with cognitive processes prevailing. Where the emotional level is high, such conflict will require a restructuring of perceptions and the working through of feelings between the principals. Conciliative interventions here are of an affective as well as of a cognitive nature.

An important function of the mediator is to divest conflict situations of their nonrealistic elements of aggressiveness. Only with the restoration of rationality can contenders deal realistically with the divergent claims at issue.³⁶ "There can be no resolution of conflict without rationality."³⁷

The strategy outlined below calls for *confrontation* with a view to (1) making visible the issues involved, (2) examining the prevailing assumptions, and (3) exploring the alternatives available for controlling or resolving the conflict.

Differences between persons or groups in organizations can be handled by avoidance, withdrawal, or coercion, but a more useful approach involves confrontation. By confrontation we mean the process in which the parties directly engage each other verbally in focusing on the conflict between them. The belief is that "the most constructive ways to handle conflict are generally verbal rather than nonverbal—somatic disturbance, withdrawal, physical violence, murder. In other words, it is more socially contributive to talk out an aggression than to act it out."³⁸

The tendency of the present-day church has been to "smooth over" its difficulties, rather than to take the direct approach. Our culture has taught us to be ashamed of feelings of anger or resentment and, in any event, not to express them. Furthermore, confrontation makes demands in emotional energy, and there are risks. The costs of suppression, however, may be much greater.

In confrontation, an important objective is to make visible the issues involved. This may be done in three steps or stages: (1) Sur-

³⁶Coser, p. 60.

³⁷Hermann, p. 115.

³⁸Hoff, p. 18.

face the issues, (2) examine the assumptions, and (3) explore the alternatives.

Surface the Issues

Follett refers to surfacing of the issues as the first step in conflict management:

If, then, we do not think that differing necessarily means fighting, even when two desires both claim right of way, if we think that integration is more profitable than conquering or compromising, the first step . . . is *to bring the differences into the open*. We cannot hope to integrate our differences unless we know what they are.³⁹

Although frequently *one* specific event or issue initiates a conflict, a proliferation of issues may follow.⁴⁰ The important question that needs to be raised is, What are the conflict issues in the view of the different parties? They should be made public. It may be well to list them, even ranking them in the order of their importance to the parties involved. Where emotions are high, this very exercise itself helps to restore rationality. As the conciliator guides the disputants in identifying the key issues, they are diverted from possible personal vendettas and instead are able to look at "the facts of the case."

Examine the Assumptions

Numerous assumptions are always present in conflict and these must also be made visible and then "filtered," or reality-tested.⁴¹ People act, not in response to objective reality, but to their perceptions of reality—to their picture or image of the situation.

³⁹Metcalf and Urwick, p. 36.

⁴⁰Walton, p. 96. Some writers suggest that it is especially important to focus on the precise issue that sparked the conflict. However, a good case is made for moving from the basic historical issue to those issues involving goals and objectives. Douglass Lewis of the Hartford Seminary Foundation states, in a mimeographed paper: "Asking tricky questions about the cause of a conflict often leads to more conflict, since you are not able to agree on what has caused the conflict. It is much more productive to ask what the objectives of each of the participants of the conflict are." See also his book *Resolving Church Conflicts* (San Francisco, 1981), pp. 60-68.

⁴¹My attention was first drawn to the importance of assumption-testing by Douglass Lewis.

These perceptions may be described as an experiential screen through which the raw data of light and sound waves enter the nervous system. This perception mechanism has a tendency to distort the mental images or pictures of the individual, who tends to perceive reality in a manner compatible to previous personal experiences and to inner needs and motivations.

Ross Stagner views these personality dynamics as crucial in understanding social conflict. "Man's craving for a stable, predictable environment," he says, "tends to force ambiguous data into the existing perceptual structure."⁴² To the participants in conflict, their actions are rational, granting the way in which they perceive the issues. The irrationality of a war may be obvious to a detached observer, "but if we learn to look at the matters in controversy as they are seen by the participants, it becomes clear that perceptual distortion was a fundamental process. Once given these misperceptions, given a distorted reality, the behavior of the participant was reasonable."⁴³

Reality-testing of the inevitable assumptions people bring to a dispute is an essential skill for conflict management. If there is a conflict, for instance, between a senior pastor and the minister of youth, the senior pastor's assumption that the young man is after his job and the youth minister's assumption that the older man resents the younger man's popularity must be checked against reality.

Assumption-filtering involves asking certain important questions:⁴⁴

(1) "What assumptions are the people who are involved in this conflict making about it?" List them. Each assumption in turn is addressed by the question:

(2) "Is this assumption valid, invalid, or uncertain (unknown)?" If it is deemed valid it is retained as a working assumption to be dealt with; if it is invalid it is crossed off. If the

⁴²Ross Stagner, "Personality Dynamics and Social Conflict," *Journal of Social Issues*, 17 (1961): 28-44.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 102. Stagner illustrates this point by suggesting that the behavior of the Communist is rational once we grant his way of perceiving Western democracy, and the behavior of the white supremacist is rational if we accept his way of perceiving the black man. Hence the importance of examining the assumptions.

⁴⁴Suggested by Douglass Lewis in class materials presented at McCormick Theological Seminary.

assumption is uncertain, a third question must be asked about it:

(3) "Is it constructive or destructive for me to work with this assumption?" That is, will it be useful in the problem-solving process? If not, it is treated as invalid and no action is taken based on that assumption.

Where emotions are high, sensitive and defensive people operate with a very narrow perceptual apparatus. By means of assumption-filtering, the perceptual base can be broadened, but the expectation that people can be brought to total objectivity is an illusion. However, emotionally-based conflict (where substantive issues are minimal) might well be resolved, or at least might be brought under control, by the above-mentioned confrontation strategies. When participants are free to "own up" to their feelings in a psychologically safe environment, they increase the authenticity of their mutual relationship and they individually experience a sense of enhanced personal integrity. Even if there should be no total emotional reconciliation, if the parties are equipped better to cope with their relationship, they tend to feel more control over their situation and less controlled by it.

Explore the Alternatives

We have been exploring processes by means of which a leader "enables" the conflict—that is, helps people to discriminate between irrational forces and rational principles, thus moving them toward creative options. Where the basic issues in a conflict are of a more substantive nature—over policies, procedures, money, power, role relationships, loyalty to persons or groups, values and beliefs, or whatever—the next logical stage is to explore the alternatives for a solution to the problem.

Pertinent to this search is the critical question, "What is it we are trying to accomplish in this situation?" An essential element in conflict management is the identification of the goals of the person, group, or organization in a dispute. It is important to realize, however, that homogeneity of values and goals of the participants is not essential. What is important is that a sufficiently broad description of the total objectives of the persons involved be achieved so that an area of "overlap" (those points at which the objectives correspond) can be created. Herein is another reason for bringing the desires of each side into the open for evaluation, because evaluation often leads to a reevaluation. It creates the

possibility for reaching that particular "moment when there is a simultaneous reevaluation of interests on both sides and unity precipitates itself."⁴⁵

The concept of "working together in the overlap"⁴⁶ is an important one. Too often we begin at the point where people differ, rather than focusing on those things held in common. Where the integrity of each person's goals is respected, where there is an absence of coercion and manipulation, there trust, acceptance, and understanding grow—and the area of overlap grows, as well. People change each other by focusing, not on their differences, but on their commonality. Once the goals are clarified and defined (within the area of the overlap), the search for creative alternatives for reaching the goal can begin.

There is also too frequently an unfortunate tendency to limit alternatives. By whatever method (a good brainstorming session, perhaps), *all* the alternatives which can be imagined or invented need to be identified. After the alternatives have been listed, evaluated, and tested and screened for reality and commitment, decisions can be made; the implementation can carefully be worked out, and evaluation procedures can be scheduled so as to insure continuing effectiveness.

With processes such as the foregoing—where there is a conscious effort to depersonalize the conflict, where the focus is on facts and issues, and where the emphasis is one of problem-solution—, there is the promise of less heat and more light. There will also be more growth.

A further problem needs attention: In the pastor's busy routine, how is there time for meeting all the conflict-management needs that may arise in the congregation? Is there perhaps some means whereby the pastor's load may be reduced in this respect and the area of conflict-management somewhat distributed or "institutionalized," as it were? As noted at the outset of the present article, I shall explore this matter in a follow-up article, and will there provide some suggestions as to how such institutionalization may indeed be achieved successfully and helpfully, with positive results for the congregation.

⁴⁵Metcalfe and Urwick, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁶Described in unpublished course materials, Douglass Lewis.

LUKE 5:33-6:11: RELEASE FROM CULTIC TRADITION

GEORGE E. RICE
Andrews University

In two previous studies¹ I have shown the following: (1) The passage read from the Isaiah scroll in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke 4:18-19) is to be seen as a programmatic statement of Jesus' ministry, (2) the emphasis of the Isaianic passage is on release, and (3) the material that immediately follows (Luke 4:31-6:11) is designed to interpret the Isaianic theme of release (a) from the power of Satan (4:31-44), (b) from the power of sin (5:1-32), and (c) from cultic tradition (5:33-6:11).

Although a large number of commentators recognize the Isaianic passage as a programmatic statement, very few see a relationship between this passage and the following material in Luke. Of those who do see a relationship, Frederick Danker² and Helen Kenik³ are among those who make a direct connection. However, this link is with the first block of Lucan material only (4:31-44), i.e., release from the power of Satan. The chronological rearrangement of the call to discipleship in Luke and the differing account, along with the remainder of the material that makes up Luke's interpretation of the Isaianic passage, are not tied to the programmatic statement at 4:18-19.

Having in my earlier article already dealt with the first two interpretive blocks of material (release from Satan's power [4:31-44] and release from the power of sin [5:1-32]), I will now turn to the last block of material—release from cultic tradition (5:33-6:11).

¹George E. Rice, "Luke's Thematic Use of the Call to Discipleship," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 51-58; and "Luke 4:31-44: Release for the Captives," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 23-28.

²Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age According to St. Luke: A Commentary on the Third Gospel* (St. Louis, Mo., 1972), p. 63.

³Helen A. Kenik, "Messianic Fulfillment in Luke," *The Bible Today* 18 (1980): 239.

1. *Fasting*

Although the call of Levi to discipleship (5:27-32) concludes the block of material dealing with release from the power of sin ("I have not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance" [vs. 32]), this pericope supplies an excellent bridge to the next group of pericopes, three of which deal with release from cultic tradition. By entering Levi's house and sitting at table with "publicans and sinners," Jesus is brushing aside social restrictions that were designed to maintain cultic purity. Levi's banquet leads the reader into the next motif that Luke wishes to develop.

The first of the three pericopes dealing with release from cultic tradition contains the issue of fasting and Jesus' illustrations of the new patch/old garment and new wine/old skins (5:33-39). At 5:33 it is pointed out to Jesus that his disciples do not fast frequently and pray as do the disciples of John and the Pharisees. Jesus' reply reflects an accepted social custom: the attendants of the bridegroom cannot be expected to fast while he is with them (vs. 34).⁴ However, Jesus adds that there will come a time when they will fast, i.e., when the bridegroom is removed from them (vs. 35). The central issue in this conversation is not whether one should or should not fast, but rather the motivation for fasting.

Devout Jews, like the Pharisees, fasted twice a week (Monday and Thursday) and had set times for prayer.⁵ One would assume from the statement in vs. 33 that the disciples of John followed a similar practice. The very tone of the statement suggests (1) that the practice of frequent fasting and prayers was a sign of one's piety, and may be considered as meritorious deeds; (2) that Jesus was again ignoring an accepted norm of Jewish piety and was rejecting cultic traditions of his people, much as he did by accepting Levi's hospitality, and (3) that Jesus was teaching his disciples by example

⁴G. B. Caird, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (Baltimore, Md., 1963), p. 97; F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke*, trans. E. W. Shalders, 5th ed. (Edinburgh, 1952), 1: 274-275; and William Manson, *The Gospel of Luke* (New York, 1930), p. 56.

⁵Burton Scott Easton, *The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 70; and Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the Gospel according to St. Luke*, 4th ed., ICC 29: 161.

to do the same, in that he was not requiring of them the acts of piety practiced by the disciples of John and the Pharisees.

Jesus' reply that his disciples cannot be expected to fast while he is with them, and that a time for fasting will come to them after his departure (vss. 34-35), strongly suggests that he is isolating the motives for fasting. While the disciples of John and the Pharisees are concerned with works of piety that are considered to have meritorious value, Jesus says that his disciples will fast after the bridegroom is removed from them. The bridegroom's departure and whatever that may entail for the disciples, not a desire to perform deeds that were thought to possess meritorious value, will motivate them to fast.

To say precisely what events will cause Jesus' followers to fast after his departure is speculation. Jesus did not elaborate. However, we may conclude the following: (1) Jesus' departure and events associated with his absence will motivate his disciples to fast, (2) fasting as an act of piety that contains meritorious value, which motivated the disciples of John and the Pharisees, is rejected by Jesus, as can be seen by the fact that Jesus is faulted for not encouraging his disciples to follow the accepted fasting practices, and (3) thus, by his example and teaching, Jesus frees those who follow him from the encumbrances of Jewish cultic tradition.

2. *New Patch—New Wine*

The two illustrations (new patch/old garment [vs. 36] and new wine/old wine skins [vss. 37-38]), which follow Jesus' explanation as to why his disciples do not fast, are generally seen as pointing out the impossibility of imposing the freedom brought by the gospel of Jesus upon the old structures of Judaism. This view is in line with the milieu set by the reading from the Isaiah scroll. The religious structure of Judaism could not support the call to freedom that is contained in the gospel of Jesus. To attempt to impose it upon Judaism would only result in irreparable damage to both.

The position of Alistair Kee⁶ and Paul Trudinger⁷ is not

⁶Alistair Kee, "The Old Coat and the New Wine," *NovT* 12 (1970): 13-21.

⁷Paul Trudinger, "The Word on the Generation Gap: Reflections on a Gospel Metaphor," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 5 (1975): 311-315.

applicable to Luke. Both have taken the position that the illustrations of the new patch/old garment and new wine/old skins do not teach the incompatibility of Christianity and Judaism. Rather, according to them, Jesus is teaching that the old is worth saving, and, indeed, can be saved, through careful, thoughtful action. Dealing with Jesus' two illustrations in the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark, both Kee and Trudinger transfer their conclusions to Luke. It is true that they recognize differences in Luke's account, but they do not take into consideration Luke's context. The motif of release is not recognized by them, and the present pericope (5:33-39) is not seen as an element in Luke's interpretation of Isaiah's prophecy concerning the Messiah. However appropriately Kee and Trudinger's conclusions may fit the parallel passages in Matthew and Mark (the reader will have to make the assessment here), they do not fit the milieu of Luke. Luke adds these two illustrations to this pericope, and this pericope to others, to show how Jesus brings release from cultic traditions.

Jesus' unusual statement at vs. 39 is not out of place in this motif of release. It is here that Jesus says, "No one, drinking the old, wishes the new; because he says, 'The old is better.'" Having investigated Jesus' message of release, there will be those who will choose to cling to what they have. Perhaps pious deeds performed for merit are more reassuring to them than is Jesus' gospel of grace.

3. *Two Sabbath Pericopes*

William Hendriksen observes that there is "no close chronological" connection between the pericope we have just examined and the two sabbath pericopes that follow (Luke 6:1-11). However, he does venture to say that there may be a "logical connection." "According to the teaching of Jesus, those who are living in close fellowship with him, the Bridegroom, should be feasting instead of fasting; they must rejoice rather than mourn. And this manifestation of gladness instead of sadness characterizes even the manner in which the sabbath is kept. This is probably the connection and accounts for the order in which these events are here related."⁸

⁸William Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Gospel According to Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), pp. 317-318.

The pericope of Jesus and his disciples passing through the grain field on the sabbath (6:1-5) and that of Jesus healing the withered hand of a man on the sabbath (6:6-11) are indeed tied to the issue of fasting, as well as to the illustrations of the new patch/old garment and new wine/old wine skins. The sabbath pericopes of 6:1-11 bear out the motif of release.

The popular interpretation of the sabbath controversies reported in the Gospels is that Jesus was proclaiming the seventh-day sabbath as no longer binding, and that it was to be replaced by Sunday observance following the resurrection.⁹ However, not all agree on this point. There are some commentators who take the position that Jesus did not set aside the seventh-day sabbath, nor did he ignore the plain requirements of the law of God.¹⁰

What is pertinent for our discussion is the recognition that Jesus' defense of the disciples, as they reaped and ate the grain on the sabbath, and the restoring of a withered hand on the sabbath, constituted a rejection of man-made restrictions that had been placed on God's holy day by the religious leaders. The object of these sabbath controversies was to show the humanitarian nature of this day and how this day was to be properly kept. Upon this point there is agreement among commentators, whether they see Jesus as eventually replacing the seventh-day sabbath with a new sabbath or not.¹¹

The role of these two sabbath pericopes is now obvious. They join the preceding pericope on fasting and the illustrations of the new/old to present Luke's understanding of Jesus' ministry. Jesus fulfilled the conditions of the Isaianic passage that he read at the

⁹William F. Arndt, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (St. Louis, Mo., 1956), p. 174; W. R. F. Browning, *The Gospel According to Saint Luke* (London, 1960), p. 76; Joseph Dillersberger, *The Gospel of St. Luke* (Westminster, Md., 1958), p. 204; Norval Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1954), p. 200; Godet, p. 289; and Wilfrid J. Harrington, *A Commentary: The Gospel According to St. Luke* (New York, 1967), pp. 97-98.

¹⁰Easton, p. 75; Manson, p. 61; and C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels* (London, 1909), 2: 884.

¹¹Danker, p. 76; Dillersberger, p. 204; Geldenhuys, pp. 200, 204; Godet, pp. 287-288; Hendriksen, p. 318; Manson, p. 59; Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976), pp. 121-122; Plummer, p. 168; and Ray Summers, *Commentary on Luke* (Waco, Texas, 1972), pp. 70-71.

beginning of his ministry. He brought release to those who were burdened and crushed by the weight of man-made restrictions, and freed them for a proper and meaningful relationship with their God.

4. *Conclusion*

Luke begins the ministry of Jesus by reporting his participation in the synagogue service at Nazareth. By reading Isaiah 61:1-2 and 58:6, the motif of release is introduced. Luke builds this motif by working with his material—by making minor additions and omissions and by rearranging and rewriting—as he did with the call to discipleship. The result is three blocks of material at the beginning of Jesus' ministry that show how Isaiah's prophecy is fulfilled, i.e. (1) release from the power of Satan (4:31-44), (2) release from the power of sin (5:1-32), and (3) release from cultic traditions (5:33-6:11).

NABONIDUS, BELSHAZZAR, AND THE BOOK OF DANIEL: AN UPDATE

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Andrews University

More than half a century has now passed since R. P. Dougherty's significant monograph was published in 1929, summarizing what was known up to then about Nabonidus and Belshazzar.¹ Certain further pieces of information about these two historical figures have surfaced in the meantime, and the present seems like an appropriate juncture at which to review the evidence and examine the relationship of Nabonidus and Belshazzar to the biblical record. Of Nabonidus we can only speak indirectly in this latter connection, since he is not mentioned by name in the Bible. Belshazzar, however, figures prominently in the fifth chapter of Daniel, which refers to events taking place on the night Babylon fell to the Medes and Persians.

Aside from references in works dependent upon Daniel, such as Baruch and Josephus, Belshazzar, was unknown until his identity was recovered from cuneiform sources in the last half of the nineteenth century. Before that, interpreters of Daniel generally identified him with one or another of the previously known Neo-Babylonian kings.² Belshazzar's name was first found in Neo-Babylonian texts deciphered in the 1860s. A major advance in information about him came with publication by T. G. Pinches of the Nabonidus Chronicle. This document records that the crown prince, i.e., Belshazzar, remained in Babylonia with the army while Nabonidus was away in Tema for a number of years.³ Additional texts referring to Belshazzar appeared thereafter, a most significant one being the so-called Verse Account of Nabonidus, published in

¹R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, Conn., 1929).

²H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires* (Cardiff, 1935), p. 10.

³See *ANET*, p. 306.

1924 by Sidney Smith.⁴ This text refers specifically to the fact that Nabonidus "entrusted the kingship" of Babylon to the crown prince when he left for Tema.

Before examining the fifth chapter of Daniel, I shall deal with two other passages in Daniel that mention Belshazzar: the datelines of 7:1 and 8:1, referring to Belshazzar's first and third years, respectively. Then several specific matters relating to the fifth chapter itself will be considered.

1. *The Datelines of Dan 7:1 and 8:1*

In Dan 7:1 Belshazzar is referred to as "king of Babylon," and in 8:1 he is simply called "king." Historically, these designations and the dates of "first year" and "third year" can only apply to the time when Belshazzar managed matters in Babylonia while his father was in Tema, and they clearly imply an awareness of this arrangement in the Neo-Babylonian kingdom. Stemming from such a situation, these dates are obviously relative; they must somehow be correlated with Nabonidus' regnal years, since it was by Nabonidus' regnal years that the economic documents in Babylonia continued to be dated through his entire reign.

It is now known from C. J. Gadd's publication of Nabonidus' Harran Inscriptions that Nabonidus remained in Tema for a period of ten consecutive years during which he did not visit Babylon.⁵ The Nabonidus Chronicle indicates that he had taken up residence in Tema by no later than the 6th year of his reign (550/549 B.C.), and that he had returned to Babylon by the end of his 16th year (540/539).⁶ Unfortunately, breaks in the text of his Chronicle prevent us from delimiting the dates for this ten-year period any more precisely from this text. The Verse Account of Nabonidus and his Dream Cylinder from Sippar have been interpreted as indicating that he may originally have left for Tema as

⁴Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts, Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (London, 1924), pp. 83-91.

⁵C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958): 58-59.

⁶*ANET*, p. 306.

early as his 3d or 4th year.⁷ Sources currently available do not provide a definitive date for that event, so that presently we must be content with locating his departure sometime during his 3d year (553/552) and his 6th year (550/549). Belshazzar's 1st year (Dan 7:1) should be connected with whatever year is selected for Nabonidus' first year in Tema, and his 3d year (Dan 8:1) would follow two years later.⁸

More important than determining the dates for Belshazzar's 1st and 3d years is the question of why he was identified as king in these two datelines when no cuneiform texts are known which refer to him as king. It is commonly suggested that Belshazzar was coregent with Nabonidus at this time. As senior coregent, it is natural that the economic documents written in Babylonia would have continued to be dated by Nabonidus' regnal years. There is no specific evidence, however, to indicate that Belshazzar was installed as king at this time. Entrusting the kingship to Belshazzar, as mentioned in the Verse Account, is not the same as making him king. The Verse Account refers to Belshazzar as the king's eldest son when the kingship was "entrusted" to him, and the Nabonidus Chronicle refers to him as the "crown prince" through the years that Nabonidus spent in Tema. Moreover, the New Year's festival was not celebrated during the years of Nabonidus' absence because the king was not in Babylon. This would suggest that the crown prince, who was caretaker of the kingship at this time, was not considered an adequate substitute for the king in those ceremonies. Oaths were taken in Belshazzar's name and jointly in his name and his father's name, which fact indicates Belshazzar's importance, but this is not the equivalent of calling him king.

There is no doubt about Belshazzar's importance while he governed Babylonia during his father's absence, but the question remains—did he govern the country as its king? So far, we have no explicit contemporary textual evidence to indicate that either

⁷Smith, p. 77; Dougherty, p. 107; J. Lewy, "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus," *HUCA* 19 (1946):428; H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabonidus: Historical Arrangement," *Anatolian Studies* 16 (1965): 356.

⁸This subject has been discussed most recently in G. F. Hasel's study, "The First and Third Years of Belshazzar (Dan 7:1; 8:1)," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 153-168.

Nabonidus or the Babylonians appointed Belshazzar as king at this time.

If there is no direct evidence that Belshazzar was king at this time, why do these biblical datelines refer to him as such? When viewed in terms of the historical relationships noted above, there are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. The first is that Belshazzar did become king officially at a later date, after Nabonidus returned from Tema, and that Belshazzar's status in these date formulae was interpreted proleptically at the time of their recording. Thus, they simply referred to him at that earlier time by the title he later acquired.

Another explanation for these unusual date formulae (and a more likely one, in my opinion) can be developed from a consideration of the political context out of which the exiles from Judah, like Daniel, had come. This was an environment in which, as opposed to the realm where they were exiled, coregency was practiced. When the unusual situation occurred in which Nabonidus was away from Babylon for ten years and entrusted its government to the crown prince, Daniel evaluated this situation in terms with which he was familiar from the political economy of Judah. This suggestion offers an explanation why these biblical dates employ regnal years of Belshazzar even though the native Babylonian scribes continued to date by Nabonidus who was in Tema.

Such a proposal requires comment on the practice of coregency in the ancient Near East, and such comment is given in an excursus at the end of this article. However, it may be noted here that there are other examples of parallel practices in the Bible. Nebuchadnezzar's regnal years given in the Bible are consistently numbered one year higher than the numbers assigned to those years by the Babylonian sources, and the most direct explanation of this phenomenon is that the Israelite scribes employed their own fall calendar to number Nebuchadnezzar's regnal years rather than employing Nebuchadnezzar's Babylonian calendar, which began in the spring.⁹ Daniel's contemporary Ezekiel continued to date by the Judahite calendar and years of kingship/exile, rather than by the

⁹S. H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," *AUSS* 5 (1967): 12-27.

Babylonian system in use where he lived. The same system survived into the fifth century, according to Nehemiah's dates for Artaxerxes. Thus there are several contemporary parallels for evaluating the foreign practice of kingship in native Judahite terms, which is what I would suggest that Daniel did in this case.

2. *The Details of Dan 5*

As we turn to the fifth chapter of Daniel, it is evident that we are dealing with a different type of situation than that referred to obliquely in the datelines of Dan 7:1 and 8:1. Here we have a narrative which describes a series of events that occurred on the night Babylon fell to the Medes and Persians. As noted earlier, several elements in this narrative will be examined: (1) identity of the queen present at the banquet, (2) Daniel as "third ruler" in the Babylonian kingdom, (3) Belshazzar's kingship, and (4) events surrounding the fall of Babylon.

Identity of the Queen Present at the Banquet

Dan 5:10-12 mentions "the queen," who counseled Belshazzar to call upon Daniel, esteemed for his wisdom in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, to interpret the handwriting on the wall. The commentaries have long suggested that the queen mentioned here was not Belshazzar's wife, but rather the queen mother. This interpretation appears to be reasonable.

This queen could not have been Nabonidus' mother, who died in his 9th regnal year, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle.¹⁰ It may be assumed that the queen referred to in the fifth chapter of Daniel should at least have belonged to the next generation of royal Babylonian women. In view of her knowledge about the days of Nebuchadnezzar and her prominence in this narrative of chap. 5, it seems more likely that she was the queen mother rather than Belshazzar's wife.

Herodotus tells us that Nitocris was the last great queen of the Neo-Babylonian empire (*Histories*, I:185-188), but his description of her includes so much legendary material that it is difficult to tell whether he was referring to Nabonidus' wife or mother in this case.

¹⁰ANET, p. 306.

Neither Herodotus' Nitocris, nor the wife of Nabonidus, nor Belshazzar's mother, nor Belshazzar's wife have as yet been identified in cuneiform sources.¹¹ Tentatively, the queen referred to here may be identified with Nitocris, and be considered as the queen mother to Belshazzar.

Daniel as "Third Ruler" in the Babylonian Kingdom

In the narrative of Dan 5, there is reference three times (vss. 7, 20, 29) to what has been commonly translated "third ruler"—a post to be given the person who could interpret for Belshazzar the mysterious handwriting on the wall. J. A. Montgomery has challenged this translation, suggesting that *ṭaltī* in 5:7, *ṭaltā*² in 5:16, and *taltā*² in 5:29 should be translated as "šalšu-officer" rather than as the "third ruler" in the kingdom.¹² Although some authorities have resisted this interpretation, it has been taken up rather commonly by the commentaries, and therefore deserves special attention here.

Montgomery holds that the occurrences of this word in Dan 5 are not in the emphatic state but in the absolute, and that they should therefore be interpreted as "one of three," "a thirdling," i.e., "a triumvir." From that definition, he goes on to propose further that this word was cognate with the *šalšu* or the "third" officer who is referred to as a governmental functionary in some Akkadian texts.

Several objections can be raised against Montgomery's interpretation: In the first place, while the ordinal numeral "third" does occur in the absolute state in the first instance, it is difficult to read the ending as anything else than that of the emphatic state in the second and third occurrences. Second, the Akkadian references to the *šalšu*-officers which Montgomery cites indicate that they were attached to the important administrators of the kingdom, i.e., the *šalšu* of the king or the *šalšu* of the crown prince. In this case, however, Daniel was to rule (verb) as third *in the kingdom*, not as a

¹¹Gadd, p. 46. For other royal female relations of this period, see now D. B. Weisberg, "Royal Women in the Neo-Babylonian Period," *Le palais et la royauté*, XIX Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, ed. F. Thureau-Dangin (Paris, 1971), pp. 447-454.

¹²J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, ICC 17:256.

thirdling in the service of the king or crown prince. In the service of the king in the west, *šališ* originally referred to the third man in the military chariot who carried the weapons and shield, and by extension this term came to refer to the squire or aide-de-camp of the king.¹³ These positions, however, were distinctly military in nature, and it is unlikely that Belshazzar was offering Daniel a military post. If, on the other hand, the *šalšu* in Babylonia was political rather than military, then as a "third-class" office it seems likely that it would have been of less importance than that of the *mašennim* or "second-class" officers listed, for example, on the Istanbul Prism.¹⁴ To offer Daniel, or any of the wise men referred to in this chapter, a position on a lower level of this sort does not make good sense in the context of the story. It appears more likely that Belshazzar offered to make Daniel one of the great persons in the kingdom in return for his wisdom in this matter.

A third objection to Montgomery's interpretation is based on linguistic grounds. In order to get from *taltī* to *šalšu*, one has to postulate a phonetic shift which ordinarily would not be expected, since Daniel should have used the Akkadian loan word for "šalšu-officer" instead of the Aramaic word for "third."

For the foregoing reasons, Montgomery's proposal to translate this term as "šalšu-officer" instead of as the "third ruler" in the kingdom is, in my opinion, not successful, and the latter interpretation should be retained. In this case, the question remains: If Daniel was to be the third ruler in the kingdom, who were the other two rulers?

Since Belshazzar was the ruler who offered this position to Daniel, he must have been one of these two. That leaves Belshazzar's father, Nabonidus, as the other, since he was the first and foremost ruler of Babylon at this time, according to the cuneiform evidence. Thus this designation in Dan 5 for the position offered to Daniel provides additional indirect—but nevertheless strong—evidence concerning the political relationship between Nabonidus and Belshazzar in Babylon at this time.

¹³Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. J. McHugh (New York, 1961), p. 122.

¹⁴*ANET*, p. 307.

Belshazzar's Kingship

Another question now naturally follows: In light of our discussion above on Belshazzar's position during his father's absence, what was the specific nature of the relationship at the time of Babylon's fall, and if different from the earlier relationship, when and how did the change take place?

The evidence for Belshazzar's kingship at the time of the events recorded in the fifth chapter of Daniel differs in nature from the references to him in the datelines of Dan 7:1 and 8:1. The references to Belshazzar as king in those datelines can be readily interpreted in either of the ways discussed earlier, but the references to him in chap. 5 are very direct and explicit. Aside from the fact that he is referred to as king seventeen times in this chapter, the most important consideration of all is that he was addressed with the title of king in direct discourse by both the queen and Daniel. The evidence of this chapter is, therefore, that by the time the events recorded in this chapter occurred, Belshazzar was king of Babylon in fact.

Since we have held above that he was not appointed as official king by his father when he left for Tema, something must have happened to Belshazzar's status between his father's return to Babylon and the night of Babylon's conquest. Belshazzar must have become a full and official king sometime during that interval, according to the evidence from chap. 5. The question is: How and precisely when did this occur?

There are two possible answers, and the first and more direct of them is that Nabonidus installed Belshazzar as king before the former set out with the army to meet Cyrus' forces at the Tigris. This would have been a reasonable occasion for the installation. Nabonidus may well have had a premonition of his defeat when he left the capital to fight against the invaders. In fact, Nabonidus had already complained to Marduk about the might of the Medes and the Persians in his dream recorded on the cylinder from Sippar,¹⁵ and since then, their strength had become even more evident by their conquests in various parts of the Near East. As precaution

¹⁵A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago, 1956), p. 250.

against the possibility that he might not return, Nabonidus could have installed Belshazzar as full king and coregent with him before he led his troops into the field. However, the fact that coregency was not an established practice in Babylonia and that Nabonidus had not named Belshazzar as full king and coregent with him when departing for Tema raises doubts as to whether he would have appointed him coregent on this occasion.

The other possible explanation for Belshazzar's kingship at this time, and perhaps the more likely one, requires a more detailed discussion since some chronological factors are involved. According to the Nabonidus Chronicle, "in the month of Tashritu, Cyrus attacked the army of Akkad in Opis on the Tigris."¹⁶ The day in Tishri (in 539 B.C.) on which this battle was fought is not stated in the text, but it is obvious that Cyrus' forces were victorious and that the Babylonians under Nabonidus' command were in retreat. The next encounter occurred at Sippar, located about fifty miles north of Babylon. Sippar fell to Cyrus on the 14th day of Tishri without a battle, but Nabonidus was able to escape. Two days later Babylon itself was taken by another division of Cyrus' army, again without a battle. The short-lived Neo-Babylonian empire had come to an end.

It is of interest to note that both Sippar and Babylon fell to the invaders without a battle. It has long been suspected that internal treachery and treason were at work in Babylonia at this time, a reasonable assumption according to these occurrences. Nabonidus may have given the populace of Babylonia ample motivation for such disloyalty. He was a strange and apparently unpopular king who was a special devotee of a god other than the god of Babylon. He spent ten years away from the capital, and the New Year's festival was suspended there during those years. With the impending approach of the Persians, he stripped the cities of Babylonia of their gods and brought them to Babylon, which they were to protect. Finally, when the Persians attacked at Opis on the Tigris, the Chronicle records that the inhabitants of Akkad revolted. In order to suppress the revolt, Nabonidus massacred a number of his own subjects. No wonder the Babylonians welcomed Cyrus as a deliverer! It probably is no accident that after the

¹⁶ANET, p. 306.

massacre of the rebels, the next two cities attacked by the Persians—Sippar and Babylon—fell to them without a battle.

The date of Sippar's surrender and its location in relation to Babylon are of some importance for understanding the events described in the fifth chapter of Daniel. Sippar fell on the 14th of Tishri, and Babylon on the 16th of Tishri; i.e., two days elapsed between the fall of these cities. Since Sippar lay about fifty miles north of Babylon, the news of its fall could well have reached Babylon by messenger within two days. Upon reaching Babylon, a courier probably could have gained access to the city without great difficulty, since the Persians could not have completely surrounded so large a city. Thus, the news that Sippar had fallen and that Nabonidus had fled may well have reached Babylon before the night of the 16th of Tishri. In addition, and perhaps more important, the news of Cyrus' victory over Nabonidus at Opis before his conquest of Sippar had surely reached Babylon before the capital itself fell.

What was Belshazzar's reaction to such news? The defence of the heartland of Babylonia was now his responsibility. In order to insure the greatest cooperation possible from his troops and the population of Babylon in general, it was incumbent upon Belshazzar to command them from as great a position of strength and authority as possible. With his father's meeting defeat and fleeing before the enemy, the most direct course of action open to him to insure his acquisition of such power and authority was to occupy the throne of Babylon himself. In view of the turn of political and military events, it would have been logical for Belshazzar to have proclaimed himself king at this moment.

The palace banquet described in Dan 5 adds to the evidence for this particular timing. Was Belshazzar so carefree, confident, and boastful that he thought it was fitting and enjoyable to entertain his nobles while the Medo-Persian army was in sight and the city under siege? Hardly so. Rather, if Belshazzar had just proclaimed himself king, as suggested above, his accession would have provided an appropriate opportunity on which to hold such a function. A thousand of the nobles of Babylon were in attendance—a befitting audience at a feast celebrating the accession of the new king, but not for an ordinary social occasion in the palace.

The vessels from the temple of Yahweh used at the celebration (Dan 5:3) were probably not the only vessels from foreign temples

being used there that night. In drinking from these vessels, the king and his courtiers could have been attempting to demonstrate that their god and his new king were superior to, and suzerain over, all the gods and kings of the vassal states that were represented by such vessels. On this occasion, the vessels may have been used in this way to express the Babylonian view of the politics of the cosmos.

It may be of interest to note here another paralleling exceptional case of coregency in much earlier Babylonian history. In a letter from the eighteenth century B.C., Samsuiluna indicates that he ascended the throne before the death of his father Hammurabi, who was ill: "The king, my father, is s[ick] and I sat myself on the throne in order to [. . .] the country."¹⁷ In like manner Belshazzar may have said on this occasion, "The king, my father, has been defeated and is in flight and I sat myself on the throne in order to govern and defend the country." A move in this direction would have strengthened Belshazzar's hand to rule his beleaguered capital.

Thus, there are two possible explanations of how Belshazzar became king by the time of the events described in the fifth chapter of Daniel if Nabonidus had not installed him as official king and coregent when leaving for Tema. Either Nabonidus installed Belshazzar as king before he went out to battle with Cyrus, or Belshazzar installed himself as king after he received the news of his father's defeat and flight. While the former explanation might seem more likely on general grounds, the latter fits the Nabonidus-Chronicle dates and the distances involved, and it also provides an explanation for the special banquet on the very night of Babylon's fall.

Events Surrounding the Fall of Babylon

There are three main extrabiblical sources that refer in some detail to events surrounding the fall of Babylon. The Nabonidus Chronicle is the principal cuneiform witness to these events, and as such it must be judged as the most accurate of the three. The Greek classical writers Herodotus and Xenophon wrote rather lengthy descriptions of these same events. The question is: How well do these sources fit together with each other and with Daniel?

¹⁷A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), p. 157.

The classical sources place considerable stress upon the diversion of the Euphrates River as the means whereby the Persians gained access to the city of Babylon. The amount of effort expended on that project (according to those descriptions) and the corresponding length of time necessary to bring it to completion do not fit well, however, with the information in the Chronicle, whose dates reveal that Babylon fell soon after the Persians' arrival in its vicinity. While the extent to which the Euphrates was diverted may be exaggerated in these classical sources, the Chronicle nevertheless does lend some support to the idea that the Persians gained access to the city by way of the river, since they attacked Babylon in Tishri (October), when the river was at its lowest level.

Daniel, Herodotus, and Xenophon agree that there was a banquet in Babylon the night the city fell, though the Chronicle, being more concerned with political and military matters, does not mention it. Herodotus lists this feast as one of two main reasons why the city fell to the Persians so easily, the other being the great extent of the city and the poor communication between its parts (*Histories* 1.191). Xenophon, on the other hand, cites the banquet as the reason why the Persians chose to attack Babylon the night they did (*Cyropaedia* 7.5.15). The gathering of the nobles at the banquet described in Daniel might have provided some disaffected person or persons the opportunity to open the river-gates so as to give the Persians access to the city. The concentration of nobles in the palace would also have facilitated the conquest of the city, once the Persians were inside it.

Most important for our consideration here are the indications of where Babylon's rulers were the night it fell. Daniel indicates that Belshazzar was in the palace and was slain that night. Xenophon reports that a king was killed in the palace of Babylon the night the city was taken, but he does not name that king (*Cyropaedia* 7.5.29-30). The Nabonidus Chronicle is a useful source with which to check this point, since it clearly indicates that Nabonidus was not in Babylon during the fateful night. Two days before, he had fled from Sippar, and he returned to Babylon only after its fall. Upon his arrival he was arrested.

If the fifth chapter of Daniel had been written quite some time after these events, in the Hellenistic period for example, would it not have been logical for the writer to place Nabonidus, the last

known king of Babylon, rather than the then-forgotten Belshazzar, in the Babylonian palace on that night?¹⁸ However, Daniel did not locate Nabonidus in Babylon the night it fell, but instead identified Belshazzar as the leading figure in the palace at that time. Yet, Daniel was aware of Nabonidus' existence, as is evident from the references made to "third ruler" in the kingdom. The eyewitness accuracy in this reporting is of first-rate importance.

3. *Summary and Conclusion*

In summary, the references to Belshazzar in the book of Daniel revolve around two historical poles. The first of these is indicated in the datelines attached to the prophecies in chaps. 7 and 8, relating to the time when he governed Babylon in his father's absence. These datelines clearly imply the knowledge of such an arrangement—a knowledge which did not survive, as Dougherty has pointed out so effectively, in any other source handed down from the ancient world beyond the contemporary cuneiform texts.¹⁹ We now know that Nabonidus was away in Tema for ten of his seventeen regnal years and those ten years can be reckoned within narrowly defined, but not yet precise, limits. The question is: What was Belshazzar's status in Babylon while his father was in Tema? I have suggested that "entrusting the kingship" to Belshazzar was not the equivalent of appointing him as the official king who was to serve as coregent with his father. If this interpretation is correct, some other explanation should be sought for the references to Belshazzar's first and third years in Dan 7:1 and 8:1. Although the custom of coregency was not generally practiced in Babylonia, Daniel, who employed these dates to express that relationship, came from the kingdom of Judah where this custom was practiced. It is suggested, therefore, that Daniel did what Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nehemiah, and the writer of 2 Kings did: He evaluated this specific situation in Babylonia in terms of his own political heritage.

¹⁸Nabonidus was known at Qumran, as is evident from a piece found there, entitled "The Prayer of Nabonidus." See J. T. Milik, "Prière de Nabonide," *RB* 63 (1956): 407-415.

¹⁹Dougherty, pp. 199-200.

The other historical pole around which the references to Belshazzar in Daniel revolve is the night that Babylon fell to the Medes and Persians, the 16th of Tishri—i.e., October 12, 539 B.C., according to Parker and Dubberstein's tables.²⁰ That was the night upon which the events described in Dan 5 occurred. According to his title used in direct address in that chapter, Belshazzar was king of Babylon by the time of that occasion. If his father had not appointed him king officially when leaving for Tema, then Belshazzar must have become king sometime after his father's return. In that case, Nabonidus could have appointed him king before he went out to battle with Cyrus. However, I personally prefer the explanation that Belshazzar advanced himself to full kingship when he received the news of his father's defeat and flight in regions to the north. This turn of events could also explain why Belshazzar held a feast at such a seemingly inopportune time, why such a large number of nobles were assembled, and why the vessels from the temple in Jerusalem (and probably from other temples) were used—namely, to celebrate Belshazzar's accession to the throne.

The classical sources available concur that such a feast was held in Babylon on the night of its fall. Regardless of whether or not the banquet was held to celebrate Belshazzar's accession, the fifth chapter of Daniel reveals a very precise knowledge of which ruler was present and which ruler was not present in the palace that night. Daniel locates Belshazzar there and implies that Nabonidus was absent from the palace or city at that time, by not mentioning him. The Nabonidus Chronicle confirms this implication by noting that Nabonidus had fled from Sippar just two days earlier and had not yet returned to Babylon by the time it fell to the Persians. However, the record in Dan 5 also recognizes by its reference to "third ruler" that Nabonidus was still alive, even though not present in Babylon. Thus, this chapter in Daniel reveals a very precise knowledge of the circumstances in Babylon on the night of October 12, 539 B.C., and I would conclude that such precise knowledge is best explained by recognizing the account in Dan 5 as an eyewitness account.

²⁰R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (Providence, R.I., 1956), p. 29.

EXCURSUS ON COREGENCY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

As further explication of a proposal made on pp. 136-137, above, it is necessary to look briefly into the matter of coregency as an established practice in Judah in contrast to Babylon.

Coregency apparently originated in Egypt, where it was a well-established practice by the time of the 12th Dynasty at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., as a series of double-dated inscriptions from that dynasty demonstrates. This practice is attested again during the 18th and 19th Dynasties of the New-Kingdom period, and it persisted in Egypt as late as Ptolemaic times.

When the Israelite monarchy arose at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., its court practices were modeled, to some extent, after those of the Egyptian court. It is not surprising, therefore, to see that the problem of the succession in David's time was solved according to Egyptian practice when David installed Solomon as king and coregent with him, instead of just signifying Solomon as the preferred crown prince and the designated heir to the throne (1 Kgs 1). This and the succeeding coregencies between kings who reigned in Jerusalem can be seen in the tabulation below.

<i>Coregents</i>	<i>Biblical Reference</i>	<i>Political Circumstance</i>
1. David and Solomon	1 Kgs 1	Succession struggle
2. Asa and Jehoshaphat	1 Kgs 22:41-42	Physical incapacity?
3. Jehoshaphat and Jehoram	2 Kgs 1:17; 3:1; 8:16	Military threat?
4. Amaziah and Azariah	2 Kgs 14:13	Military captivity
5. Azariah and Jotham	2 Kgs 15:5	Physical incapacity
6. Jotham and Ahaz	2 Kgs 15:30; 17:1	Assyrian threat?
7. Ahaz and Hezekiah	2 Kgs 18:9, 13	Assyrian threat?
8. Hezekiah and Manasseh	2 Kgs 18:2, 13; 21:1; 22:1	Assyrian threat?
9. Jehoiachin and Zedekiah	2 Kgs 24:12, 17	Military captivity

In addition to the texts cited above, see also: Siegfried H. Horn, "Did Sennacherib Campaign Once or Twice Against Hezekiah?," *AUSS* 4 (1966): 1-28; Edwin R. Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), pp. 81-87, 157-161.

Western Asia in general, however, did not practice coregencies, and this probably included the Northern Kingdom of Israel after the disruption at the time of Rehoboam and Jeroboam I. It is true that one coregency has been proposed for the Northern Kingdom—between Jehoash and Jeroboam II (see E. R. Thiele, *Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 2d ed. [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965], p. 81). New chronological data from Assyria concerning contacts of the Assyrian kings with kings of Israel would lower the date of Menahem's death to 739 and raise the accession date of Jehoash to 805. With the adjustments in the chronology of Israel required by these new synchronisms for the period following and preceding the reign of Jeroboam II, the coregency proposed for his reign disappears. (For details regarding these chronological adjustments, see my two articles "Menahem and Tiglath-Pileser III," *JNES* 36 [1978]: 43-49, and "Adad-Nirari III and Jehoash of Israel," *JCS* 30 [1978]: 101-113.)

If no coregency existed between Jehoash and Jeroboam II, the pattern of the Northern Kingdom is consistent with that in western Asia in general, where coregency was not practiced, while on the other hand Judah followed the Egyptian custom in this matter. (The only exceptional case I have discovered from the pre-Hellenistic period is that of Samsuiluna of Babylon in the eighteenth century B.C., mentioned earlier in this article. As already noted, however, Samsuiluna says in his letter that he seated himself on the throne, not that his father Hammurabi installed him.)

My proposal, then, is simply that although Belshazzar was not king in the official and technical sense to the Babylonians, the datelines in Dan 7:1 and 8:1 refer to him as king because the political relations involved in this specific situation were evaluated in terms of the Judahite view of such matters. There are, of course, other examples of parallel practices in the Bible, as I have noted in the main text of the present article.

In concluding this excursus, mention of some bibliography will be in order: On the coregencies of the 12th Dynasty of Egypt, see W. K. Simpson, "The Single-dated Monuments of Sesostri I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956): 214-219. For selected studies on some of the later coregencies in Egyptian history, see A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), p. 183; D. B. Redford, *Seven Studies in*

the History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt (Toronto, 1967), p. 182; idem, "The Coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II," *JEA* 51 (1965): 119-123; and W. J. Murnane, "The Earlier Reign of Ramesses II and His Coregency with Sety I," *JNES* 34 (1975): 153-190. Murnane has also provided us with the most comprehensive survey of the Egyptian institution of coregency with the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC, vol. 40 (Chicago, 1977).

On the earliest Israelite coregency, involving David and Solomon, a recent discussion is by E. Ball, "The Co-regency of David and Solomon (1 Kings 1)," *VT* 27 (1977): 268-279. The subject of the early Israelite court's patterning after Egyptian models has attracted considerable discussion. For one example, see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. J. McHugh (New York, 1961), pp. 122-132.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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LIBERATION THEOLOGY'S USE OF THE EXODUS AS A SOTERIOLOGICAL MODEL

Author: **Atilio René Dupertuis**, Th.D., 1982.

Adviser: Raoul Dederen.

(Atilio René Dupertuis is currently chairman of the Religion Department at Montemorelos University, Apartado 16, Montemorelos, N.L., Mexico.)

This investigation studies the soteriology of Latin American liberation theology particularly in the light of its use of the ancient Hebrew Exodus from Egypt as a liberation model.

Chap. 1 briefly traces the historical and theological developments on the South American continent, from its discovery to the present, in an effort to provide a better understanding of the circumstances and currents of thought which led to the emergence of liberation theology.

Chap. 2 shows that liberation theology takes its starting point from a decided commitment to create a new and more human society, through the radical change of the present unjust social order seen as oppressive and sinful. In its struggle on behalf of the poor and marginalized, liberation theology differs essentially from earlier forms of social Christianity where advantaged groups endeavored to express their faith in bettering the lot of the poor. Liberation theology is a movement from within the marginalized: it aims at liberation of the oppressed by the oppressed themselves. The Exodus of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage provides the paradigmatic text *par excellence*, as liberation theologians attempt to articulate their concerns.

Chap. 3 endeavors to demonstrate that the Exodus, though central in the faith of Israel, is not the center or foundation of all the OT, but rather an integral part of a larger story, a segment of redemptive history. Consequently, it should be viewed not only as an isolated socio-political event but also as a religious one. The liberated slaves were the covenant people of Yahweh, and the interpretation that Scripture gives to this event looks not so much to Israel's new political situation, or to

her relation to the former oppressor, but rather to her renewed relationship with Yahweh and her new responsibilities to the world.

This investigation concludes that liberation theology, in spite of its timeliness and virtues, has, due to its absorbing preoccupation with the historical, neglected the transcendent — thus weakening the possibilities of a greater impact. In a justified reaction against an excessive verticalism in much of traditional theology, it has tended to go to the opposite extreme of an excessive horizontalism, emptying the Gospel of much of its saving content.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bacchicocchi, Samuele. *Divine Rest for Human Restlessness: A Theological Study of the Good News of the Sabbath for Today*. Rome: Pontifical Gregorian University Press, 1980. Distributed by the author, 230 Lisa Lane, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49103. 319 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

A sequel to the author's published thesis, *From Sabbath to Sunday: A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity* (Rome, 1977), this volume treats the sabbath institution theologically and sociologically. Its organizational framework is the Christian gospel for our time—what Bacchicocchi calls the “good news.” First he defends “the creation origin of the sabbath” (p. 56) and concludes that it brings good news to its observers about the divine origin of mankind. The second chapter treats the creation sabbath which offers a new appreciation for the world that was originally made perfect, even in our time when its imperfections are becoming increasingly obvious. Then he turns to God's care as expressed by the sabbath, primarily through its holiness, its blessings, and the regular weekly pattern of work and rest. Chap. 4 enumerates seven characteristics of the sabbath that make it a symbol of the covenant (divine ownership, holiness, incorruptibility/universality, baptismal-like renewal, spirituality, commitment, redemption). Next the good news of redemption is explored in the sabbath healings of the Gospels and in the theme of liberation. Finally, the author turns to the good news of service by discussing the sabbath as service to God (worship), to oneself (renewal), to others (social action), and to the world (concern with the ecology). The book opens with an introduction that sets out its purpose and concludes with a summary. It also includes a preface by James P. Wesberry, executive director of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, and contains, as well, a synopsis of the author's published thesis (pp. 229-252), notes, a bibliography, some comments by reviewers, and illustrations by Franco Payne.

This book, like a giant sponge, has soaked up numerous important concepts associated with the sabbath institution in biblical, Jewish, and Christian literature and presents them in a compelling and forceful way. Perhaps its greatest contribution to the sabbath question is that it gathers widely and focuses sharply. This, of course, means that not every position taken is based strictly on biblical exegesis, and at times the biblical connections seem somewhat strained, as in the suggested relationship between baptism and the sabbath (pp. 119-123). Elsewhere, the sabbath is

twice linked to the Immanuel sign by means of creation—with the conclusions that both contribute to the promise of an abundant life through God's presence (p. 90) and that the sabbath thereby becomes an expression of the first and second advent (p. 134). This type of reasoning is helpful by tying together various theological concepts into a unified whole, but it runs the risk of what Bacchiocchi calls "pan-sabbatism" (p. 102), that is, of allowing the sabbath to so permeate all aspects of Christian life and thought that its distinctive features become blurred.

As important as its theological insights are, the practical suggestions made in the book stand out, especially in the chapters on God's care and on service. The invitation regularly to rest from one's good work, as God himself did from his, in order to step back from it, to contemplate it and to seek its meaning, is surely an important practical suggestion that can bring immense joy to life and to the worship of God. It is surely important to consider the relationship between work and rest and to draw practical consequences from it, such as the need of creativity in one's work, of consideration for the worker, and of a proper posture toward one's labor and its rewards.

The book literally sparkles with ideas presented in a direct, brisk style, and it should be a mine of inspiration for its readers. It obviously treats the subject in a sufficiently general way to appeal to both sabbath and Sunday keepers and may even have a serious word for those who keep no day at all. It can be read from beginning to end; but due to frequent repetitions and summaries, its chapters can be approached in almost any order. All told, it is a welcome addition to a growing body of sabbath literature.

Loma Linda University
Riverside, California 92515

NIELS-ERIK ANDREASEN

Bigane, John E., III. *Faith, Christ or Peter: Matthew 16:18 in Sixteenth-Century Roman Catholic Exegesis*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. 237 pp. \$18.50/9.75.

In the present surge of interest in the history of sixteenth-century exegesis, an international congress in Geneva in 1976 was devoted to it. In America this interest has been nurtured in several academic centers, especially at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, under the leadership of Kenneth Hagen. This book is the result of research done at that university.

Many a Catholic and even some Protestants will be surprised to find out that until 1560 there was no unanimity among Catholics about the real

meaning of Matt 16:16-18, "Upon this rock I shall build my church." This is less amazing if one keeps in mind the fact that there was no agreement during either the patristic or the medieval period, and that the identification of the "stone" with the pope was certainly not the opinion of the majority during those centuries.

To prove that point, Bigane surveys the commentaries and some theological writings of twenty sixteenth-century authors. One group, among whom Erasmus is the most prominent, asserted that the *petra* upon which Jesus was going to build his church was the faith of Peter and even more the faith of the church, of whom Peter was the spokesman. John Major, the famous nominalist, and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, an early French evangelical, remained more faithful to the medieval legacy and advocated the identification of the *petra* with Christ himself. A basic feature of their argumentation is that Peter spoke for the disciples and that the solidity implied by Christ's words could never be found in the apostle Peter. This interpretation, which had dominated the exegesis of the Middle Ages, was shared only by a small group of Catholic exegetes in the sixteenth century, since it soon became identified with the teachings of Luther and the other Protestant reformers. Cardinal Cajetan asserted that Jesus was addressing Peter, not as an individual who was fully capable of failing, but as Peter, the infallible holder of the supreme pontifical office. The first real defense of that view, in fact, appears in Cajetan's *Evangelia cum commentariis* in 1530. Bigane gives the date 1532 in the subtitle of that chapter, but his own observation would call for a first edition of the work in 1530. He describes it as "one exegetical novelty of the sixteenth century" (p. 105).

The analysis is extremely meticulous, reflecting a typical dissertation approach. Bigane surveys painstakingly the successive editions of the diverse works and frequently draws attention to significant shifts of interpretation, often caused by the author's reaction to the progress of the Reformation. His conclusions are supported by almost eighty pages of footnotes that provide the original text of all the quotations within the text and many other interesting documents. Because of its thoroughness, the book is not exactly easy reading, but through the light it sheds on well-known personalities it becomes fascinating. The author makes constant comparisons with writers of the early church and the Middle Ages.

To this reviewer it seems that a brief preliminary chapter, sketching the course of the exegesis of the debated text previous to the sixteenth century, would have facilitated the comprehension of the work. Augustine's shifting interpretations of Matt 16 must be grasped piecemeal over the whole book. In the introduction, however, Bigane provides a good *état-présent* of the studies of the topic. Since he wisely has refrained from

scaffolding his dissertation with lengthy biographies of the authors he considers, readers who are not specialists of the period investigated will require the assistance of some good reference work in order to identify some of the names found in these pages.

Just as an understanding of the various interpretations of Matt 16 provides an essential piece of background for the theological course of some of the major protagonists of the sixteenth-century debates, so also that knowledge is extremely useful for whoever wants to follow the march of the ecumenical movement in the twentieth century. The University Press of America deserves the gratitude of scholars for making this study available to a larger public.

Andrews University

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Freedman, David Noel. *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1980. x + 376 pp. \$15.00.

The author of these collected essays on Hebrew poetry is currently chairman of the Program on Studies in Religion at the University of Michigan. For some time now he has been known in scholarly circles as one of the leading exponents of the analysis of OT poetry. He is especially noted in this field for his proposal to utilize the system of counting syllables in evaluating meter, in contrast to the older Ley-Sievers system of counting stress accents on words. Freedman's approach to this type of study is demonstrated in a number of the poetic analyses that appear in this volume, and his discussion of the theoretical basis for it is presented in the second study of the book, his prolegomenon to the KTAV reprint edition (1971) of G. B. Gray's famous *Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915).

One-third of the OT is written in poetry, and thus the analysis of that poetry is of considerable significance to biblical studies in general. For those who are interested in this subject it is a great boon to have under one cover Freedman's studies that were previously scattered throughout the literature. The nineteen studies reprinted here can be divided into three main categories: (1) broad syntheses; (2) individual and detailed analyses of biblical poems; and (3) shorter notes on selected aspects of Hebrew poems and poetry. The first six essays in this book fall into the first category of broad syntheses, the next nine studies deal with individual poems, and the final four articles treat shorter subjects.

The first study in the first section deals with the development of typology in several areas, but especially in that of biblical poetry. It was given as Freedman's presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature in 1976. The second study, already mentioned above, describes G. B. Gray's contribution to this field, supplemented by Freedman's own views on the subject, including his exposition of syllable counting in the study of meter. His "Acrostics and Metrics" is a specialized statistical analysis of the book of Lamentations which lends itself well to this type of study because of the acrostic pattern employed in it. His next study, on the different divine names used in Hebrew poems, describes the distribution of those names in the pre-Psalter and early Psalter poems. This study includes Freedman's dates for those early poems. Since the contents of the early poems are of considerable importance for understanding the development of early Israel, Freedman has dealt with the historical inferences that can be drawn from them in the final two essays of the initial section of this volume.

Of the individual poems analyzed in the second section, the Song of the Sea in Exod 15 should be singled out for special mention. This historical narrative poem, describing Yahweh's victory over Pharaoh and Israel's deliverance from Pharaoh's hand, is probably the most important of all the early pre-Psalter poems. Freedman's published studies on this important piece began with his graduate-school studies, and he has returned to this favorite subject from time to time since. Two of his studies of the poem are published in this volume, and they introduce the section on individual poetic analyses. Three of his other studies published here examine pre-Psalter poems: the Aaronic benediction of Num 6:24-26; the Song of Hannah in 1 Sam 2; and David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan in 2 Sam 1. Discussions of Pss 23, 113, and 137 are chosen as examples of his studies in the Psalter, and the section on studies of individual poems ends with two selections from Job: chap. 3, and the Elihu speeches.

The third main section of the volume, consisting of shorter studies on selected poetic topics, includes notes on 2 Sam 23:4, Isa 42:13, and Ps 78:58, along with an examination of a syntactical point that bears upon the analysis of Hebrew poetry—the broken construct chain. More examples of this phenomenon are quoted in this particular article.

Freedman's collection of interesting and important studies on Hebrew poetry is a welcome addition to the tools with which the students of this subject can examine this type of material in the biblical text. It is highly recommended to those interested in either the broader or more narrowly based studies.

Lind, Millard E. *Yahweh Is a Warrior*. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1980. 232 pp. Paperback, \$9.95.

Twentieth-century biblical scholarship has produced several theses about Israel's holy war. Lind has divided them into two broad categories, the first representing the works of Friedrich Schwally, Johannes Pedersen, and Gerhard von Rad. These scholars interpret the miraculous character of holy war as a late theological reinterpretation, not derived from the historical event itself.

The second group of scholars, represented by Rudolf Smend, Albert Glock, Fritz Stolz, and Manfred Weippert, calls the conclusions of the first category into question, postulating earlier historical or mythological elements to account for the theological reinterpretation. Lind rejects the position of the first category of scholars and goes beyond the second group by arguing that Israel's view of holy war is grounded in the Exodus experience, which involves the prophetic figure and already emphasizes the miracles of Yahweh over human fighting. Obviously, Lind opts for an early date for Exod 15, and seems to have considerable respect for the historical facticity of Israel's earliest tradition.

Essential to Lind's thesis is the idea that the OT sources reflect a critical opinion of the way kingship understood itself and holy war. The king saw himself and his armies as the means of obtaining victory, while the theological understanding of holy war saw Yahweh as king and the prophet as the one who announced Yahweh's salvation and denied that victory depended on the militia. This contrast between the prophetic perspective and the intentions of monarchy is reflected through much of the Pentateuch and the histories from Joshua to 2 Kings. Although the pro-kingship narratives of 1 Sam 8:12 pose a problem for the consistency of his thesis, Lind maintains that this does not negate the idea that the Deuteronomistic sources had a unified conception of the theo-political order, thus of warfare.

Lind closes his book by projecting his thesis through the messages of the great prophets and later apocalyptists, especially Daniel, on into the message of Jesus in the NT. There is thus an affirmed continuity in the theo-political scene from the beginning of Israel to the teaching of Jesus, according to Lind.

Some scholars will not be convinced by Lind's attempt to undo so much of the critical work on the history of warfare in early Israel, although one must compliment the author for his courage.

David Noel Freedman points out in the "Foreword" that it remains to trace Lind's thesis through the rest of the Hebrew canon. This observation points out the book's major weakness, since the thesis embraces the idea that the theo-political order manifested in the testimony of Jesus is the

legitimate understanding of that order in the OT, from its earliest to its latest expressions. Inevitably Lind's thesis will encounter difficulties with some of the royal Psalms, Esther, and certain prophetic traditions such as Micah's prophecy of a new David, and the tradition of war, found along with one of peace, which states that the remnant of Jacob will destroy all of their enemies.

If one is tempted to subordinate these witnesses to more compatible testimony, one is working with a canon within a canon. Or if one is pushed, as Lind is, to make the observation that even though the figure of the king dominates in Ps 18, but that the emphasis on the leadership of Yahweh limits the king's power, one begins to wonder if choosing the view of Yahweh's miraculous victory, or Israel's victory, announced by a prophet, is an exclusive OT view of the theo-political order. Perhaps the king was tempted to exercise the Enlil power of neighboring monarchs, but does this exclude the part of the anointed king as a representative of the people from the victory in the name of Yahweh?

Another question which should be addressed in a book such as this is related to the recognition that beginning with the monarchical period miracles of deliverance, such as contained in Exodus, no longer occurred as earlier. In fact, the question of whether Yahweh acted at all was raised by some voices in Israel. The prophets responded by redefining the activity of Yahweh in the political and military events outside of Israel which were now turned against Israel. While the prophets testify that judgment had fallen on Israel because she had broken the covenant, the Psalter wonders why God, contrary to his promise, had turned the edge of the king's sword and not upheld him in battle. Does this picture open up a wider debate over the place of the king in warfare and focus our attention on the realities of politics and human suffering under some of these systems, or is Lind right in suggesting that the true representatives of the kingdom are those who suffer and wait for Yahweh's new act?

Andrews University

A. JOSEF GREIG

Nida, Eugene A., and Reyburn, William D. *Meaning Across Cultures*. American Society of Missiology Series, 4. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1981. vi + 90 pp. Paperback, \$5.95.

The purpose of this book is to offer a "practical guide to help people understand how misconceptions can arise because of differing cultural backgrounds" and to set forth "the principles of communication that guide one's judgment as to the validity of various types of adaptation and restructuring that occur in many present-day translations of the Bible" (p. vi).

After a short introduction, the book deals with various factors that enter into the communication of a message. The three essential elements are the source, the message, and the receptor. The more one knows about the persons who are the source and the receptor, respectively, and their setting, the easier it becomes to understand the message. The meaning of the message depends much on the cultural presuppositions of a particular society, its patterns of behavior, and the way in which events are interpreted.

The chapter dealing with translation points up the difficulties of the translator (in this case, the source) in his attitude toward the source language and receptor language, the message as it is moved from one culture to another, and the receptor as he, from his cultural background, tries to understand a message coming from another cultural background. Because of the historical roots of the Bible and its unique message, it is not always possible to translate in such a way as to transcend the two cultures without distortion. There are times when marginal notes and explanations must supplement the translation.

Chaps. 4 and 5 deal with the various features that make up the form (such as transliteration, rhetorical devices, figurative language, etc.) and the content of the message (such as specific historical events with or without religious significance, figurative or illustrative events and objects, etc.), and show how these should be dealt with in translation. These chapters offer many informative and helpful hints.

Chap. 6 emphasizes the importance of knowing well the features of both the source language and the receptor language, as well as their correspondences and differences. In the final chapter, instruction is given on how to deal with differences of form or meaning. Types of problems justifying supplementary information are: "(1) important divergencies in original texts, (2) significantly different interpretations of the text, (3) historical events that may be misleading or meaningless, (4) figurative expressions, (5) objects that may differ in form or function, and (6) zero expressions" (pp. 71-72).

As an example of number (3), the strewing of branches in the path of Jesus is noted: In some areas of West Africa this action is understood as a serious insult. As an example of number (4), mention is made of the description of Judah in Gen 49:12 as a person whose "eyes are bloodshot from drinking wine, and whose teeth are white from drinking milk." This can be understood as a condemnation of Judah as a drunkard or glutton, whereas in reality he is being described as a person of prosperity. Number (5) refers to equivalents in coins, weights, and measures, and to objects such as millstones. "Zero expressions" are those which have no meaning in the receptor language because of lack of familiarity, such as proper names which may need a classifier, e.g., *the City of Jerusalem*. The chapter

closes with a list of the types of notes which are not admissible, the location for the placing of supplementary information, and the form of marginal notes.

This is a helpful book for those who are involved in the task of translating Scripture. It helps them to avoid the pitfalls of literalism on the one hand and transculturalism on the other. However, the book could have been organized more tightly, e.g., chaps. 2 and 3 could easily have been combined. In general, the book illustrates well the points it develops, but illustrations of how some translators have dealt with poetry would have been helpful for those who have to translate these difficult portions of Scripture. On the whole, translators will be most grateful for this guide.

Newbold College

Bracknell, Berkshire, England RG12 5AN

SAKAE KUBO

O'Connor, Michael. *Hebrew Verse Structure*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1980. xvi + 629 pp. \$15.00.

Hebrew Verse Structure is a remarkably erudite book. This fact poses somewhat of a problem for its use as a textbook, as I discovered when using it this way for a seminar on Hebrew poetry. In the class, which consisted of students with intermediate-to-advanced-level reading ability in biblical Hebrew, the more advanced the student, the more use was made of O'Connor's book.

Part of the difficulty in students' ability to use the work stems from the writing style of the book, which was originally submitted as a Ph.D. dissertation to the University of Michigan in 1978. In publication it has not undergone the amount of rewriting that would make it more popular in style for textbook use. Rather, it stands on the cutting edge of studies in OT poetry, pointing the direction in which such studies may lead us in the future. Given that purpose of the author, it is natural that the volume would be of more value to the specialist than to the non-specialist. Anyone interested in the analysis of Hebrew poetry, however, will have to reckon seriously with the analysis presented in this work.

In the first section of the book, O'Connor sets forth his thesis that the traditional poetic analyses of Hebrew verse, outlined by Lowth (1753) and Gray (1915) are inadequate both in concept and nomenclature for accurate understanding and description. In his discussion of this point he has brought to bear the results of a wide range of research into the poetry of different languages and cultures around the world. As a part of this survey he has included an examination of the question of orality (the techniques of spontaneous oral composition of poetry) by examining the products of cultures where orality is still a factor in poetic composition. The general

student may feel somewhat unaccustomed to the broadly based nature of this discussion, but the specialist can only appreciate the amount and variety of material that have been brought together and evaluated here.

From his presentation of the deficiencies of the previous analyses of Hebrew poetry, O'Connor then goes on to propose his own system. In this system a function identified by him as "constriction" delimits the extent of the different-length components found in Hebrew verse, in particular the poetic line as he defines it. The smaller poetic elements within the line occur mainly on three levels: (1) "units," which he defines as single verbs and nouns with the particles dependent upon them; (2) "constituents," which are made up of single verbs or a number of noun units which form a phrase; and (3) "clauses," basically a single thought with either a verbal or non-verbal predication. The constriction of a line of Hebrew poetry is then defined by the range of units (2-5), constituents (1-4), and clauses (0-3) that have been circumscribed by line constriction (p. 316).

"Constriction," in O'Connor's system, thus becomes his substitute for what was known as "meter" in the older analyses of Hebrew poetry. From this description it can be seen that neither the older Ley-Sievers system of counting stress accents nor the more recent suggestion of David Noel Freedman to count syllables serves the purpose of analyzing "meter" adequately in O'Connor's view. With regard to the matter of constriction, there probably always will remain a certain amount of subjectivity involved, as different observers might differ as to where O'Connor has located the constrictions in some of the 1225 lines of Hebrew poetry that he has analyzed from this point of view. As the author himself has noted (p. 179), the BH³ divides Exod 15 into 18 more poetic lines than he does, and the BFBS² has divided it into 13 fewer lines than he has. The question arises from time to time whether the poetic unit to be analyzed consists of a couplet of short bicola or one long bicolon.

As a personal reaction, I would suggest that we may not be faced with an either-or type of situation here. While the older systems of counting meter do contain some of the more obvious deficiencies that O'Connor has identified, they can still retain a qualified usefulness. They can, for instance, still be employed with some benefit alongside O'Connor's new system. As a classroom exercise I have had students give the stress accents and syllable counts for poetic lines and then had them identify the elements contained in those lines according to O'Connor's terminology.

Like the older systems of metrical analysis, O'Connor's system begins from a quantitative basis in that it enumerates the number of units, constituents, and clauses present in a line. His work goes beyond this mere quantitative aspect, however, by identifying qualitatively the morphological make-up of the elements present in the lines of poetry. Coming at the analysis of Hebrew poetry from this qualitative point of view naturally

presents a more complex picture of its composition. From the 1225 lines examined from a select corpus of poems from the Pentateuch, early and later prophets, and Psalms, some 35 different combinations of clause predicators and nomina have been found as line types. In this particular aspect of his work, O'Connor has succeeded admirably in precisely the kind of work the title of the book conveys, a survey of the poetic morphology of the contents of *Hebrew Verse Structure*. Till now, we have not had so complete a profile of the spectrum of this type of usage present in the poetry of the Bible.

Beyond the description of the contents of the line, one must deal with how those different elements present in immediately related lines of Hebrew poetry relate to each other. In older parlance, going back as far as Lowth's time in the eighteenth century, this has been known as parallelism. Lowth identified three main types of parallelism: (1) synonymous, in which the same idea was stated over again in similar terms; (2) antithetical, in which the opposite idea was stated as the second thought present; and (3) synthetic, in which a complementary idea extends the idea of the first thought presented. The main problem has involved the third category, which has largely been used as a "wastebasket-diagnosis" type of categorization. Into it everything has been dumped that does not fit the two other types of parallelism, regardless of form and content.

In dealing with this aspect of Hebrew poetry, O'Connor has abandoned the term "parallelism" for the term "troping," by which he means the relationship of units, constituents, and clauses between the different lines. His discussion of troping includes a useful survey of such phenomena as dyading (pairing), repetition, binomation, coordination, combination, harmonics, iconics, matching, and gapping. In examining the fine structure of Hebrew verse from this more detailed point of view, O'Connor attempts to show that his proposed grammatical system explains the vagaries of Hebrew poetry better than previous systems. Certainly, this closer attention to the details of parallelism or troping has provided many valuable insights which previous analyses have missed. Also as a result of this work, we now know much more about the make-up of "synthetic parallelism" and of other types of parallelism or troping than we did before.

In the third section of his book, O'Connor deals in relatively brief fashion with what he has called the "Gross Structure" of Hebrew verse. This is, as the author himself admits, the most debatable section of his presentation. In older terminology this involved dividing Hebrew poems up into what were known as strophes or stanzas, and there is much disagreement about how this should be done. O'Connor has picked out three main poems for this type of analysis. On the basis of the analysis, he suggests that the basic unit of Hebrew gross poetical structure is the

"stave," which he defines as a unit of 26-28 lines. Within this larger unit he has isolated a smaller unit known as a "batch," which may range from 1-12 lines but usually contains 5-8 lines.

The reader of this review will have noticed by now that the book under review introduces a number of unfamiliar terms into the analysis of Hebrew poetry. This very fact brings about a certain degree of confusion, especially in use of terminology that may have a range of meanings. To illustrate but one minor point here, there is the matter of how one labels the smallest linear unit of Hebrew poetry. Earlier this was called a "stich," and later technical usage has preferred "colon." When paired, the ideas contained in two such linear units have gone to make up a "bicolon." O'Connor prefers the term "line" to designate what has previously been called a "colon." This makes good sense, but it can also create some confusion, since a printed line in the text of the Hebrew Bible commonly does not correspond to a poetic line. I wonder if there might not have been some room for a blending of the old with the new in this matter of the terminology employed.

As far as writing style is concerned, this book is not the easiest to read, as has been mentioned above. For student use, it seems to me that a better understanding of poetic analysis can be achieved through illustrative examples. For that reason, I would consider that one way in which O'Connor's volume could be used more effectively for students would be to start inductively, on p. 69, with his analysis of Ps 106 (this psalm is singled out for demonstration of the method); then, after having gone through that analysis and the related materials that follow, have the student peruse the preceding introductory sections of the volume.

To some extent this book review has been written from the viewpoint of an intermediate-level Hebrew student due to my recent practical experience in using it in the classroom. Regardless of certain shortcomings of this book from that particular point of view, however, the volume certainly represents a major new contribution to the analysis of Hebrew poetry. I would recommend it highly to all who are interested in viewing Hebrew poetic analysis from a new and fresh perspective.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Russell, D. S. *Daniel*. The Daily Study Bible Series. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981. x + 234 pp. Paperback, \$5.95.

This new OT commentary series has been introduced as a companion to William Barclay's *Daily Study Bible* for the NT. The purpose is to provide laypersons with an easily readable and nontechnical commentary

on the books of the OT, written from a rather standard critical scholarly viewpoint. As such, the series is not focused toward a scholarly audience. Given this rather modest aim, this early volume in the series fulfills its purpose in a satisfactory fashion.

Since the book is written from the preterist point of view in terms of prophetic interpretation, Antiochus Epiphanes is the dominant figure with which to contend throughout the book of Daniel in both the historical and the prophetic chapters. For this reason, the work is not very satisfactory for those who also wish to consider the prophecies of Daniel from the historicist or futurist points of view. A critical examination of the historical problems in Daniel is limited to notes on the last two pages of the book.

Since the major prophetic outlines of Dan 2, 7 and 10-12 all end for Russell in the second century B.C., the question remains as to why the final kingdom of God did not come about then in the terms in which the writer expected it. Russell discusses this point only in connection with the commentary on chap. 11: "The value of these verses (Dan 11:40-12:1ff unfulfilled in the 2nd century B.C.) is to be found not in the accuracy or otherwise of their precise predictions, but in the assurance they give that the tyrant's end is certain and the purpose of God for his people is near to its fulfillment. Sincere and devout Christian readers are sometimes concerned about the 'unfulfilled' character of predictions or the implied 'inaccuracy' of such scriptural references. It is of help to know that even within Scripture itself there are instances of prophecies or predictions, apparently or obviously unfulfilled, being taken up and re-interpreted in the light of the changed circumstances of that age. It is of help too to recognise that the real value of prophetic predictions is to be found not simply in their prognostications of the future but much more so in their pronouncements of faith in the prevailing purpose of Almighty God" (p. 214).

For one with a more conservative concept of revelation and inspiration than that to which Russell subscribes, this view does not provide a very satisfactory or adequate explanation for the failure of God to accomplish his final purpose described in these prophecies, if all of the historical conditions up to that point are interpreted as having been fulfilled. That the historical failure of this final prediction should provide the believer with confidence in the "prevailing purpose of Almighty God" seems somewhat paradoxical.

In spite of this difficulty with presuppositions, this brief commentary is well written, reads easily, and fulfills its goals satisfactorily in terms of its target audience and the point of view from which it was written.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Schillebeeckx, Edward. *Ministry: Leadership in the Community of Jesus Christ*. New York: Crossroad, 1981. ix + 165 pp. \$12.95.

The "crisis of the priesthood" may be an overworked phrase, but the reality behind the expression is an inescapable fact of contemporary Catholic life. Over the last fifteen years the decline in priestly vocations, the proliferation of various kinds of lay ministry, a steady growth in numbers of ordained deacons, and an insistent call for greater equality for women in the life of the church have provoked a search for a better understanding of priesthood and ministry in the light of the Catholic Church's tradition and the contemporary pastoral needs.

Ministry: Leadership in the Community of Jesus Christ is Schillebeeckx's latest contribution to this search. The method he employs is to give an historical study of ministry in the church, comparing the second millennium A.D. to the first, raising questions from this comparative study, and finally offering suggestions for present and future practice of ministry.

The eminent Dutch theologian holds that we do not necessarily find the best and truest form of an ecclesiastical institution by identifying its shape in a certain period, either that of the NT or the time of the Council of Chalcedon or the era of Trent. The purpose of an historical study like *Ministry* is to find out which elements of the ministry are variable and which are essential by virtue of having remained constant during changes.

From NT times through the twelfth century, the author finds the essential notion to be that of leadership. Leadership is the "right" of each Christian community. It does not develop directly out of the liturgy, but whoever leads the community is *ipso facto* competent to preside at the eucharist. In such a context, ordained ministry is not a "state" or "status," but a "function," a "service." The notion of "absolute ordination"—the ordination of men without assigning them to minister to a congregation—was clearly a contradiction in terms, and thus explicitly condemned as "invalid" by the Council of Chalcedon.

With the Lateran Councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a major shift took place. The essence of ordination was held to be the production of an indelible priestly "character" and the conferring of grace for that particular state. This character could be conferred even if the ordinand was not being appointed to a particular community and was granted no jurisdiction. The election of the community became a formality. The priest was increasingly considered as a man apart, the one who conferred sacraments on the people. Trent gave this late medieval change great emphasis. Even the second Vatican Council, affirms Schillebeeckx, seemed to accept this new interpretation of ministry rather than the model offered by Chalcedon.

Most of Schillebeeckx's argument is not new, and much of it expresses the consensus of modern Catholic theologians. He is most original and exciting when he applies these ideas to a variety of present-day ecclesiological problems. For instance, if the priest is first and foremost the person marked out by the local Christian community as its leader, and ordained as such, a shortage of priests would simply be an ecclesiastical impossibility. Likewise, if the value of priestly celibacy—obligatory only since the twelfth century—is said to be an eschatological sign, this sign would be much more powerful if it were exhibited optionally rather than regarded as the necessary price to pay for the priesthood. Equally challenging is the implication that if any group of Christians seeking to live in fidelity to Christ has the right to leadership and to the eucharist, the question of the recognition of another church's ministry ceases to be an ecumenical problem.

Schillebeeckx has given us a very powerful and persuasive study of ministry. The book, it is true, is the reworking and expansion of four recent articles—a method which causes some overlap and lack of coordination, but its argument is convincing. Not every reader will agree with its conclusions, and reactions should not be long in coming. To assail the historical findings of the book, however, one will have to produce evidence contrary to that advanced by the author and documented in his copious footnotes. Regrettably, in such a learned volume there is no index.

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RAOUL DEDEREN

Turner, R. Edward. *Proclaiming the Word: The Concept of Preaching in the Thought of Ellen G. White*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1980. 183 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

Proclaiming the Word is not intended to be a homiletical textbook. Rather, as a revised form of the author's Ph.D. dissertation at Claremont University, it provides a critical analysis of the preaching concepts of Ellen G. White (1827-1915), a pioneer leader in the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Recognizing initially that White made no claims to be a trained homiletician, nor that she ever conceptualized or systematized her concept of preaching, Turner bases his analysis on what he terms her "growing stream of consciousness" about her own preaching experience and reflection upon it. Therefore, it is his understanding that the student's approach must be ontological as well as epistemological, which is one of the major strengths of his study. He recognizes that White approached preaching not

as a mere technician, but as one who was involved as a person in the communication process. This would seem to indicate that she was a forerunner of much current homiletical thought, in particular with reference to a narrative preaching style. Indeed, her books such as *Prophets and Kings*, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, *The Acts of the Apostles*, *Desire of Ages*, and *The Great Controversy*, reveal her great ability as a narrative communicator.

With respect to methodology, Turner states it as his intention to be consistent with White's own fundamental view of preaching, which was not to entertain nor to convey information alone, but to reach the hearts of the listeners. One is delightfully surprised to discover that she was aware that both the cognitive and affective levels of human experience must be touched in preaching if the Word is to exercise its creative and transforming power. Turner's work exposes that the literary works of Ellen G. White—while requiring interpretation—are always contemporary. While she is certainly a product of her own time, her work has universal applicability.

The most challenging—and perhaps disturbing for some readers—part of Turner's work is found in the ten reasons he concludes are responsible for the "current malaise about preaching" among Seventh-day Adventists (pp. 114-115). What emerges from his analysis and critique is the vital relationship between theology and homiletics, which has grave implications not only for preaching itself but also for ministerial training. As Gerhard Ebeling wrote: "Theology without proclamation is empty; proclamation without theology is blind" (*Theology and Proclamation* [Philadelphia, 1966], p. 20.) Turner seems to be in harmony with Ebeling in his view that the problem with preaching in Adventist circles is more with theology than techniques. It is apparent that he wants to give his reader cause for thought and reflection in regard to both the theological content of the message and the homiletical method. The reader may even find himself in agreement with Turner's judgment that suspicion of the academic as opposed to on-the-job training of ministers, a pattern of separateness and exclusivism, lack of balance between evangelism and pastoral work, and too-frequent moving of pastors from church to church have contributed toward a "mobile and homiletically deficient clergy." Above all, and it is at this point that Turner makes his major contribution to preaching in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, a misunderstanding of the balance Ellen G. White held between preaching and pastoral work has led some to think that preaching is not very important. The facts of Turner's research indicate beyond a shadow of a doubt that White held preaching and pastoral work to be equally central to the task of evangelizing the world. To emphasize one at the expense of the other would be like trying to walk with only one leg.

In his analysis of White's sermons in the light of her preaching concepts Turner depends heavily on a secondary source, in spite of his hermeneutic of using only her original statements in their original contexts, avoiding compilations. This secondary source is Horace John Shaw's 1959 Ph.D. dissertation (Michigan State University) in which Shaw analyzed White's public speaking rhetorically. This dependence on secondary material could be viewed as a weakness in Turner's work, and it does result in the most cursory section of his book. But perhaps Turner is to be excused when it is realized that by the time of his study, most of the 400 people whom Shaw interviewed as actually having heard Mrs. White speak, were deceased. This cursory section does reveal some interesting facts—among them, that White preached most frequently from the NT (five out of every six of her sermons were based on NT texts).

The reader might wish that Turner had included more heuristic material in this published version of his doctoral research and had done a bit more along the line of creative suggestions to meet the lack he decries in the area of Adventist homiletics. He might also have dealt with the pressing issue of how White's homiletical influence can be brought to bear on Seventh-day Adventist ministers at a time when her works are not as avidly read and studied as they were during the formative years of the church.

The book is very thought-provoking and is a valuable and positive contribution to the homiletical field as well as to the growing collection of analytical works dealing with the role of Ellen G. White in Adventist history and theological development.

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BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES

Inclusion in this section does not preclude subsequent review of a book. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

- Becker, Siegbert W. *The Foolishness of God: The Place of Reason in the Theology of Martin Luther*. Milwaukee, Wis.: Northwestern Publishing House, 1982. x + 266 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Shows that even though Luther may have been antirationalistic, battling the influence of both Aristotle and Aquinas, he was not irrational. Stresses that reason must yield to faith.
- Bornert, René. *La réforme protestante du culte à Strasbourg au XVIe siècle (1523-1598). Approche sociologique et interprétation théologique*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Vol. 28.) Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981. xviii + 654 pp. Dutch Guilders 220.00. Suggests that the Strasbourg worship reform in the sixteenth century has certain similarities with the liturgical reform in the Catholic church since the second Vatican Council, thus furthering the ecumenical dialogue.
- Collins, Gary R. *Psychology and Theology: Prospects for Integration*. Ed. and with a contribution by H. Newton Malony. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 154 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. Composed primarily of lectures given in 1978 as Fuller Seminary's Ninth Finch Symposium in Psychology and Religion. Discusses whether psychology and the Bible are compatible.
- Ellwood, Robert S., Jr. *Alternative Altars: Unconventional and Eastern Spirituality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. xiii + 192 pp. Paperback, \$5.50. Attempts to further the understanding of occult, mystical, and Eastern spiritual movements in the United States, highlighting Shaker spiritualism, theosophy, and Zen.
- Fiering, Norman. *Moral Philosophy at Seventeenth-Century Harvard: A Discipline in Transition*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. x + 323 pp. \$24.00. Demonstrates that intellectual developments in the eighteenth century were a logical outgrowth of the evolution of philosophical and psychological thought in the seventeenth century.
- Finney, Charles G. *Principles of Victory*. Comp. and ed. by Louis Gifford Parkhurst, Jr. Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House Publishers, 1981. 201 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. A collection of fifteen of Finney's sermons on the book of Romans, covering selected texts from Rom 1:18 through 14:23. Edited for the modern reader.
- Finney, Charles G. *The Promise of the Spirit*. Comp. and ed. by Timothy L. Smith. Minneapolis, Minn.: Bethany House Publishers, 1980. 265 pp. Paperback, \$5.95. This series of lectures from 1839, for the first time in the history of American theology, dealt with the need of holiness, describing sanctification as the "baptism with the Spirit."
- Kohlenberger, John R., III, ed. *The NIV Interlinear Hebrew-English Old Testament*. Vol. 3: *1 Chron. - Song of Songs*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1982. xii + 601 pp. \$21.95. The English text

- is the New International Version, the Hebrew text being the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. The interlinear translation is grammatically literal.
- Lippy, Charles H. *Seasonable Revolution-ary: The Mind of Charles Chauncy*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981. xi + 179 pp. \$18.95. A study of the life and teachings of a major New England theologian and political force of the eighteenth century.
- Lischer, Richard. *A Theology of Preaching: The Dynamics of the Gospel*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 112 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Stresses that preaching cannot be overstated and that preaching and theology must interact properly.
- Mitchell, Nathan. *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass*. (Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church. Vol. 4.) New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1982. 460 pp. Paperback, \$11.95. Traces the development of eucharist worship outside the celebration of the liturgy itself from Justin Martyr's first written description about A.D. 150 through the reforms of the post-Vatican-II period.
- Neville, Robert C. *Reconstruction of Thinking*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1980. xii + 350 pp. \$23.50. "The task of this book is to reconstruct the concept of thinking in order to exhibit valuation, not reason, as the foundation for thinking and to integrate valuational with quantitative and qualitative models."
- Parrott, Bob W. *Ontology of Humor*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1982. xv + 78 pp. \$10.95. Scientific, contemplative approach to the phenomenon of humor, claiming that humor is an inherent factor in faith. Discusses humor in relationship to love, joy, grace, justification, goodness, guilt, doubt, prayer, etc.
- Reid, W. Stanford, ed. *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1982. 415 pp. Paperback, \$10.95. This *Festschrift* in honor of Paul Woolley of Westminster Theological Seminary contains sixteen essays, showing how Calvinism has flourished in different forms, countries, and circumstances.
- Roles in the Liturgical Assembly: Papers of the Twenty-third Liturgical Conference, Saint-Serge, Paris, 1976*. Trans. Matthew J. O'Connell. New York: Pueblo Publishing House, 1981. xi + 343 pp. Paperback, \$12.95. Eighteen essays presenting historical and critical studies of the origin and development of roles in the Christian assembly.
- Sjölander, Pearl. *Some Aspects of Style in Twentieth-century English Bible Translation: One-Man Versions of Mark and the Psalms*. Umeå, Sweden, 1979. Distr. by the author: Box 1107, S-111 81 Stockholm, Sweden. 219 pp. Paperback, \$7.00. This Ph.D. dissertation is "a brief survey of the styles of some of the hundreds of one-man versions of the whole or parts of the Bible into English made this century."
- Swartley, Willard M. *Mark: The Way for All Nations*. Rev. ed. Scottsdale, Pa./Kitchener, Ont.: Herald Press, 1981. 251 pp. Paperback, \$8.95 (in Canada, \$10.75). Written for both individual and group study, the book combines historical scholarship with Christian devotion.
- Thompson, William D. *Preaching Biblically: Exegesis and Interpretation*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 128

pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Discusses the fundamentals of biblical preaching, basic principles of interpretation, and a methodology for constructing biblical sermons.

Wallenkampf, Arnold V., and Leshner, W. Richard, eds. *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981. xiv + 730 pp. Paperback, \$8.95. Consists of essays and research papers, originally presented to the Biblical Research Institute Committee of the General Conference of SDA. Deals with the sanctuary and the atonement in the OT and NT, the history of interpretation of these topics in the Christian church, and the theological study of this subject.

Welzig, Werner, ed. *Predigt und soziale Wirklichkeit: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Predigtliteratur*. (Daphnis, Band 10, 1981, Heft 1.) Amsterdam: Rodopi,

1981/Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1982. 193 pp. Paperback, \$24.00. *Preaching and Social Reality: Contributions to the Investigation of Sermon Literature* contains six essays, dealing with preaching as a comment to the actual life situation of different population strata in baroque Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Italy.

Whiting, Thomas A. *Be Good to Yourself*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 128 pp. \$6.95. Short inspirational messages, written for presentation on the Protestant Hour program, dealing with basic concerns in life: health, security, grief, tension, loneliness.

Willimon, William H. *Integrative Preaching: The Pulpit at the Center*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981. 110 pp. Paperback, \$4.95. Examines the pulpit in relation to other pastoral functions, such as administration, counseling, study, visitation, and teaching.

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CONSONANTS

א = ' א = <i>a</i>	ב = <i>b</i>	ג = <i>g</i>	ד = <i>d</i>	ה = <i>h</i>	ו = <i>w</i>	ז = <i>z</i>	ח = <i>h</i>	ט = <i>t</i>	י = <i>y</i>	כ = <i>k</i>	ל = <i>l</i>	מ = <i>m</i>	נ = <i>n</i>	ס = <i>s</i>	ע = <i>c</i>	פ = <i>p</i>	ק = <i>q</i>	ר = <i>r</i>	ש = <i>s</i>	ת = <i>t</i>
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MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֿ = <i>a</i>	וּ, וֹ (vocal shewa) = <i>e</i>	וֹ = <i>o</i>
ֶ = <i>ā</i>	וְ, וֹ = <i>ē</i>	וִ = <i>o</i>
ִ = <i>a</i>	ִ = <i>i</i>	ִ = <i>o</i>
ֵ = <i>e</i>	ֵ = <i>i</i>	ֵ = <i>u</i>
ֶ = <i>ē</i>	ֶ = <i>o</i>	ֶ = <i>ū</i>

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR <i>Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	BT <i>The Bible Translator</i>
AB <i>Anchor Bible</i>	BTB <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
AcOr <i>Acta orientalia</i>	BZ <i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
ACW <i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>	BZAW <i>Beihefte zur ZAW</i>
ADAJ <i>Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</i>	BZNW <i>Beihefte zur ZNW</i>
AER <i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	CAD <i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
AfO <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>	CBQ <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
AHR <i>American Historical Review</i>	CC <i>Christian Century</i>
AHW <i>Von Soden, Akkad. Handwörterb.</i>	CH <i>Church History</i>
AJA <i>Am. Journal of Archaeology</i>	CHR <i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
AJBA <i>Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.</i>	CIG <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
AJSL <i>Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.</i>	CIJ <i>Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum</i>
AJT <i>American Journal of Theology</i>	CIL <i>Corp. Inscript. Latinarum</i>
ANEP <i>Anc. Near East in Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CIS <i>Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum</i>
ANESTP <i>Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CJT <i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
ANET <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CQ <i>Church Quarterly</i>
ANF <i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	CQR <i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
AnOr <i>Analecta Orientalia</i>	CR <i>Corpus Reformatorum</i>
AOS <i>American Oriental Series</i>	CT <i>Christianity Today</i>
APOT <i>Apocr. and Pseud. of OT, Charles, ed.</i>	CTM <i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
ARG <i>Archiv für Reformationsgesch.</i>	CurTM <i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
ARM <i>Archives royales de Mari</i>	DACL <i>Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.</i>
ArOr <i>Archiv Orientalni</i>	DOTT <i>Docs. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
ARW <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>	DTC <i>Dict. de théol. cath.</i>
ASV <i>American Standard Version</i>	EKL <i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
ATR <i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	EncIsl <i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
AUM <i>Andrews Univ. Monographs</i>	EncJud <i>Encyclopedia judaica (1971)</i>
AusBR <i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	ER <i>Ecumenical Review</i>
AUSS <i>Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies</i>	EvQ <i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
BA <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	EvT <i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
BAR <i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>	ExpTim <i>Expository Times</i>
BARev <i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	FC <i>Fathers of the Church</i>
BASOR <i>Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	GRBS <i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
BGSR <i>Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.</i>	HeyJ <i>Heythrop Journal</i>
Bib <i>Biblica</i>	HibJ <i>Hibbert Journal</i>
BibB <i>Biblische Beiträge</i>	HR <i>History of Religions</i>
BibOr <i>Biblica et Orientalia</i>	HSM <i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
BIES <i>Bull. of Isr. Explor. Society</i>	HTR <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
BJRL <i>Bulletin, John Rylands Library</i>	HTS <i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
BK <i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	HUCA <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
BO <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>	IB <i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
BQR <i>Baptist Quarterly Review</i>	ICC <i>International Critical Commentary</i>
BR <i>Biblical Research</i>	IDB <i>Interpreter's Dict. of Bible</i>
BSac <i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	IEJ <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
	Int <i>Interpretation</i>
	ITQ <i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>

Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR	<i>Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.</i>	RenQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum</i>	ReuExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
JAOS	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.</i>	ReuQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>	ReuScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.</i>	ReuSdm	<i>Revue sémitique</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	RHPR	<i>Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.</i>	RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux</i>	RPTK	<i>Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>	RR	<i>Review of Religion</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	RRR	<i>Review of Religious Research</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	RS	<i>Religious Studies</i>
JMeH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>	RSPT	<i>Revue des sc. phil. et théol.</i>
JMES	<i>Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>	RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>	RTP	<i>Revue de théol. et de phil.</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	SB	<i>Sources bibliques</i>
JPOS	<i>Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.</i>	SBLDS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SBLMS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SBLBS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	SBLTT	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	SBT	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
JRelS	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>	SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>	SCR	<i>Studies in Comparative Religion</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>	Sem	<i>Semítica</i>
JRT	<i>Journal of Religious Thought</i>	SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>	SMRT	<i>Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of OT</i>	Sor	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journ., Scient. Study of Religion</i>	SSS	<i>Semitic Studies Series</i>
JTC	<i>Journal for Theol. and Church</i>	ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theol. Studies</i>	TAPS	<i>Transactions of Am. Philos. Society</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
LCC	<i>Library of Christian Classics</i>	TDNT	<i>Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>	TDOT	<i>Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.</i>
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
LTk	<i>Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche</i>	TGI	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
LW	<i>Lutheran World</i>	THAT	<i>Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.</i>
McCQ	<i>McCormick Quarterly</i>	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
MLB	<i>Modern Language Bible</i>	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
NAB	<i>New American Bible</i>	Trad	<i>Traditio</i>
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>	TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
NCB	<i>New Century Bible</i>	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>	TT	<i>Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
NHS	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>	TToday	<i>Theology Today</i>
NICNT	<i>New International Commentary, NT</i>	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
NICOT	<i>New International Commentary, OT</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>	UBSGNT	<i>United Bible Societies Greek NT</i>
NKZ	<i>Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
NowT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
NPNF	<i>Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers</i>	VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
NRT	<i>Nouvelle revue théologique</i>	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
NTA	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	VTSup	<i>VT, Supplements</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	WA	<i>Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe</i>
NTTS	<i>NT Tools and Studies</i>	WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theol. Journal</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>	ZAS	<i>Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>	ZAW	<i>Zeitsch. für die altes. Wiss.</i>
OTS	<i>Oldtestamentische Studiën</i>	ZDMG	<i>Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft</i>
PEFQS	<i>Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	ZEE	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie</i>
PJ	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.</i>	ZMR	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft</i>
QDAP	<i>Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitsch. für die neues. Wiss.</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.</i>	ZRGG	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.</i>	ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie</i>
RArch	<i>Revue archéologique</i>	ZTK	<i>Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>	ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>
RechBib	<i>Recherches bibliques</i>		
RechSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>		
REg	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>		
RelS	<i>Religious Studies</i>		
RelSoc	<i>Religion and Society</i>		
RelSRev	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>		