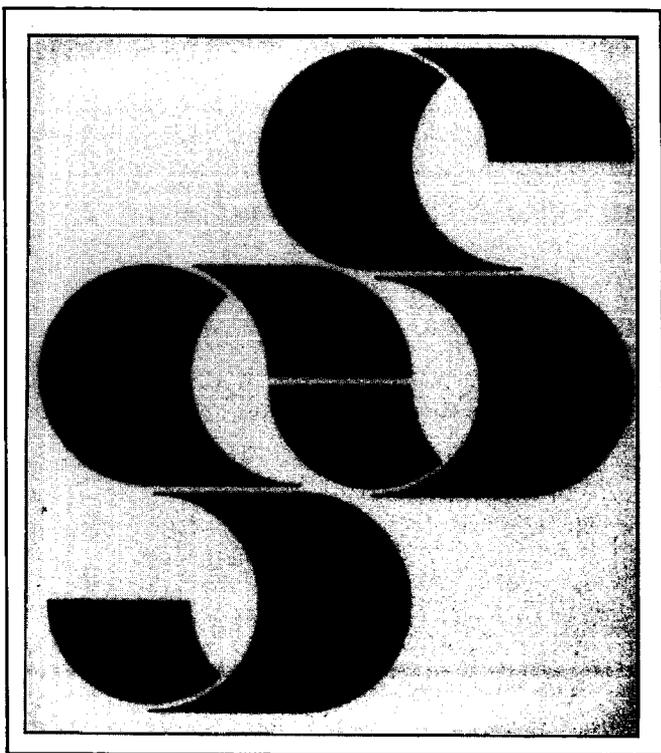


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Editorial and Circulation Offices: AUSS, Seminary Hall, Andrews
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HEALTH AND HEALING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

GERHARD F. HASEL
Andrews University

A fundamental concept regarding the subject of health in the OT was the conviction that God is the Creator of life and thus the Giver of health and well-being. The reality portrayed in Gen 1-2 communicates a perfectly created order and environment that "was very good" (Gen 1:31).¹ Humankind was itself created as a total entity in a perfect state (Gen 2:7, 21-22). Gen 1-2 depicts a world totally different from the one which existed after the fall (Gen 3), where the sin-caused degenerative processes sap the life forces until death comes about. Thus, a central concept of biblical religion is that health and well-being are the design of God and that illness in whatever form it appears is not an established part of the divine order of reality.

1. *Health in the OT*

It must be pointed out, first of all, that health in the biblical sense embraces not only physical well-being, but also the spiritual, mental, and emotional qualities. "A person may be described as healthy when he exhibits that state of body and mind in which all the functions are being discharged harmoniously."² This holistic conception is the essence of the biblical view of health. Indeed, the idea of wholeness and completeness forms the basic content of the Hebrew word *šālôm*, which can be translated "wholeness,"³ "completeness,"⁴ and also "peace."⁵ When Jacob commanded Joseph,

¹Scriptural quotations are from the NASB.

²R. K. Harrison, "Healing, Health," *IDB*, 2: 541.

³W. L. Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971), p. 371 (hereinafter cited as *CHAL*).

⁴F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1972), p. 1022; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1958), pp. 973-974.

⁵See references in nn. 3 and 4, above. Also cf. John Wilkinson, *Health and Healing* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 3-8.

“Go now and see about the welfare [*šālôm*] of your brothers” (Gen 37:14), he was actually requesting Joseph to look for their “well-being”⁶ or “state of health.”⁷

In short, health in the biblical view is not one particular quality among many that pertain to the human being; it is the wholeness and completeness of being in itself and in relation to God, to fellow humans, and to the world. Several aspects of the OT emphasis on, and concern with, health in this holistic sense may now be noted.

Health and Longevity

In the OT, one of the major manifestations of health showed itself in longevity. The length of life of antediluvian man as described in Gen 5 surpasses anything known at present, with the total life-spans of the antediluvian patriarchs reaching 777 years at the low end of the spectrum (Gen 5:31) and 969 years at the upper end (Gen 5:27). The longevity of the postdiluvian patriarchs was on a distinctly declining scale and reached in most cases only between 230 and 239 years, with Nahor living only 148 years (Gen 11:24-25).

During the later period of Hebrew society, the proverbial “threescore and ten years” (Ps 90:10) was apparently already exceptionally high; and for persons reaching 80 years of age, “their pride is but labor and sorrow” (vs. 10b). The age reached by Joseph was 110 years (Gen 50:26), and was regarded as ideally desirable in ancient Egypt.⁸ Moses lived 120 years (Deut 34:7), a real exception. It is assumed, however, that “the general life expectancy was nearer sixty than seventy years,”⁹ but irrespective of whether the life-span was seventy years or sixty years, such a relatively short time stands “tacitly contrasted to the life-span of the patriarchs.”¹⁰ Presumably, degenerative processes had set in to take their toll on human longevity through environmental and other factors.

⁶Koehler-Baumgartner, p. 973.

⁷CHAL, p. 371.

⁸In Egypt it was customary to recognize a long and prosperous life by saying that a man lived to be 110 years old. See J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte* (Louvain, 1959), pp. 200-201.

⁹Harrison, p. 542.

¹⁰Derek Kidner, *Psalms 73-150* (London, Eng., 1975), p. 330.

Health and Environment

As a fulfillment of the covenant which God made with Abraham (Gen 12:1-3; 15:1-17; 17:1-21), Israel was given the land of Canaan. This land, later designated as Palestine, was as suitable an area as possible for God's people, from the standpoint of healthful environment. As far as current information is concerned, Palestine was not the seat of endemic disease in antiquity as compared to Mesopotamia and Egypt, which together with Palestine made up the "Fertile Crescent." Large areas in Mesopotamia were without water for long seasons each year, forcing ancient populations to build extensive canal systems so that the needed artificial irrigation could function for growing foodstuffs of various kinds. The standing or sluggish waters of these canal systems, together with the slow-flowing rivers (particularly the Euphrates), were breeding grounds for mosquitoes. The same applies in general to Egypt as well—a land which was, and still is, totally dependent upon the Nile. In contrast, the river valleys and wadis of the largely hilly and mountainous area of Palestine, together with a predominantly rural lifestyle, contributed greatly to the health and well-being of the ancient Israelites.

Infant mortality in the major centers of the ancient world was very high. "One estimate has claimed that in Egypt only three out of every ten children born into a family could survive to adulthood."¹¹ A similar situation must have existed in Mesopotamia. These high infant mortality rates were produced in part by poor environment and by the lack of hygiene and public-health safeguards.

Health and the Sabbath

The biblical witness makes clear that "the divine origin and institution of the sabbath took place at the beginning of human history. At that time God not only provided a divine example for keeping the seventh day as a day of rest, but also blessed and set apart the seventh day for the use and benefit of man."¹² The seventh-day sabbath is thus linked with Creation (Gen 2:1-3; Exod

¹¹Harrison, p. 542.

¹²G. H. Waterman, "Sabbath," *The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975), 5: 183. (This set hereinafter cited as ZPEB.)

20:11; 31:17); it is "a gift of the Creator for man"¹³ and serves to bring rest from all normal activity (Exod 20:8-11). The purpose of cessation from work on the seventh-day sabbath is for "rest" (Exod 20:11; 31:17; Deut 5:14). In addition to being a weekly reminder of (1) the religious-moral responsibility to worship God on the sabbath,¹⁴ (2) the social emphasis on equality of all human beings (free persons and servants) under God,¹⁵ and (3) the humanitarian treatment of domesticated animals, there is also (4) the momentous benefit of sabbath rest in furnishing special time each week for physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional renewal. The result of such renewal time is health for the individual and society alike.

Certain modern societies have changed the weekly cycle of rest and either have replaced it with different time intervals or have done away with a regular day of rest completely. It has been stated recently:

Medical science has shown, however, that the ideal rest period for the healthy operation of the human body and mind is that of one day in seven. Some persons appear to survive for a time without a regular "sabbath" interval, but it is doubtful that they are performing at anything approaching their maximum and they are certainly making themselves vulnerable to physical or mental breakdown. Thus the biblical concept of the sabbath has not merely positive and recuperative values for the individual but also serves to guard against disease.¹⁶

The Mosaic law extends the idea of sabbath rest to the land by legislating for the Israelites that every seventh year after the harvest the land is to remain fallow, while orchards and vineyards will remain untended (Lev 25:1-7). The importance of this law for our study rests in the interest in ecological conservation, the continued health of the land by preserving natural resources and permitting the land to rejuvenate itself in a seven-year cycle.¹⁷

¹³C. Westermann, *Genesis*, 1/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1974), p. 237.

¹⁴R. K. Harrison, "Heal," *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia: Revised* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1982), 2: 642. (This set hereinafter cited as *ISBE*.)

¹⁵G. F. Hasel, "The Sabbath in the Pentateuch," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, ed. K. A. Strand (Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 21-43.

¹⁶Harrison, in *ISBE*, 2: 642.

¹⁷R. K. Harrison, *Leviticus* (Downers Grove, Ill., 1980), p. 223.

Health and Diet

Modern medical science has recognized the close link between health and diet. Experiments with animals on artificial diets have enabled nutritionists to establish a long list of dietary substances essential for normal growth and the maintenance of good health. A deficiency of certain dietary substances may lead to serious cases of ill health. Among studies in diets are those which are designated as therapeutic diets. They may be restrictive or restorative in nature. Both restrictive or restorative diets are designated to deal with abnormal situations, where sickness of some sort is involved. The biblical view on diet, however, is not so much restrictive or restorative. To the contrary, it is primarily, if not exclusively, preventive in nature. The promotion and maintenance of good health is in the foreground of the dietary regulations provided in Scripture.

There is no hard-core evidence from either ancient Mesopotamia or Egypt that the people of these nations followed dietary restrictions or regulated diet in order to promote and maintain good health. The Pentateuchal legislation regarding diet is "unique in the ancient Near East."¹⁸

The earliest dietary information in the OT, pertaining to the garden of Eden, was that "every plant yielding seed that is on the surface of all the earth, and every tree which has fruit yielding seed" (Gen 1:29) could be eaten, except that "from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat" (Gen 2:17). At the time of the Flood, Noah took into the ark "some of all food which is edible" (Gen 6:21) for his family and for the animals. At the end of the Flood, God allowed meat products to be eaten in addition to the vegetarian diet to which the antediluvians were accustomed (Gen 9:3). From such data, "many scholars conclude . . . that early man until the time of the Flood was vegetarian."¹⁹

Specific legislation in the Pentateuch relating to non-vegetable foods is found in Lev 11:3-19. The distinction between "clean" and "unclean," "which goes back at least to the Flood (Gen 7:2)"²⁰ and which is totally unique in the ancient Near East, is applied to

¹⁸Harrison, in *ISBE*, 2: 644.

¹⁹J. P. Lewis, "Food," *ZPEB*, 2: 584.

²⁰Harrison, in *ISBE*, 2: 644.

animals that, respectively, may or may not be eaten. The origin of the distinction "clean" and "unclean" is widely debated. There is no evidence supporting the hypotheses suggesting that the concept of uncleanness of animals is to be associated with "magical or demonic origin,"²¹ the role of animals in pagan cults,²² pagan sacrifice,²³ or a mark of Israelite distinctiveness,²⁴ nor that it arose simply for reasons of abnormality.²⁵ The distinction between "clean" and "unclean" animals seems to rest in health considerations,²⁶ and only "clean" creatures are permitted for human consumption.²⁷ Legislation also protected the sources of edible things and of water from the pollution caused by the carcasses of "unclean" species (Lev 11:31-40).

The Mosaic legislation of "clean" and "unclean" creatures was undoubtedly designed to keep the covenant community in a state of "holiness" and "health" by reducing the incidence of all kinds of diseases. As stated by R. K. Harrison, the divine instruction communicated through Moses for the covenant community "was the first of its kind to recognize that infection could be transmitted by both food and water."²⁸

Health and Sexual Morality

The OT laws relating to sexual morality not only set the standard for sexual conduct in biblical religion but also were

²¹Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* (Chicago, 1960), p. 105.

²²J. E. Hartley, "Clean and Unclean," *ISBE*, 1: 721; J. Jocz, "Clean," *ZPEB*, 1: 885.

²³M. Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 56-59.

²⁴See Harrison, *Leviticus*, pp. 123-124, for an exposition and refutation of this view.

²⁵G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1979), pp. 20-22, 169-171.

²⁶So particularly R. E. Clements, "Leviticus," *Broadman Bible Commentary* (Nashville, Tenn., 1970), p. 34; Harrison, *Leviticus*, pp. 124-126.

²⁷"Clean" land animals have a parted hoof and chew the cud (Lev 11:3-8; Deut 14:4-8); all other mammals are "unclean." "Clean" aquatic creatures need to have fins and scales (Lev 11:9-12); all other water creatures are "unclean." Rapacious, aquatic, and predatory birds are "unclean" (Lev 11:13-19). All insects except the "locust" are unclean.

²⁸Harrison, in *ISBE*, 2: 644.

designed to preserve health. The only proper sexual relationship enjoined is that between husband and wife (Gen 1:27-28). The Pentateuchal legislation prohibited adulterous interest in another person's spouse (Exod 20:14, 17; cf. Lev 18:20), the enticing of a virgin to commit sexual intercourse (Exod 22:16), sexual relations with animals (Lev 18:23), homosexual practice (Lev 18:22; 20:13), incest (Lev 18:6-18; Deut 27:20, 22), and prostitution (Deut 23:17-18).

These biblical injunctions were far higher than anything known elsewhere in the ancient Near East. The biblical laws governing sexual relations, "and in particular the seventh commandment, if strictly observed," a physician has recently stated, "would put an end to the spread of venereal diseases."²⁹

2. *Healing in the OT*

Healing is at present customarily described as a process which often involves "medical, surgical, or psychiatric treatment of a pathological condition." This treatment "culminates in the functional repair, and sometimes the actual regeneration, of a previously diseased or damaged part of the body or mind."³⁰ The OT view of "healing," however, is directly related to restoration of that broad state of well-being and peaceful relationship with God, self, fellow-beings, and environment embraced in the OT's holistic concept of "health."

Healing and the Physician

A key theme in the OT is that "I, the Lord, am your healer" (Exod 15:26b). The context of the claim that the Lord of the covenant is "healer" is the prevention of the diseases which afflicted the Egyptians. Obedience to the Lord would prevent God from bringing diseases upon the covenant people (Exod 15:26a).

In Israel, the priest was a religious functionary, but not a physician. This stands in sharp contrast to the priest-physicians in ancient Egypt, who, according to literary and pictorial materials, are known to have functioned as early as the 3d millennium B.C. Although modern discovery has brought to light the fact of a remarkably high state of medical knowledge in ancient Egypt, the

²⁹P. E. Adolph, "Healing, Health," *ZPEB*, 3: 57.

³⁰Harrison, in *ISBE*, 2: 640.

therapeutic procedures of the Egyptian priest-physicians were also heavily overlaid and interwoven with magic and superstition.³¹ These lector-priests (Egyptian, *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry tp*), were trained in the "House of Life" (a kind of temple "school") and mixed medicinal remedies with magical spells.³² The situation in ancient Mesopotamia was somewhat similar. The Assyro-Babylonian priest-magician was a scholar attached to temples, and designated as *āšipu*-priest in contrast to the *bārû*-priest, who was a diviner.³³ This *āšipu*-priest performed acts of curative magic to bring deliverance from diseases and demon possession, often employing rites and spells from the handbook *Šurpu*.³⁴

In the OT there are but few references to physicians. The earliest one is found in the Joseph narrative in Gen 50:2: "And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father. So the physicians embalmed Israel." This refers to the process of mummification,³⁵ which is typical for Egypt.³⁶ The employment of physicians instead of professional embalmers seems to indicate that Joseph "might well have wished to avoid the magico-religious rites of the professional embalmers."³⁷ In any case, physicians here are not spoken of in the context of healing a physical illness. Also, they are Egyptian, not Israelite, physicians.

In the book of Job with its story of a man struck by great misfortune, which included a devastating physical malady, Job refers to his accusing friends, "You are all worthless physicians" (Job 13:4), branding them thereby as incompetent. It is not clear whether the term "physician" in this context is employed merely as

³¹R. K. Harrison, "Disease, Bible and Spade," *BA* 41 (Dec. 1978):185-186; idem, *ISBE*, 2: 641. Cf. J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "Medicine in the Land and Times of the Old Testament," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, ed. Tomoo Ishida (Winona Lake, Ind., 1982), pp. 337-347.

³²K. A. Kitchen, "Magic and Sorcery," *New Bible Dictionary: Revised* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967), p. 769.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 770. See also Wilson, pp. 347-358.

³⁴The modern translation of this work is done by E. Reiner, *Šurpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations* (Graz, 1958).

³⁵C. Westermann, *Genesis*, 1/3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1982), pp. 224-225.

³⁶On Egyptian mummification, see Vergote, pp. 197-200.

³⁷D. Kidner, *Genesis* (Downers Grove, Ill., 1967), p. 223, who follows Vergote.

a poetic metaphor or whether it actually assigns to these friends the status of "physician" (*rōpē*³⁸).

The book of Jeremiah contains the famous passage asking, "Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then has not the health of the daughter of my people been restored?" (Jer 8:22). The connection of balm, physician, and restoration of health clearly suggests that there existed physicians who used medicine to bring about health, even though a spiritual healing is in view here.³⁹

An interesting incident is reported regarding King Asa of Judah (910-869 B.C.), who in his 39th year of reign (871 B.C.) contracted a disease in his feet.⁴⁰ "Even in his disease he did not seek the Lord but the physicians. So Asa slept with his fathers, having died in the forty-first year of his reign" (2 Chr 16:12-13). The major interest in this passage is the observation that in order to obtain healing, Asa consulted the aid of physicians, rather than the aid of the Lord. Conclusions which students of this passage have reached include (1) that the healing science of physicians is condemned because only the Lord is the physician;⁴¹ (2) that Asa "consulted only physicians, without consulting the Lord at all";⁴² and (3) that Asa consulted foreign priest-physicians who employed a combination of medicinal art and magic, without consulting the Lord.⁴³ In the context of 2 Chr 16:7-14, it is most difficult to conclude that "the calling of a physician in the case of illness is sin."⁴⁴ It is possible that Asa consulted foreign priest-physicians, an act which would be totally against the religious tenets of biblical faith. In my opinion, it is most likely that if Asa consulted Israelite physicians who

³⁸A substantival adjective of the root *rp*³, "to heal."

³⁹The "balm" in Jer 8:22 is discussed by R. K. Harrison, *Healing Herbs of the Bible* (Leiden, 1966), pp. 17-18.

⁴⁰For dating, see E. R. Thiele, *A Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), p. 75; idem, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 3d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1983), pp. 83-87.

⁴¹F. F. Bruce, "Medicine," *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, Revised*, ed. F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley (New York, 1963), p. 637.

⁴²J. M. Myers, *II Chronicles* (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), p. 95.

⁴³W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 249; H. J. Stoebe, "רפא *rp*³ heilen," *THAT*, vol. 2, col. 306.

⁴⁴Rudolph, p. 249.

would not mix medical art with magic, even then the procedure was displeasing to God, for in the total context of this passage the calling of physicians without also calling upon the Lord of life, who is the "physician" *par excellence*, is to put in a human agent that trust which ultimately belongs to God.

On the basis of the above evidence, it is difficult to conclude whether there were few or many physicians among the ancient Hebrews. Of great importance for biblical faith is not the quantity or even necessarily the quality of the physician, but rather that the God of the Israelites is *the* ultimate Physician. God declares in Exod 15:26: "For I, the Lord, am your healer." The term translated "healer is *rōpē*", "healer,"⁴⁵ "doctor,"⁴⁶ "physician"⁴⁷—the same term employed in Gen 50:2, Job 13:4, Jer 8:22, and 2 Chr 16:12, the texts which we have just considered.

The fact that the Lord is "your healer" (or better, "your physician"⁴⁸) is fundamental to biblical faith. The recurring theme is that the Lord brings health or provides healing. Abraham prays for Abimelech and for his wife and maids, and they were "healed" (Gen 20:17). The psalmist prays in his trouble and the Lord "healed them" (Ps 107:20) or "healed me" (Ps 30:2). Indeed, he "heals all your diseases" (Ps 103:3); and he "heals the brokenhearted, and binds up their wounds" (Ps 147:3). Prayer for healing is addressed to the Lord (Ps 6:2; 41:4).

The Lord is not only the One who guides in history, but he is also Lord over life and death (Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6). This lordship includes power or authority over sickness. The person who is struck with sickness asks the Lord in prayer for healing, with the expectation that the Lord of the covenant will indeed heal.

The holistic concept of "health" and "healing" in the OT certainly underlies the considerations noted above, especially in connection with the references in Jer 8:22 and 2 Chr 16:12. In the

⁴⁵CHAL, p. 344; Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 950.

⁴⁶CHAL, p. 344.

⁴⁷G. Fohrer, ed., *Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the OT* (Berlin and New York, 1973), p. 264; Koehler-Baumgartner, p. 903.

⁴⁸See J. Hempel, "Ich bin der Herr, dein Arzt: Ex 15,26," *TLZ* 82 (1957): 809-826.

ultimate, *physical* healing is from God, even though human physicians may be instrumental for him; but *further aspects* of "completeness" or "wholeness" are beyond human help, deriving from God alone—and thus there was the need, for instance, for Asa to consult God as well as human physicians, even if those physicians were Israelite practitioners.

Healing and Forgiveness

Indeed, the holistic conception of man, with the integration and interrelatedness of all phases of life, comes to the forefront in deeper dimensions of healing in the OT. Healing is more than a medically verifiable physical process. The prayer for healing is, for this reason, joined with the confession of sin (Ps 41:3-4; 30:3-6). The healing of the brokenhearted is a spiritual event that is joined to the physical binding up of the wounds (Ps 147:3). Hezekiah's illness and recovery is associated with his religious experience (2 Kgs 20:1-11); and yet, the turning away of the heart from the Lord will not necessarily deter the Lord from bringing healing (Isa 57:17-19). Nevertheless, in at least one text, 2 Chr 7:14, forgiveness is the prerequisite for healing.

It is also made clear that continuous and persistent obstinacy against the Lord makes forgiveness impossible and removes the possibility of healing (2 Chr 36:16). In Jeremiah, the appeal to return to God is followed by the promise of God's healing his people (3:22), and the request for healing is joined with the desire for complete salvation (17:14). In Hosea, the Lord promises to those who heed the call to return to him for forgiveness graciously given, "I will heal their apostasy, I will love them freely" (14:4). And in Malachi, the great promise of healing is joined to the theme of righteousness: "But for you who fear My name the sun of righteousness will rise with healing in its wings" (4:2).

It is apparent that the themes of healing, forgiveness, and salvation are not (and cannot be) separated in Scripture.⁴⁹ Healing involves not merely physical restoration; it includes the deeper dimension of forgiveness and restoration into fellowship with God.

⁴⁹J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im Alten Testament* (Zürich, 1940), pp. 78-84.

In the description of the future Servant-Messiah in Isa 53:5, healing appears in connection with both sin and sickness, with healing and forgiveness: "But He was pierced through for our transgressions, He was crushed for our iniquities; the chastening for our well-being fell upon Him, and by His scourging we are healed." The Servant-Messiah "is actually broken and really crushed, not for the sake of His sin, but as substitute for our sin. Thus his sicknesses are healed on those who were not afflicted by them."⁵⁰ Through "his suffering [which] was vicarious,"⁵¹ healing comes to all who accept his substitutionary and vicarious punishment. It is imparted in a sense that transcends by far the healing of mere physical affliction, though yet including such affliction.

In short, "healing" in the biblical sense, is the experience or process which restores fallen, alienated human beings to intimate fellowship, friendship, and communion with God. It is *šālôm*—"peace"—in that comprehensive sense of *total* well-being.

⁵⁰Stoebe, col. 809.

⁵¹G. A. F. Knight, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Theological Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* (New York, 1965), p. 235.

“THIS GENERATION” IN MATTHEW 24:34

S. JOSEPH KIDDER
Auburn, Washington

The use of the term γενεά, “generation” (or more precisely, ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, “this generation”) in Matt 24:34 (and the parallel passages, Mark 13:30 and Luke 21:32) has been highly problematical to theologians, exegetes, and churches. Though this term seemingly suggests the imminent return of Jesus, obviously he did not return in the lifetime of the apostles in the described fashion, a circumstance which has led to a remarkable variety in the treatment given to γενεά.

A number of commentaries simply ignore the passage. Others look upon the saying as an unwarranted intrusion, and still others suggest such meanings as “race”/“clan”/“nation,” or as a kind or quality of people, or even as “spiritual descendants.”¹ And the list could be extended. The striking thing is that seldom, if ever, is there any significant attempt to relate the term “generation” to the rest of the chapter. It is the purpose of this study to do precisely that, and, in fact, to relate the use of the term in Matt 24:34 to its even broader context in that Gospel.

1. *The Literary Structure*

It is important to notice that chaps. 23-25 in Matthew serve as one broad literary unit, embracing paralleling materials in inverse order (i.e., in chiasmic structure), and, moreover, that within this literary unit the term ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη appears twice—as paralleling elements. The following analysis sets forth the broad chiasm, highlighting the main sections or themes that serve as counterparts.

¹Cf. Dallas M. Roark's remark in “The Great Eschatological Discourse,” *NovT* 7 (1964/65): 123: “The great eschatological discourse of Matthew xxiv is a thorn in the flesh of the interpreter.” He then calls attention to G. R. Beasley-Murray's review (in *Jesus and the Future* [London, 1954]) of “the many courageous attempts to deal with the passage” and goes on to indicate that “one of the problems in Mt. 24 centers around the words of verses 32-34 with special reference to v. 34.” A survey of commentaries will immediately reveal the great divergence in treatment of the term.

THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF MATTHEW 23-25*

- J-a. Abomination of Desolation in
the holy place (24:15)
b. Gospel proclamation (24:14)
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. The preliminary tribulation (24:9-13)
a. Persecution (vss. 9-12)
b. Promise of salvation (vs. 13)</p> <p>H. Signs on Earth (24:6-8): wars and rumors
of wars; nation against nation and
kingdom against kingdom; famines,
pestilences, and earthquakes</p> <p>G. False messiahs (24:5)</p> <p>F. End of the Temple and Jerusalem
(23:37-24:3)</p> <p>E. "This generation" (23:36): "Amen, I say
to you that all these shall come upon
this generation"</p> <p>D. Scribes and Pharisees kill the prophets
(23:29-35)</p> <p>C. Externally, scribes and Pharisees appear
good, but inside are bad (23:25-28)</p> <p>B. Scribes and Pharisees neglect works of
justice, mercy, and faith (23:23-24)</p> <p>A. Christ's Judgment on "Saying-versus-
Doing" (23:1-22)
a. Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses'
seat: <i>Do</i> what they <i>say</i>, but not
what they do (23:1-2)
b. Scribes and Pharisees are boastful and
pretentious in their works (23:3-6)
c. Scribes and Pharisees love public dis-
play and titles of honor and author-
ity (23:5-12)
d. Scribes and Pharisees give evidence
of hypocritical attitude (23:13-22)</p> | <p>I'. The great tribulation (24:16-22)
a. Persecution (vss. 16-21)
b. Promise of salvation (vs. 22)</p> <p>H'. False messiahs and false prophets
(24:23-28)</p> <p>G'. Signs in heaven (24:29): sun darkened,
moon not giving light, stars falling,
powers of heaven shaken</p> <p>F'. End of the world, and Second Coming
of Christ (24:30-33)</p> <p>E'. "This generation" (24:34): "Amen, I say
to you that this generation shall not
pass until all these things be fulfilled"
(Also, a parallel statement in vs. 35, and
exhortations to readiness in vss. 36-44)</p> <p>D'. Evil servants smite fellow servants, while
faithful servants give meat in due
season (24:45-51)</p> <p>C'. Externally, all of the ten virgins have
lamps, but only five have the oil of
internal preparation (25:1-13)</p> <p>B'. The bad servant neglects to multiply his
talents, while the good servants do
their work of multiplying their talents
(25:14-30)</p> <p>A'. Christ's Judgment on "Saying-versus-
Doing" (25:31-46)
a. Son of Man sits on throne of glory:
He separates <i>sayers</i> from <i>doers</i>
(25:31-33)
b. People at Jesus' left are boastful and
pretentious in their works, while
those at Jesus' right hand do their
works sincerely and unpretentious-
ly (25:35-45)
c. People at Jesus' right hand serve
humanity as brothers (25:40; cf.
23:8)
d. People at Jesus' left give evidence of
hypocritical attitude, while those
at Jesus' right hand manifest genu-
ine spirit of service (25:34-45)</p> |
|---|--|
-

*Note: Major blocks of material are in general chiasmic pattern, but *details* within these major blocks are not necessarily in inverse parallelism with each other. (See, e.g., A, A', I, and I'.)

2. Significance of Several Structural Features

In analyzing the foregoing outline, it should be noted, first of all, that the GHG'H' pattern forms its own lesser chiasm within the broad chiastic structure of the three chapters. This phenomenon, which at first glance may seem irregular, is not unusual. It is similar to what occurs in the chiastic structure of Mark 13, Luke 21, the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5-7), and the book of Revelation.²

A careful look at the chiastic structure for Matt 23-25 as outlined above reveals several other interesting facts:

1. There are two separate and distinguishable series. The first, consisting of the left side of the chiasm (23:1-24:13), leads up to the destruction of Jerusalem, while the other series, consisting of the right side of the chiasm (24:16-25:46), treats events from that point onward and culminating in Christ's return at the end of the age.

2. The phrase "this generation" occurs *twice*, once within *each* of these two series. The first time is in connection with the Pharisees (23:36) in the period before Jerusalem's fall, whereas the other occurrence (23:34) is in connection with the period subsequent to Jerusalem's destruction. The first "generation" was to witness the signs on earth; the second was to witness the signs in heaven. For lack of good works, the first was to face the judgment of destruction; watchfulness through good works would bring the second to their judgment of reward.

3. It is important to note that the people facing the final judgment are divided into two basic types: (1) the good and

²This sort of *inversion* (or "chiasm within chiasm") is illustrated also in the diagram for Mark 13 by William H. Shea (see p. 209, below), as well as (presumably) in the structure for Luke 21 as I have outlined it (also p. 209, below). It may be noted, too, elsewhere in biblical literature—represented, e.g., by what K. A. Strand calls the "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif within the broader chiastic structure of the book of Revelation (K. A. Strand, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. [Naples, Florida, 1979], p. 52); also by an inversion within the chiasm of Isa 1:18 (see the outline in Robert L. Alden, "Chiastic Psalms (III): A Study in the Mechanics of Semitic Poetry in Psalms 101-105," *JETS* 21 [1978]: 199; Alden himself does not call attention to the inversion—or possibly even *double inversion*—that may be deduced from an analysis of his outline).

watchful disciples; and (2) the false disciples whose attitudes and activities reveal a spiritual pharisaism. Thus, the latter group parallels the Scribes and Pharisees in the counterpart sections of the pre-Jerusalem-destruction series. (Compare A' through D' with the paralleling sections A through D.)

4. It is clear that the apex or pivotal point to the chiasm (or ABA' structure), is the "abomination of desolation in the temple" (24:15), which marks the judgment on Jerusalem. This pivotal positioning of the abomination-of-desolation/judgment-on-Jerusalem element suggests not only the *culmination of the series* at the left in our outline, but also a *typological prefiguring* for the final judgment at the end time (Matt 24:31-46).

Corollary Observation. A corollary observation concerning this twofold judgment (that of Jerusalem and that at the end of time) may be made from observing the groups to be judged. As noted earlier, one group of people is set forth prior to the judgment upon Jerusalem (see A, B, C, and D in the outline), whereas two groups appear prior to the end-time judgment (see A', B', C', and D' in the outline). The former group is, as we have noted, hypocritical and calls for judgment upon itself for lack of genuine good deeds; and thus, Jesus announced his verdict of destruction upon it (Matt 23:37-24:4). However, as we have also pointed out above, although the right side of the chiasm shows a similar hypocritical group continuing the spirit of Pharisaism, there is now also in view, in an eschatological dimension, another group of people—the genuine, watchful servants, who demonstrate their obedience to their Master by their good deeds. As judgment comes upon the *sole earlier* group depicted (24:15), so judgment will come upon the *two later* groups brought to view (with appropriate rewards for each).

5. Finally, it should be noted that the reference to the preaching of the gospel throughout the whole world as preliminary to the coming of "the end" (24:14) appears also at the apex of the chiasm—without a paralleling item, just as in the case of the "abomination of desolation." I would suggest that this statement, too, serves the function of a pivot, so as to look back to the left column in the outline and ahead to the right-hand column. In other words, the preaching of the gospel throughout the world has

relationship to both of the culminating events—the destruction of Jerusalem in the first Christian century, and the end of the age when Christ returns. Indeed, it may well be that Matt 24:14 in holding this pivotal position actually serves an alarm against the idea of merging the two judgment-events into only one single event, by pointing to the fact that proclamation of the gospel relates to *both* of them.

3. *The Term γενεά in Matt 24:34*

In conclusion, some observations are in order concerning the use of γενεά in Matt 24:34:

1. Irrespective of the exact meaning of the word γενεά as used in this verse, the application pertains to the series of events *subsequent* to the destruction of Jerusalem, not prior to it. This fact is made clear by the double reference to “this generation” (in 23:36 as well as here), the significance of which we have already noticed.

2. The right-hand sequence in the chiasm, as outlined earlier, entails a *period* of time. In fact, chaps. 24 and 25 of Matthew presuppose a rather long delay of the Second Coming of Christ. Indeed, it is such a long delay that the bad servant starts to smite his fellow servants, the ten virgins sleep, and the servants entrusted with talents could make substantial increase.

3. The kinds of events delineated in chap. 24 would also require some amount of time to be fulfilled. For instance, the preaching of the gospel to the whole world would entail a substantial period of time.

4. Finally, both the question proposed by the disciples (24:2-3) and the reply of Jesus (24:4-31) show that he was speaking of two events—the more-nearby destruction of Jerusalem, and the more-distant end of the world. Signs and “generations” would precede each of these, and the term γενεά in 24:34 relates to the latter.

On the following pages, I provide a general diagram for the chiastic structure outlined above and also present diagrams illustrating the chiastic structures of Mark 13 and Luke 21 (the former is by William H. Shea, and the latter is my own).

**DIAGRAM 1
CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF MATT 23-25**

**“HISTORICAL” SERIES:
PRE-FALL-OF-JERUSALEM**

(Culminates in Negative
Reward for Scribes
and Pharisees)

**“ESCHATOLOGICAL” SERIES:
POST-FALL-OF-JERUSALEM**

(Culminates in Positive and
Negative Rewards for
Two Classes of People)

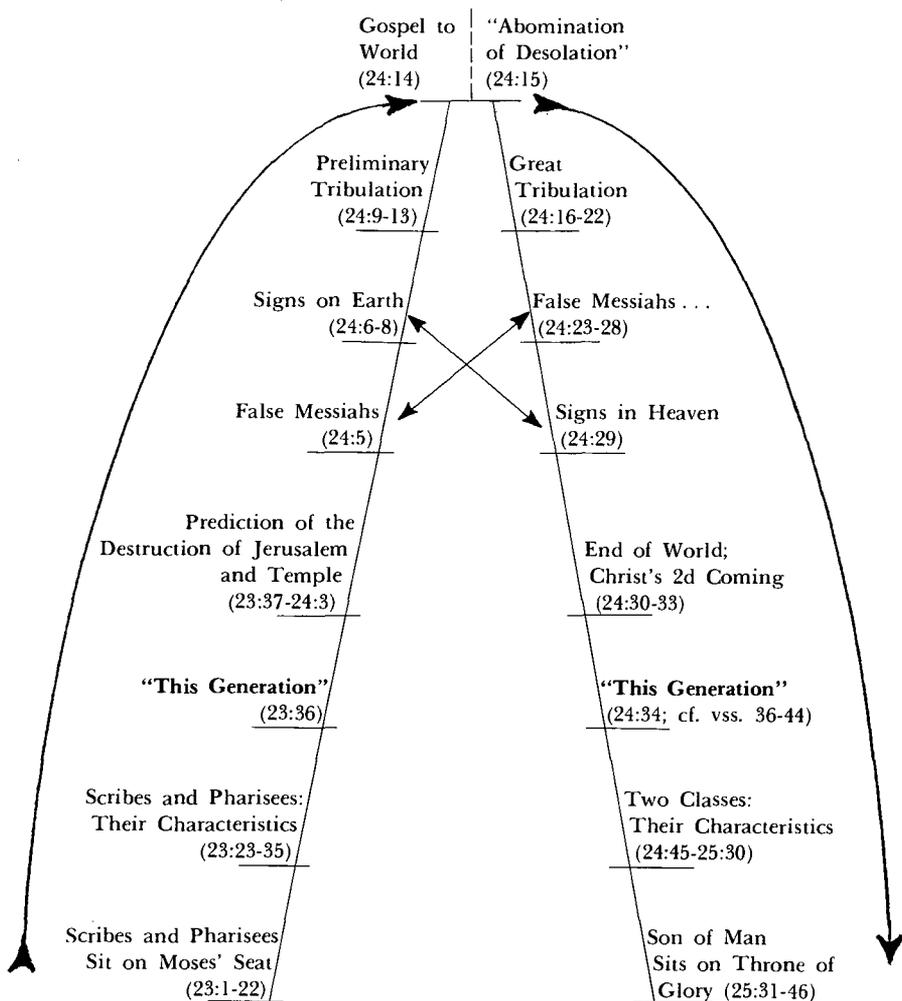


DIAGRAM 2
CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF MARK 13
 (as outlined by William H. Shea)

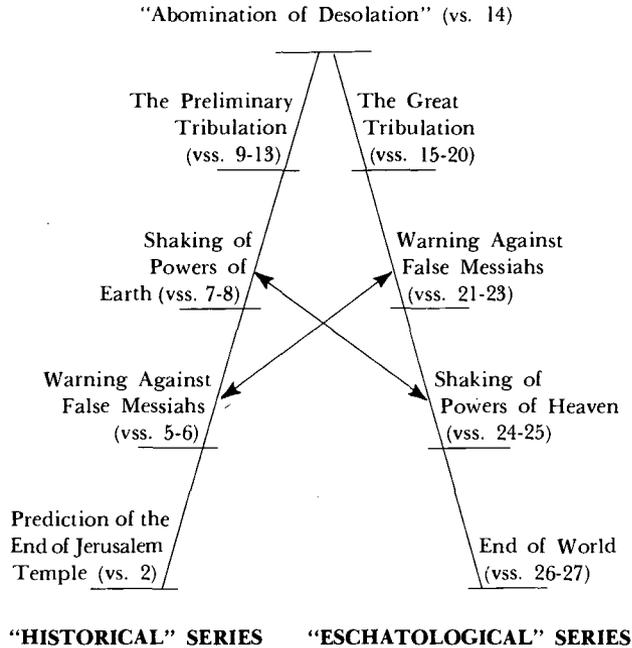
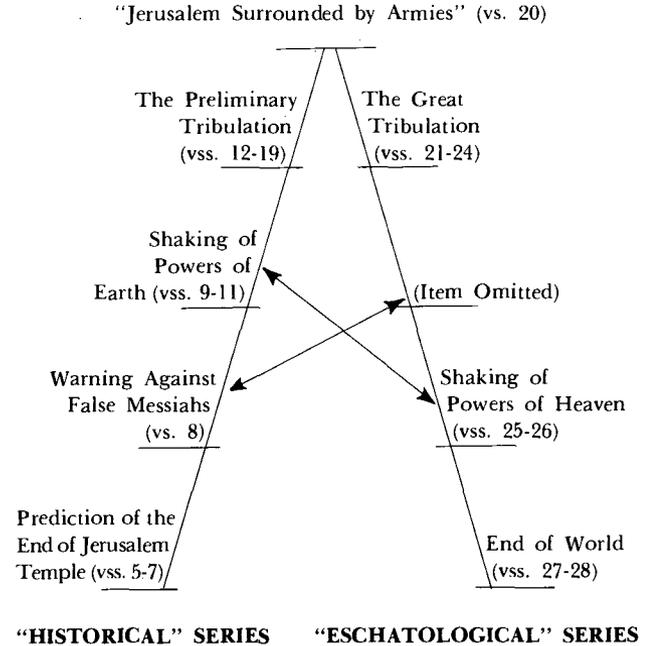


DIAGRAM 3
CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF LUKE 21
 (as outlined by S. Joseph Kidder)





PSALM 74: A LITERARY-STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

GRAEME E. SHARROCK
Chicago, Illinois

Ps 74 is not an easy psalm to translate or interpret. This article approaches the task through an inductive analysis of the structure of the text, in the process of which a fresh translation is also provided. It then focuses on the significance of the structure for three themes: religious rhetoric in times of national crisis; the self-identity of the community; and concern for the name of God.

1. *The Literary Structure of the Psalm*

My investigation of the structure of the psalm as given herein will include these steps: determining the basic structure, analyzing the relationship between structure and content, and then interpreting the role of structure for the total meaning of the psalm.

Determining the Basic Structure

By *structure*¹ I mean the "inherent framework"² of the psalm which arises to the reader's view from a close analysis of the text. Such a framework may or may not be evident at first reading. It can seldom be reduced to a mere "outline," as is attempted by most commentaries.³ The emergent pattern must be multi-dimensional;

¹This approach is to be differentiated from both *form-critical* and *structuralist* approaches. The form-critical scholar is primarily interested in correlating texts with pre-supposed social situations from which the literature may have arisen. The newer structuralist method focuses on binary structures of the mind and their manifestation in the text. My concern is rather the literary-structural shape of the text.

²Rolf Knierim, "Old Testament Form-Criticism Reconsidered," *Int* 27 (1973): 459.

³Although many commentators consider it too problematical to give an outline for our psalm, some have tried. L. Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* (New York, n.d.) 2: 151-152, simply divides at vs. 12. A. Weiser, *Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 518-520, emphasizes the contrast between Elohim and the

pathos and movement must be charted along with the more static elements of the text.

How do we begin to describe the structure of a text? The first step is familiarity, achieved both by reading and by hearing the text read. Certain features—figures, ideas, metaphors, metre—will become evident. The observant reader will be alert to the presence and placement of words and phrases, along with variations in the pace and intensity of the text. Particular attention should be given to the verbal pattern, because the action words in any language carry both meaning and movement.

In analyzing structure, it is important to recognize that various types of pattern are possible. The interpreter must take care not to superimpose a pattern that is alien to the text itself, and then try to compensate for the ill-fit by emending the text and restructuring the stanzas!

In the following examination of Ps 74, it is the verbal pattern that will first claim our attention. Not only do the verbs dominate by their position and power, but they can be easily divided according to tense into five consecutive groups. With attention to the primary or initial verb of each line, we can group the verses of Ps 74 in this way:

- 1-3 Imperatives (apart from introductory complaint)
- 4-9 Perfects (with supplementary imperfect in vs. 9)
- 10-11 Imperfects
- 12-17 Perfects (with supplementary imperfect in vs. 14)
- 18-23 Imperatives (and supporting jussives, etc.)

If we reduce the pattern to *main verbs* only, the possibility of a chiasmic or mirror-structured psalm emerges:⁴

enemy. C. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (Edinburgh, 1907), 2: 150-151, prefers three parts—each consisting of three tetrameter tetrastichs—, but relies heavily on the presence of supposed glosses. E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms* (Dublin, 1964), pp. 329-331, chooses four strophes of six verses: 1-5, 6-11, 12-17, 18-23.

⁴For discussion and examples of chiasmic literary constructions in biblical literature, see, e.g., N. W. Lund, "The Presence of Chiasmus in the Old Testament," *AJSL* 46 (1930): 104-126; idem, *Chiasmus in the New Testament* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1942). On the psalms, see the studies of Robert L. Alden, "Chiasmic Psalms: A Study

- A. Imperatives
- B. Perfects
- C. Imperfects
- B'. Perfects
- A'. Imperatives

The result is an inverted symmetrical structure in which the imperative paragraphs (A and A') introduce and conclude the psalm, the perfect verbs (B and B') develop some concrete actions in the psalm, and the central verses (C) form the central axis, pointing back to the earlier sections and forward to the subsequent ones.

In the next stage we examine the fit between the verbal structure and the contents of the psalm.

Relationship of Structure and Content

If we overlay the linguistic features and content of the psalm on the skeleton above, the result is a symmetrical but dynamic structure in which individual features can be seen as contributory to the whole. The composition is complex and yet clearly coordinated, with minimal interplay between motifs until the final paragraph and climax.

We now translate and examine each paragraph, noting its theme, subjects, and mood. Between each paragraph lies the significant literary device of a "hinge" which formally links part to part.

A: Vss. 1-3

<p>מִשְׁכִּיל לְאָסָף לְמָה אֱלֹהִים זִנְחָתָּ לְנִצָּח יַעֲשֶׂן אַפְּךָ כְּצִאן מִרְעִיתְךָ</p>	<p>¹ A Maskil of Asaph Why, O Elohim, are you perpetually angry?⁵ Why do your nostrils smoke against the sheep of your pasture?</p>
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in the Mechanics of Semitic Poetry in Psalms 1-50," *JETS* 17 (1974): 11-28, and sequels *JETS* 19 (1976): 191-200; 21 (1978): 199-210.

⁵A study of this word in its Qal form does not support the usual rendering, "to reject, spurn, abandon." Most OT uses are intransitive like the Akkadian verb *zenu*, referring to a state, not an action requiring an object. See R. Yaron, "The Meaning of ZANAH," *VT* 13 (1963): 237-239.

- זָכֹר עֲדָתְךָ קְנִיַת קָדָם ² Remember your congregation, acquired
 גְּאֹלְתָּ שְׁכֹט נַחֲלֹתְךָ of old! Redeem your inheritance, Mt.
 הַר־צִיּוֹן זֶה שְׁכֹנְתָּ בוֹ: Zion where you dwelt!
- הֲרִימָה פְעָמֶיךָ לְמִשְׁאוֹת נֶצַח ³ Lift up your feet⁶ toward the perpetual
 כָּל־הָרַע אוֹיֵב בְּקֹדֶשׁ: ruins! Every evil doer is in the sanc-
 tuary!

The initial approach to Elohim is in question form, and serves as an introduction to the whole psalm. The tone then quickly moves with the urgent imperatives—"Remember! . . . Redeem! . . . Lift up! . . ."—to the most direct form of address possible. The subjects of the plaint are the people of God and the place of sacred presence, a dual motif which extends throughout the psalm. The first paragraph thus introduces all the characters and emotion of the drama, with a plea for intervention.

The final colon (vs. 3b) thematically links the first and second paragraphs by juxtaposing the offenders and the plaintiffs and announcing the subject of the second paragraph.

B: Vss. 4-9

- שָׁאוּ צִרְיֶיךָ בְּקִרְבְּךָ מוֹעֲדֶיךָ ⁴ The adversaries roared in the middle
 שָׂמוּ אוֹתָהֶם אֹתוֹת: of your assembly; they set up their
 ensigns (for signs).⁷
- יָרְדַע כְּמַכִּיא לְמַעְלָה ⁵ They slashed like a man who goes up
 בְּסִכְרֵי־עֵץ קָרְדָּמוֹת: with an axe into a thicket of trees;⁸
- וְעַתָּה פִּתְחֵיהֶּ יִחַד ⁶ and then all its carved work they
 בְּכִשְׁלֵי וְכִלְפַת יִהְלִמוּן: smashed with hatchet and axes.

⁶The Hiphil imperative "Lift up!" is clear, but the object is debated. Dahood assumes the addition of the *yodh* due to the unfamiliarity of the Massoretes with *pa* as a conjunction. F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* (Edinburgh, 1873) 2: 329, paraphrases, "May God then lift His feet up high . . . i.e. with long hurried steps, without stopping, move towards His dwelling-place that now lies in ruins, that by virtue of His interposition it may rise again."

⁷The second colon is generally considered corrupt and untranslatable. Weiser refuses to translate the final word and all of vss. 5-6. Dahood redivides the consonants and translates "emblems by the hundreds." See P. R. Ackroyd, "Some Notes on the Psalms," *JTS* 17 (1966): 392.

⁸The verses here are considered as being among the most difficult in the entire

- שָׁחֲרוּ בְּאֵשׁ מִקִּדְשֶׁךָ 7 They have burned your sanctuary completely;⁹ they desecrated the dwelling-place of your name.
 לְאַרְצְךָ חָלְלוּ מִשְׁכַּן־שְׁמֶךָ :
- אָמְרוּ בְּלִבָּם וַיִּנֶּם יְחַד 8 They said in their hearts, "We will utterly destroy!" They burned all the assemblies of El in the land.¹⁰
 שָׂרְפוּ כָּל־מוֹעֲדֵי־אֵל בְּאַרְצְךָ :
- אֹתֹתֵינוּ לֹא רָאינו אִין־עוֹד 9 Our signs¹¹ we have not seen; there is no one among us who knows "Until when?
 נִבְיָא
 וְלֹא־אָתְנוּ יָדַע עַד־מָה :

The attention of Elohim is now directed to the enemies who have ravaged the sanctuary. The citation of destructive acts is not

Psalter, with no definitive translation possible. The difficulty begins immediately with *yiwāda*⁵, a rarer form from the verb "to know." However, the context provides no object, and the concept of knowing is not congruent with the sense which would favor an act, preferably violent. Here we follow Bardtke's text in *Biblia Hebraica*, where he emends to *yigd⁶u*, "they smash/break in pieces."

The phrase "who goes up" from the Hiphil fem. sing. part. poses a problem of gender, but the meaning is clear. See J. A. Emerton, "Notes on Three Passages in Psalms Book III," *JTS* 14 (1963): 2. Also cf. Jgs 9:48; Neh 8:15; Isa 40:16.

The second colon contains a *hapax legomenon* where the clearest member is "tree." I understand the bicolon as a simile in which a man goes up a hillside into a thicket of trees with axes to chop them down. In Zech 11:2ff. the felling of trees, sounds of lions roaring, and the misfortune of the flock are again combined. See also Isa 10:33-34 and Jer 46:22.

⁹The literal rendering is "to the ground"—an idiom meaning "completely" or "utterly."

¹⁰Dahood reads, "... let all their progeny be burned, all the divine assemblies in the land," but this assumes some equation between "progeny" and "assemblies." B. D. Erdman, *The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (Leiden, 1947), p. 354, proposes that "all the younger generation, the offspring of the oppressors, will believe that all the places of assembly of El have been burned up." This would require the fusion of two cola into one, and force an unnecessary future sense upon the text. As Delitzsch, p. 329, notes, the Qal fut. of *sārgu* equals the Hiphil *hunah* "to force, oppress." See also Num 21:30 and Exod 24:19.

¹¹Although straightforward in the MT, this verse is a *crux interpretum*. The 3d-person masc. pl. suffix on "signs" is not to be overlooked, as is done by some interpreters. "Our signs" is to be contrasted with "their signs" in vs. 4. See J. J. M. Roberts, "Of Signs, Prophets and Time Limits: A Note on Psalm 74:9," *CBQ* 39 (1967): 481.

merely an indictment of the violent invaders; it is designed to incite Elohim to avenging action; it is his sanctuary and assemblies that have been harried.

Vs. 9 serves both as a verbal and dramatic link to the next paragraph. Not only is there already a transition from “they” to “we,” but the single phrase “Until when?” is immediately repeated at the start of C.

C: Vss. 10-11

- עַד־מַתִּי אֱלֹהִים יִחַרְף צַר
 יִנְאֵץ אוֹיֵב שְׁמֶךָ לְנֶצַח : 10 Until when, O Elohim, will the adversary revile? Will the enemy deride your name forever?
- לָמָּה תִּשְׁיֵב יָדְךָ 11 Why do you draw back your hand,
 וַיִּמְיֶנְךָ מִקֶּרֶב חֻקְךָ כְּלֵה : even your right hand from the middle of your assembly?¹²

The pivotal paragraph of the psalm refocuses the major issue by the use of direct questions which recall both previous paragraphs (A and B). The subjects there are now presented in the light of a new motive: Elohim’s possible concern for his own name. This move from the extrinsic to the intrinsic requires reflection on part of the deity, heightening the psychological engagement of the psalm. The threat to reputation is presented as a greater danger than the accomplished destructions, as a more urgent basis of the appeal for salvation.

This section itself is the hinge of the whole psalm in its synthesis of prior arguments and its anticipation of A’. However, the simple *waw* at the beginning of vs. 12 acts as a paragraph connector—a rare occurrence in this psalm.

¹²The first colon is clear, but the middle word of the line could be placed in either colon. Does God keep his hand in the fold of his garment instead of laying it upon his enemies in destruction (cf. Exod 4:6ff; Isa 52:10; Lam 2:8), as most translations suggest? The LXX and versions misread or emend *ḥuqḥā* to mean “your bosom.” See also Ezra 8:18, Ps 80:18, and Isa 50:2 in support of “hand” in a favorable sense.

B': Vss. 12-17

- 12 ואלהים מלכי מקדם
 פעל ישועות בקרב הארץ :
 13 אתה פוררת בעזך ים
 שכרת ראשי תנינים על-המים :
 14 אתה רצצת ראשי לויטן
 ותתנו מאכל לעם לציים :
 15 אתה בקעת מעין ונחל
 אתה הוכשת נהרות איתן :
 16 לך יום אף-לך לילה
 אתה הכינות מאור ושמש :

Yet, O Elohim, you have been my¹³
king from of old; performing deliver-
ances in the middle of the land:

You split¹⁴ Yam with your strength;
you shattered the heads of Tanninim
upon the waters.

You¹⁵ crushed the heads of Leviathan,
and gave them as food to the people
of the desert.

You cleaved spring and stream; you
dried up the perennial rivers.¹⁶

To you belongs the day, yet more to
you belongs the night; you established
luminary and sun.¹⁷

¹³The suffix is changed to "our king" in the Syriac, but reflects the commu-
nity's later use of the psalm rather than any textual variant.

¹⁴The translation of *porr'itā* is hotly disputed. Some have seen here the division
of the Red Sea (Exod 14:21), but since the work of H. Gunkel, the mythological
reading has strongly influenced commentators. Although "divide" is the common
translation, the root means "to cleave/break." The object is *yām*, a surprising form,
when the poetic use is more often plural, as in the second colon. It is probably a
personification, hence my translation.

¹⁵The emphatic personal pronoun is used seven times to emphasize the subject
of the actions.

¹⁶"Cleaved" is used of the dividing of the Sea in Exod 14:16, Ps 78:13, Isa 63:12,
etc., but whether it is to be used so here is unclear. The context and other parallels
(Ps 89:11; Isa 51:9; Job 27:12-13) suggest rather a hostile action. However, is "spring
and stream" a suitable object? The parallelism of cola suggests a reference to the sea,
perhaps the ocean currents and subterranean channels from which the forces of
chaos rush up, as in Gen 7:11. See H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Göttingen, 1901), pp. 70,
132. Emerton, "'Spring and Torrent' in Psalm LXXIV.15," *VT*, Suppl. Volume du
Congrès Genève, 1965, suggests instead that "the whole of Ps. lxxiv.15 describes the
removal of the primeval waters from the earth. God cleft open springs so that the
water might descend through them."

¹⁷"Luminary" probably refers to moon. God thus establishes his dominion over
both light and dark zones at creation. See Isa 40:26ff.

אתה הצבת כל-גבולות ארץ¹⁷ You appointed all the boundaries of
 קנץ וחרף אתה יצרתם: the earth; summer and winter—you
 formed them.¹⁸

What a transformation of tone! God is now addressed with the emphatic pronoun; his “deliverances” are recited in an ancient hymn; the very initial vocative erases the previous tone of complaint—an affirmation of faith in the context of perplexity. The psalmist wishes to stimulate confidence in Elohim’s present ability to defeat the enemies of the nation.

A subtle but deliberate link between B’ and A’ is provided by the word play upon *horep*, “winter” in vs. 17 and *herep*, “revile” in vs. 18.

A’: Vss. 18-23

זכר-זאת אויב חרף יהנה¹⁸ Remember this!¹⁹ The enemy has re-
 וַעַם נָכַל נֶאֱצוּ שְׁמֶךָ: viled Yahweh; and a foolish people
 has spurned your name.²⁰

אל-תתן לחיית נפש תורף¹⁹ Do not give the life of your dove to a
 חית ענייך אל-תשכח לנצח: wild animal; Do not forget the soul of
 your afflicted ones!

הבט לכרית כי מלאו²⁰ Consider your covenant,²¹ for the dark
 מחשכי-ארץ נאות חמס: places of the land are full of violent
 inhabitants!

אל-ישב דך נכלם²¹ Do not let the ashamed sit oppressed!²²
 עני ואביון יהללו שמך: Let the afflicted and miserable praise
 your name!²³

¹⁸This is a classic chiasmic construction in which the very sounds of the words create an aesthetic balance—a fitting conclusion to the sevenfold paeon. Perhaps the verse reflects a polemic against the season-based Baal cycle.

¹⁹The initial verb is to be repointed as an imperative, as in vs. 2.

²⁰This synonymous parallelism forms an inclusio or envelope around the hymn (B’) with the same idea in vs. 10.

²¹Dahood redivides the syllables, replacing “covenant” with “temple,” but this seems unnecessary. The real difficulty is with the rest of the verse, where the syntax is unclear and the metre undefined. I assume that the subordinate clause is designed to provide a motive for God to “Consider the covenant.”

²²The command is either “Do not (let) return” or “do not (let) sit/dwell.” The Syriac seems to be correct in interpreting the practice as part of a mourning ritual.

²³The second colon is parallel to the first, but states the thought positively. The

קוֹמָה אֱלֹהִים רִיבָה רִיבָךְ 22 Arise, O Elohim, and plead your
זָכֹר חֲרַפְתָּךְ מִיְּנֹכַח כָּל־הַיּוֹם : case!²⁴ Remember that your insult
comes from the foolish one daily!

אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח קוֹל צִרְרֶיךָ 23 Do not forget the voice of your adver-
שָׂאוֹן קָמֶיךָ עֲלֶה תָמִיד : saries, the uproar²⁵ of your opponents
which arises continually!

The abrupt movement from the hymn of acclamation in B' to the intense appeal for deliverance in A' is striking. No room appears to be allowed for denial of the urgent pleas of the psalmist. The direct entreaty recapitulates the previous appeals and synthesizes the incentives. In the structure it corresponds to A (note the use of "Remember!" as the initial imperative), but it also incorporates thematic threads from B ("Enemy"/"enemies," "roar"/"uproar") and C ("adversary"/"adversaries," "your name," "enemy," "revile"/"scorn," etc.). Elohim's anticipated reaction is a response to blasphemies of the oppressor, the pleadings of the oppressed, and the dishonor done to the divine name.

The Role of Structure for the Total Meaning of the Psalm

The third step in describing the structure of the psalm examines the less obvious but integral movements within the psalm which further endorse our proposed analysis and suggest an interpretive stance.

The general structure outlined above highlights five distinct but related paragraphs. Each exhibits its own predominant verbal tense, mood, and sentence type; yet, assisted by the editorial linkages, the psalm moves toward a crescendo of intensity.

chiasmatic construction of the verse demonstrates the anticipated movement from depression to delight:

Do NOT LET sit . . . ashamed, oppressed;
afflicted, miserable

Do LET praise your name.

²⁴The verb and noun cognates *riḅāh riḅekā* have no English equivalent, but the theme is familiar to OT readers as the legal idiom of the lawsuit. Yahweh's response is conceived to be shaped by the covenant procedures, hence the appeal in vs. 20.

²⁵"Uproar" may be compared with "roared" in vs. 4 on onomatopoeic as well as lexical grounds.

The chiasmic structure of the psalm suggests a mode of interpretation in which the paragraphs may be seen as wholes in relation to other sections. If we first examine A, C, and A', we detect a common form of plaintive address that is not shared by B and B'. Here the main thread of the psalm centers around the religious, political, and psychological consequences of the work of the enemy. The direct appeal to Elohim employed here is rare in the OT; the urgent imperatives are near the edge of the human capacity of language. The interrogatives of C advance into cries of desperation in A'. Although A' recapitulates the imperatives of A, the intensification is obvious.

The two intermediary paragraphs B and B' serve a contrasting purpose. Each group of six verses is a catalog of actions in the perfect tense, yet these stand in antithetical relation to each other: the enemy's acts of destruction are "answered" by Yahweh's deliverances. Although the verbs in each paragraph are clearly strong and active, not one of the actions of the enemy is predicated of Yahweh, or *vice versa*. J. P. M. van der Ploeg notices this contrast, but concludes that "it is not certain whether in the psalmist's mind this was intentional."²⁶ However, the structural opposition of B and B' forces us to favor deliberate construction.

The hymn of Yahweh's deliverances in B' may then be seen as a negation of the account of the enemy's work. In so doing, it is first of all a statement of faith—transcending present religious bewilderment by recourse to the supra-historical understanding of God as "King"—which attends the entreaty sections, A, C, and A'. It is also a sermon (we assume the psalm was composed and communicated to the community in public prayer) in which the psalmist seeks to alleviate religious anxieties by recalling traditions which preceded the existence of the sanctuary. Finally, the hymn as addressed to God himself urges the Divine One to demonstrate again his superiority over all evil and mortal sacrilegious forces, to pitch his creative power in a radical demonstration of antithesis to the destructive rampages of the enemy.

²⁶J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Psalm 74 and Its Structure," in *Travels in the World of the Old Testament: Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Assen, 1974), p. 209.

With this foregoing overview of the structure in relationship to the total meaning of the psalm, we are ready to note further the three themes mentioned earlier—religious rhetoric in times of national crisis, the self-identity of the community, and concern for the name of God.

2. Prominent Themes in the Psalm

Religious Rhetoric

What I have stated above about B and B' reveals that these sections serve a distinctly rhetorical purpose, especially as the hymn in B' simultaneously speaks hope to the worshippers and elicits help from God. Once the hymn is stated, the psalmist returns to the present crisis, but is now himself reinforced with a stronger sense of both the urgency and the possibility of Elohim's response. His questions are replaced with a holy courage that relentlessly pushes the psalm to a crescendo—and then a severe silence.

Thus, the placement of paragraphs B and B' serves a clear rhetorical function in the total address: In the mind of the congregation, Elohim's salvations now displace the destructions of the enemy; but, recited as a hymn to Elohim, they also appeal to God to "live up to his name."

Self-Concept of the Community

Our second theme examines the status and self-concept of a community bereft of their house of worship and ritual apparatus and oracles—and hence, also of their national and religious confidence. The petition is much more than a mere personal complaint, as the "we" continually indicates. Several figures are used for the community's self-designation, but the animal imagery—"sheep" and "dove"—is the most vivid.

In A and A' the movement within this imagery is most marked. The sheep metaphor is the conventional rural image of the relation between God and people immortalized in David's Twenty-third Psalm.²⁷ There the leadership of God is expressed, but here,

²⁷See also Ezek 34.

in A (vs. 1) Elohim seems to snort at, rather than succor, the flock.

The counterpart in A' only partly resolves the question. The people no longer see themselves as a domestic herd resting "in green pastures . . . beside the still waters" under the watchful, benevolent care of a divine shepherd. Rather, they are the innocent, defenseless, and pathetic dove about to fall prey to vicious carnivores: "Do not give the life of your dove to a wild animal!" The people, like the bird, are "your" possession as King of creation, as the one who had power to crush Leviathan (vs. 14) and the Sea Monster (vs. 13).

In this way, the intervening hymn has transformed the image of God from shepherd of the domestic flock to Lord of the total animate creation. The self-designation of the community is likewise adjusted. The metaphor is heightened, the appeal made more forceful.

The Name of God

Our third theme for interpretation in light of the psalm's structure is the "name" of God. Far more than mere appellation, the name is a metonym for the total character, presence, reputation, and authority of God. As the sanctuary in Jerusalem was the acclaimed "dwelling-place of your name" (vs. 7), so the attack upon it by the invaders was an attack upon the character, credibility, and honor of God himself. In B, Mt. Zion, "where you dwelt" (vs. 2), becomes "the sanctuary . . . the dwelling place of your name" (vs. 7). Here begins the drawing of Elohim's self-concern. The central section of the plea is explicit in its questioning, "Will the enemy deride your name forever?" (vs. 10). The same theme is taken up immediately after the hymn, "a foolish people has spurned your name" (vs. 18), suggesting that the hymn is recited in the ears of Elohim to remind him of his reputation. Then the final use of the name offers the possibility that, if God acts in harmony with his past actions and delivers his people, then even "the afflicted and miserable [will] praise your name" (vs. 21).

In this interpretation, the destructive acts of the enemy in B provide a negative incentive for Yahweh to act, especially when linked in C with the direct verbal taunts of the blaspheming invaders. The positive incentive in reminding Elohim of his reputation in history and creation (B') is linked in A' with the prospect

of praise instead of ridicule and derision. If indeed C is the axis of the petition, then the primary theme of the psalm is the status of God's name and reputation. The flanking paragraphs work to heighten the issue and prompt God to an act of salvation for the desperate community.

3. *Conclusion*

Each of the three themes provides a pattern of development in which the chiasmic structure of the psalm is demonstrated as being basic. This is particularly so with regard to the thematic opposition, yet functional co-operation, between B and B', and the pivotal position of C.

WRESTLING WITH THE PRINCE OF PERSIA: A STUDY ON DANIEL 10

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Andrews University

There are a number of issues in Dan 10 and its relations with what follows in Dan 11 and 12 that have not as yet been resolved by commentary studies on this chapter. One obvious problem for modern interpreters is the question of what constituted Daniel's grave concern recorded here. Why was he mourning and fasting? Is there any direct or indirect historical evidence from extra-biblical sources that might shed light on the contents of this narrative?

Furthermore, this chapter contains some rather specific dates. Does a chronological study of these dates contribute to a better understanding of the chapter? If Dan 10 can be dated specifically, and Dan 11 is intimately connected with it, that connection might provide a more specific date for the latter passage as well.

These are among the issues that merit examination in Dan 10, and it is my purpose here to offer some suggestions for their solution.

1. *The Date of Dan 10*

It will be appropriate to deal first with the chronological setting of Dan 10, both as to calendar year and the day of the month and day of the week. This will provide a basic and helpful guide for evaluation of the political situation envisaged in that chapter.

The Calendar Year

According to the date given in Dan 10:1, the events described in this chapter occurred in the 3d year of Cyrus. If the writer of this dateline was using a standard Persian-Babylonian system of dating, that calendar year would have extended from the spring of 536 B.C. to the spring of 535 B.C., since the Persians conquered Babylon in the fall of 539 B.C. In that case, the New Year, beginning with Cyrus' 1st full official year of rule in Babylon, would have fallen

into the spring of 538 B.C., and the successive New Years of 537 and 536 B.C. would have marked off his 2d and 3d regnal years.

There is, however, another way in which to interpret this date, based on the possibility that the author employed his own Judahite fall-to-fall year with which to calibrate this 3d year of Cyrus. Since Babylon was conquered *after* the fall New Year of 1 Tishri in 539, Cyrus' 1st year of reign there would, according to this system, not have begun until the fall of 538. This, in turn, means that Cyrus' 3d regnal year referred to in the dateline of Dan 10:1 would have started in the fall of 536. The first month of that 3d year is also mentioned in Dan 10:4. Thus, the difference between these two calendars would imply that according to the Babylonian spring calendar, the first month of Cyrus' 3d year (in vs. 4) would have been Nisan in the spring of 536, whereas according to the Judahite fall calendar, it would have been Nisan in 535.

In which way should this date of Dan 10 be interpreted—according to the Babylonian spring calendar or the Judahite fall calendar? The manner in which this question is answered obviously makes the difference of a year as to when these events occurred.

I personally favor interpreting this date according to the Judahite fall-to-fall calendar year, for four main reasons:

1. The fall calendar was in use in Judah down to the time when this kingdom was brought to an end by Nebuchadnezzar's conquests. Several lines of evidence support this conclusion. The first of these is that the dates in Nebuchadnezzar's Chronicle can be correlated much more satisfactorily with the dates in 2 Kgs 23-25 if the latter are interpreted according to a fall calendar.¹ Two further passages which support the use of the fall calendar in the late Judahite monarchy are 2 Kgs 22 and Jer 36. Josiah's reform is referred to in the former passage, and the recital of events connected with it culminated with the celebration of the Passover in the same 18th year in which the reform began. The use of a spring calendar here would restrict all of these activities to a period of two weeks, while a fall calendar would allow a more reasonable period of six months for their accomplishment. Jer 36 tells the story of Jeremiah's having some of his prophecies written down in the 4th year of

¹S. H. Horn, "The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ancient Calendar of the Kingdom of Judah," *AUSS* 5 (1967): 22-25.

Jehoiakim and then having them read in the temple on a fast day in the 9th month of the 5th year. Since these events appear to have taken place over a relatively short period of time, a fall calendar fits them better than a spring calendar. Other texts could be cited for the use of a fall calendar earlier in the history of Judah,² but these three lines of evidence attest to its use right up to the time of the exile.

2. It seems logical to interpret Daniel's date according to the fall calendar from Judah inasmuch as evidence shows that other Jews in exile continued to reckon time according to their own customs. Ezekiel is the classic case in point. More than a dozen dates appear in Ezekiel, but they were all recorded according to the old Judahite system of numbering months, rather than by the Babylonian system of naming months. The years were also numbered according to the years of the exile, not according to those of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. The date in Ezek 40:1 in particular gives evidence of its calculation from the fall New Year.

3. Information from Nehemiah provides a third main reason for believing that Daniel utilized the fall calendar in his reckoning. Nehemiah lived in the land of exile and was employed in the service of a Persian king there; but in spite of these direct connections at court, Nehemiah wrote down the dates in his biblical book according to his own Jewish system of the fall calendar. The dates in the first two chapters of Nehemiah run in succession from Kislev (the ninth month) in Artaxerxes' 20th year to Nisan (the first month) of that same 20th year. The only way to explain these dates without emending the numbers is to take them as evidence for Nehemiah's use of the fall calendar. This reckoning was for a Persian king, as is also the case of Daniel's Cyrus.

4. The book of Daniel itself provides a fourth basic reason why a fall calendar should be applied to the date in Dan 10. The entry of Nebuchadnezzar into Judahite territory for the first time is dated in Dan 1:1 to the 3d year of Jehoiakim, a datum which commentators commonly take as being in error. Nebuchadnezzar could not have entered Judah any earlier than a time following the battle

²These texts have been conveniently collected by D. J. A. Clines in his study, "The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-exilic Israel Reconsidered," *JBL* 93 (1974): 22-40. Clines argues against these texts, but in my opinion the evidence from the texts is stronger than Clines' arguments against them.

that was fought at Carchemish in Syria in 605.³ Since Jehoiakim came to the throne after Josiah's death in 609, commentators commonly hold that to be historically accurate, this date should refer to Jehoiakim's 4th year, not his 3d year. Proper interpretation depends, of course, upon how the different calendars and methods of reckoning the regnal year are applied to these dates. Since the brief reign of Jehoahaz spanned the summer of 609 while Pharaoh Necho was in the north,⁴ Jehoiakim was not installed upon the throne of Judah by Necho until after the fall New Year of 609. Both the Jews and the Babylonians employed accession-year reckoning at this time, which means that Jehoiakim's 1st full official year did not begin until the fall of 608. His 3d year thus spanned the period from the fall of 606 to the fall of 605. If Nebuchadnezzar's troops first entered Judah in the summer of 605, after fighting their battle at Carchemish in the late spring of that year, then the dates from Nebuchadnezzar's Chronicle fit together quite satisfactorily with the date that appears in Dan 1:1. The use of a fall calendar to satisfy this date in Dan 1:1 suggests that the same calendar should be applied to the date in Dan 10.

For these reasons, then, it is concluded here that the 3d year of Cyrus referred to in Dan 10:1 should be interpreted according to a fall calendar used by the author. This type of reckoning dates the events described in Dan 10 to the spring of 535 B.C.

Day of the Month and Day of the Week

The narrative of Dan 10 tells us that Daniel was mourning and fasting for three full weeks (vss. 2-3) and that these three weeks led up to the 24th day of the first month (vs. 4), when he received the prophetic revelation described in the rest of chaps. 10 through 12. It is a simple task to determine the Julian equivalent for the 24th of Nisan in 535 B.C. from the Neo-Babylonian chronology tables compiled by R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein.⁵ When these tables

³D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956), p. 67.

⁴Ibid., p. 63. Cf. 2 Kgs 23:31.

⁵R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence, R. I., 1956).

are consulted, an equation can be made between 24 Nisan and its Julian equivalent that year, namely, May 11.⁶

This process can be taken one step further. From a knowledge of this Julian date it is possible—through the use of another set of tables—to determine the day of the week upon which that date fell in ancient times. There is also a suggestion of this day in the narrative of Daniel itself, and to this we will turn first.

Dan 10:2-3 states twice that Daniel was mourning and fasting for “three full weeks.” While some commentators continue to take the occurrence of the word “days” in the literal phrase “three weeks, days” here to indicate a contrast with the days of the prophetic weeks that stand for years in the preceding chapter, more perceptive commentators have noted that this construction is simply a pleonastic idiom that refers to “full, whole, complete” weeks.⁷ The same idiom is also applied, on occasion, to months (Gen 29:14, 2 Kgs 15:13) and years (Gen 41:1, Lev 25:29, 2 Sam 13:23, 14:28, Jer 28:3).

Inclusive reckoning does not apply here, since these three weeks were each filled out with a full seven days. This adds up to a total of 21 days for those three full weeks, and that was the same period of time during which Gabriel and Michael were opposed by the prince of Persia (Dan 10:13). Since Daniel was concerned over a problem for the same period of time that Gabriel and Michael were wrestling with this problem, it is likely that the two periods mentioned were identical and that the problem of concern was one and the same.

But the question now arises: What is a “full” week? It surely consists of seven days, that much is clear. However, can those seven-day periods be identified more specifically? There are two possibilities here: (1) that they were non-sabbatical weeks that extended from any day in the week to the same time in the following week, or (2) that they were sabbatical weeks that extended from the first to the seventh days of those weeks (or, in our terms, from Sunday to Saturday).

⁶Ibid., p. 29.

⁷S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, The Cambridge Bible (Cambridge, 1922), p. 153.

Which of these two possibilities is more likely? I would suggest that sabbatical weeks are more likely here for two reasons.

In the first place, the historical fulfillment of the prophetic weeks of the preceding chapter can now be determined to have taken place during sabbatical years.⁸ Sabbatical years were modeled after sabbatical weeks,⁹ and thus one would expect a similar phenomenon to operate here between Dan 9 and 10. It would seem less likely for sabbatical weeks to occur in Dan 9 and non-sabbatical weeks in Dan 10.

In the second place, the idiom "full," when applied to years, generally seems to refer to one kind of calendar year or another,¹⁰ rather than to any period of 354 days within the lunar calendar. The two OT references to "full months" are too brief to determine whether they began with the new moon or not (Gen 29:14, 2 Kgs 15:13), but the references to "full years" provides some parallel support for the idea that these "full weeks" should have been regular sabbatical weeks, rather than a random sequence of any seven successive days. It is reasonable, therefore, to take the "full" weeks of Dan 10 as probably ending on a sabbath. Daniel's worshiping by a river on this proposed sabbath provides a nice parallel for such a practice that is also known from the NT (Acts 16:13).

A further line of evidence that can be utilized to test this proposition is to determine the day of the week for the Julian equivalent of the date in Dan 10—24 Nisan, 535 B.C. The procedure for use in

⁸I am working here with the dates of 457 B.C., 27 A.D., and 34 A.D. for the beginning and end of the 69 weeks, and the end of the 70th week. Space does not permit an extensive examination of the chronological factors involved. For these years as sabbatical years see now Ben Zion Wacholder, *Essays on Jewish Chronology and Chronography* (New York, 1976), pp. 33, 38.

⁹Notice in particular the relationship between Lev 23:15 and Lev 25:8, in which both the weekly and the yearly periods involved were modeled after the sabbath.

¹⁰The "full years" in Gen 41:1 appear to date from the king's birthday. Cf. Gen 40:20. The "full years" of Lev 25:29 relate to the sabbatical and jubilee years. The years in 2 Sam 13:23 date to the time of sheepshearing around the spring New Year. The years in 2 Sam 14:28 are connected with the end of the year by vs. 26. The one possible exception might be Jer 28:3, but these years—referred to in the 5th month of the year—might have begun with the next fall New Year in the 7th month. J. A. Montgomery has noted that "calendar" weeks are involved in Dan 10:2-3 (*The Book of Daniel*, ICC, vol. 17 [Edinburgh, 1927], p. 407).

this instance has been described in some detail by A. F. Johns, who calculated, in connection with his discussion of military attacks upon the Jews, that Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar on a sabbath.¹¹ With the Julian date of May 11, 535 B.C., established from the Parker-and-Dubberstein tables, the next step in the procedure is to determine the Julian day number for this date from the table available for that purpose (a table that appears in every annual edition of the Nautical Almanac).¹² This table gives the Julian day number for the beginning of January at four-year intervals from 1600 B.C. to the present. The nearest year in this case is 537 B.C., for which that day number is 152 5328. To this must be added 851 days to come to the beginning of May, 535 B.C., and then 11 more days to come to May 11 of that year.

The result of the above calculations is that the Julian day number of May 11, 535 B.C., is 152 6180. This can be compared with the day number which Johns worked out for the day when Jerusalem fell to Nebuchadnezzar on Sabbath, July 29, in 587 B.C. That number is 150 7231.¹³ Subtraction yields a difference of 1 8949—a number evenly divisible by 7 ($\times 2707$). Hence, this day of the week in 535 B.C. fell on the same day of the week as July 29, 587 B.C. Since that day was a sabbath, this day in 535 B.C. was also a sabbath.

These calculations can be double-checked by working back from the Dominical-Day tables that Jack Finegan has used to determine the days of the Passion Week during the first century A.D.¹⁴ The same result is reached as that which is indicated above.

¹¹A. F. Johns, “The Military Strategy of Sabbath Attacks on the Jews,” *VT* 13 (1963): 482-486.

¹²*The American Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac*, published by the United States Government Printing Office, any edition.

¹³Johns, p. 485.

¹⁴The calculations in this case are as follows: According to Finegan’s calculation of the possible times for the crucifixion using the Dominical Day tables, April 8 in A.D. 30 was a sabbath (Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* [Princeton, 1964], p. 295). In the Julian day tables, the number for the beginning of January in A.D. 28, the nearest year for which a starting number is given, is 173 1284. To this must be added 829 to come to April 8 in A.D. 30. This yields a Julian day number of 173 2113 for that date. From this the Julian day number of 150 7231 for July 29,

In summary, the 24th day of the first month (Nisan) in Cyrus' 3d year—the date mentioned in Dan 10:1-4—can be equated with May 11, 535 B.C., through the use of a fall-to-fall calendar and applying the dates in the tables of Parker and Dubberstein. Then the day of the week upon which this date fell can be calculated through the use of its Julian day number, and that day is discovered to be a sabbath day. Given the cross-checks available for these calculations, I consider this result to be a mathematical certainty.

Moreover, to correlate this result with the biblical record, one need only make two simple assumptions: (1) that these dates in Daniel were originally calculated according to a fall-to-fall calendar, and (2) that the "full weeks" referred to in Dan 10:2-3 were sabbatical weeks rather than non-sabbatical weeks. Both of these presuppositions appear to be reasonable on the basis of the evidence adduced for them above. The corollary to this conclusion is that there was available to the author of this passage a remarkably detailed knowledge of the sixth century B.C., and in particular the year 535 in that century.

2. *The Issue in Dan 10*

Since a great religious struggle was going on at the time delimited by these dates, it is natural to ask what the nature of this struggle was. What was at stake or involved here? This issue is best determined by noting what happened after the introduction given in Dan 10:1-4.

Immediately thereafter, Daniel received a vision of the glory of God, who was seen over the Tigris River (vss. 5-7). There is some difference of opinion among commentators as to the identity of the being described. He is not specifically named or otherwise identified. I take it to be God, on the basis of the parallels between his description in this chapter and those found in Ezek 1 and 10, and Isa 6 (compare also Rev 1).

587 B.C. can be subtracted. This day was a sabbath, according to Johns' calculations. The difference between these two Julian day numbers is 22 4882, which is evenly divisible by 7. This means that both of these days fell on the same day of the week, and since one of them was a sabbath, so was the other. This fact has thus been worked out by two different systems, which supply a cross-check for each other. (In 536 B.C., the 24th of Nisan was not a sabbath, but a Tuesday.)

Daniel's vision was given in terms very similar to what appears in Ezek 1 and 10, where the point is that God has abandoned his temple in Jerusalem to dwell no more among his sinful people (Ezek 8:6). Later, however, God and his glory were seen returning to the reconstructed temple (Ezek 43:2-5). Historically speaking, this vision in Daniel took place between those two poles of divine experience described in Ezekiel—between God's departure from the temple in Ezek 10 and his return to the temple envisioned in Ezek 43.

In Dan 10, God is seen in the east, not having returned to his temple yet. Why had he not returned? For the obvious reason that the temple had not yet been rebuilt. Its reconstruction in the west had only just begun; and shortly after the project commenced, it was stopped.

The first wave of exiles had already returned to Judah by this time (Ezra 1:1; 3:1-8), so the return of the exiles was not at stake here. The city of Jerusalem was not to be rebuilt until almost a century later, and hence the reconstruction of Jerusalem was not the main issue here either. By a process of elimination, we are left with the temple as the focus of concern. As indicated in Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra 5-6, it was not God's intention that the reconstruction of the temple should be delayed as long as it was. The delay was caused in particular by local opposition (Ezra 4:4).

One aspect of this local opposition was the hiring of "counselors against them [the returnees from the exile] to frustrate their purpose" (Ezra 4:5). Counselors were hired to serve at court, and the court of greatest importance at this time was the Persian court in the east. That would have been the most effective place for these hired counselors to lobby.

The convergence of such factors suggests that Cyrus, directly or through his representatives, acceded to the pressure applied by the counselors of the opponents of the Jews; he agreed to the suspension of the reconstruction of the temple. This, then, is the issue most likely at stake in Dan 10; namely, the development of resistance on the part of Persian authority to the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The glory of God was still seen in the east, according to this vision of Daniel, because God was still waiting to return to his temple, the construction of which had been delayed by the aforementioned obstacles. Historically, these obstacles were not overcome for another decade and a half.

3. *The Political Situation: Identification of the Opposition*

A useful place at which to begin our evaluation of the political situation described in Dan 10 is with the identification of the opposition that is mentioned. The narrative identifies this opposition with which the angels had wrestled, were wrestling, and were going to continue to wrestle as “the prince of the kingdom of Persia” (vs. 13a), “the kings of Persia” (vs. 13b), and “the prince of Persia” (vs. 20).

Standard Interpretation of “Prince” as Guardian Angel of Persia

The standard interpretation of the “prince” referred to here, as found in most commentaries, is that he represents the guardian angel of Persia. One of the grounds for this interpretation is that the word “prince” used in this instance is also used of the angelic figure Michael (vss. 13 and 21; and 12:1) and of the heavenly prince in Dan 8:11, 25. There are, however, several reasons why this interpretation is less than satisfactory:

First, one should take into account *all* of the uses of this word in the Hebrew of Daniel. It is used six times in chap. 1 to refer to a Babylonian official; it occurs twice in Daniel’s prayer of chap. 9 to refer to princes of Judah (vss. 6 and 8); and it is also used in Dan 11:5 to refer to Seleucus Nicator. Thus, this word could be used for human beings as well as for angelic figures. As a matter of fact, it is more commonly used that way.

Second, even when “prince” is used of an angelic figure, elsewhere in Daniel, it is consistently used only of such angelic beings on God’s side, never for fallen angels, demons, or Satan. The powers opposing God are identified in other ways in Daniel, not by this term.

Third, the term “kings” occurs in connection with “prince” in vs. 13, and commentators do not view that former term as a reference to tutelary deities of Persia. Rather, the term “kings of Persia” in this verse must include reference to Cyrus, as it explicitly does in vs. 1.

Thus, more favorable consideration should be given to the interpretation that this “prince of Persia” in Dan 10 is a human prince, not an angel. Although this possibility is rarely entertained in the commentaries, there have been a few exceptions.

Cyrus as “Prince of Persia”

Adam Clarke has observed that “Cyrus alone was the prince of Persia, and God had destined him to be the deliverer of his people; but there were some matters, of which we are not informed, that caused him to hesitate for some time.”¹⁵ While Clarke did take the human interpretation of this prince seriously, which is commendable, the problem which his approach raises is that Cyrus was also identified as “king” in the same chapter, and it would seem strange to identify him as both “prince” and “king” at the same time.

Cambyses as “Prince of Persia”

A more perceptive identification—of Cambyses as “*Prince of Persia*”—was given by John Calvin, who considered seriously the implications of the title “prince” in the 3d year of Cyrus. Commenting on Dan 10:13, he wrote: “But I think the angel stood in direct opposition against Cambyses, to prevent him from raging more fiercely against God’s people. He had promulgated a cruel edict, preventing the Jews from building their temple, and manifesting complete hostility to its restoration.”¹⁶

Calvin returned to this point in his commentary on Dan 10:20:

In reality, I [the angel talking to Daniel] am the defender of thy safety, since I have constantly to fight for thee with the Prince of the Persians. He means Cambyses. I follow my former interpretation of an engagement between the angel and the king of Persia, whom wicked men had stimulated to cruelty; for he had revoked the edict of his father.¹⁷

This is the one interpretation which takes cognizance of both (a) the potentiality for interpreting the word “prince” as a human being, and (b) the actual political situation that obtained in the 3d year of Cyrus. In my opinion, therefore, Calvin was correct in this identification. He was not able to go beyond that point, however,

¹⁵Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible: The Old Testament*, Abingdon reprint ed. (n.d.), 4:606.

¹⁶John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*, Eerdmans reprint ed. (1948), 2:252.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 264.

because the detailed knowledge of the ancient Near East which is now open to us had not yet been opened in his time. With the additional information available to us, we can explore the political ramifications of this identification in relationship to the situation in Dan 10.

4. *The Political Situation: Cambyses' Obstructionist Stance*

If Cambyses, the son of Cyrus and crown prince of Persia, was the particular obstructionist in view in this biblical narrative, the question arises: What caused him to act in such a way? Two aspects of this matter need consideration: first, his own personal attitude toward foreign cults; and second, the position of political power he held in Babylon at this time.

Cambyses and Foreign Cults

Since most of our information about Cambyses comes from sources that deal with his conquest and occupation of Egypt, it is to such sources that we must turn for evidence of his animosity toward foreign cults. Herodotus is our principal source, supplemented on occasion by Egyptian texts and by the statements of later classical historians.

First of all, Herodotus tells how Cambyses desecrated the body of his enemy Amasis, the pharaoh who died before Cambyses' arrival in Egypt. Since Amasis' body had already been embalmed, it did not suffer sufficient damage from direct physical attack to satisfy Cambyses, and consequently Cambyses ordered that it should be burned. Herodotus notes that this was "counter to the religious beliefs of both nations" (*Hist.* 3.16).

Continuing on to Upper Egypt, Cambyses sent an expedition from Thebes to burn the Oracle of Zeus at Siwa—probably the El-Khargeh oasis 400 miles west of the Nile. Although the expedition met with disaster and did not accomplish its mission (3.17, 25-26), the mere fact that it was sent gives evidence that Cambyses appears to have had more than the usual amount of antipathy for foreign cults.

Cambyses next returned to Memphis, where, according to Herodotus (3.27-29), he inflicted a mortal wound upon the recently selected Apis Bull on the occasion of its installment as god. The

historicity of this episode has been questioned,¹⁸ partly because there is a fairly extensive overlap between the burial and birth dates on the sarcophagi of two bulls known from the Serapeum to have served as god during this interval.¹⁹ I am inclined to accept Herodotus' testimony on this point, and it may be that the problem in the chronology of these bulls is related to the unusual circumstances of this time. A later native Egyptian piece, written in Coptic, still remembered Cambyses' connection with the Apis Bull, albeit in garbled form.²⁰

Beyond these directly religious offences in Egypt, Herodotus notes that Cambyses “entered the temple of Hephaestus and jeered at the god's statue” (3.37). Cambyses also “entered the temple of the Cabiri, which no one but the priest is allowed to do, made fun of the images there, . . . and actually burnt them” (ibid.).

Other ancient historians, too, have referred to the looting of, and damage to, Egyptian temples caused by Cambyses' troops. Diodorus Siculus, who visited Egypt ca. 60 B.C., spoke of their looting of silver, gold, and costly stones from the temples (1.46.4). He wrote, as well, of the destruction of the mortuary temple of “Ozymandias” (that is, Ramesses II) (1.49.5). Strabo, who visited Egypt in 24 B.C., states, “The city [Heliopolis] is now entirely deserted; it contains the ancient temple constructed in the Aegyptian manner, which affords many evidences of the madness and sacrilege of Cambyses, who partly by fire and partly by iron sought to outrage the temples, mutilating them and burning them on every side, just as he did with the obelisks” (17.1.27, LCL).

¹⁸R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (New York, 1963), p. 112.

¹⁹According to the information available from the inscriptions, Apis Bull A was born in the 27th year of Amasis and buried on the equivalent of Nov. 6, 524 B.C., in the 6th year of Cambyses. The death date of this bull is not given. Apis Bull B was born on the equivalent of May 29, 525 B.C., in the 5th year of Cambyses, died on the equivalent of Aug. 31, 518 B.C., and was buried seventy days later. Why Bull A was not buried until a year and a half after Bull B was born has been a subject of considerable discussion. See B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, III: Memphis* (Oxford, 1931), p. 213; and É. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1952), p. 624.

²⁰This text is the so-called Cambyses Legend. H. L. Jansen, *The Coptic Story of Cambyses' Invasion of Egypt* (Oslo, 1950).

While some exaggeration may have crept into the foregoing traditions in the course of time, they probably contain more than a kernel of truth. Particularly with regard to Cambyses' damaging of Egyptian temples, there is also the more direct testimony of a letter to this effect from the Jewish military colony at Elephantine in southern Egypt. It dates to the year 407 B.C. and was written to Bagohi, the Persian governor of Judah. This letter refers to the fate of the temple of Yahweh which was already in existence at Elephantine before Cambyses came to Egypt, and indicates that contrary to the fate suffered by the Egyptian temples at his hands, this temple to Yahweh was spared: "And during the days of the king(s) of Egypt our fathers had built that temple in Elephantine the fortress and when Cambyses entered Egypt he found that temple built. And they overthrew the temples of the gods of Egypt, all (of them), but no one damaged anything in that temple."²¹

There is one Egyptian source which on the surface might be taken to point in the other direction; namely, to show that Cambyses actually did favor some Egyptian cults on occasion. In this case, a priest in the temple of Neith at Sais complained to Cambyses, according to the inscription on his statue,²² about the foreigners who had settled as squatters in the ruins of the temple. He appealed that they should be expelled and that the temple should be restored to its former glory. Cambyses acceded to his request, and these corrections were carried out. The king then visited the temple and performed due homage to the goddess. While it is true that Cambyses did order what the priest requested in this case, it must also be noted that Cambyses either brought about, or at least allowed, the state of ruin in the first place. Thus, this particular case is not a clearcut exception to Cambyses' negative policy toward Egyptian cults.

As evidence for some strictures directed by Cambyses more directly against the Egyptian priesthood than against Egypt's temples and gods, there is his order which decreed the curtailment of temple donations. Only three especially favored temples were exempted

²¹B. Porten and J. C. Greenfield, comps., *Jews of Elephantine and Arameans of Syene* (Jerusalem, 1976), p. 90; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 19-20.

²²G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 7-17.

from the stipulations of this decree, which affected the rest of the temples more adversely: “The cattle, which were given to the temples of the gods previously at the time of Pharaoh Amasis . . . with respect to them Cambyses commands, ‘Its half shall be given to them.’ As to the fowls, give them not to them. The priests themselves shall raise geese, and give (them) to their gods.”²³

As potential evidence for an unfavorable attitude towards Cambyses on the part of some priests in Egypt in return, it may be noted that the prediction given to him by the oracle of Buto was one of his death. He does not appear to have believed this until the circumstances described by it overtook him in a way which he did not expect, according to Herodotus (*Hist.* 3.64).

While an attempt has been made in recent times by some historians to rehabilitate Cambyses from the charge that he expressed a particular hostility towards foreign cults,²⁴ it seems to me that the cumulative impact of the various foregoing statements is such as to suggest that some sort of antagonism is indeed in evidence. More than just the random pillage of wartime conditions seems to be involved. Indeed, a certain selectivity of antipathy towards gods, temples, and priests runs through the accounts like an echoing refrain.

In this connection, it is of more than passing interest to note that during Cambyses’ eight-year reign as king of Persia (530-522 B.C.), no attempt whatever was made at any time to take up the reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem. Just as some of these temples in Egypt lay in unreconstructed ruins during that period, so did the temple in Jerusalem. The resumption of the building project in Jerusalem had to wait until Darius came to the throne of Persia.

Cambyses’ Position in the Persian Empire

The second main point necessary about Cambyses in order to connect him with the obstinate “prince of Persia” in Dan 10 is that by the time indicated there, he must have come to a position of sufficient power and influence to have had the importance and

²³W. Spiegelberg, *Die sog. demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 32-33.

²⁴Frye, p. 112.

impact attributed to that obstructionist prince. If he remained only an unempowered prince in the palace at Pasargade in Persia, then he would not have been able to influence to any significant degree the course of events pertaining to the Hebrew exiles in Babylon, their return to Palestine, and the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem. He does not appear to have been governor of Babylon, since Daniel himself probably occupied that office for a time, and was followed by Gubaru, as I have indicated in a previous study.²⁵ Cambyses was not king of Persia, since Cyrus still occupied that office at this time. This leaves open to Cambyses but one main post through which he could have exercised the power attributed to the "prince of Persia" in Dan 10; namely, the position of King of Babylon.

If Cambyses was king of Babylon at this time, he would have been superior in power to the governor of Babylon; but he still would have been vassal to his father. As king of Babylon, Cambyses would also have been able to exercise authority over all of Syria and Palestine—including Judah—because those territories still belonged to the Persian satrapy of "Babylon and Beyond the River." It was not until the time of Darius I that they were separated, through his governmental reorganization.

The power available to Cambyses as king of Babylon would fit the position of power necessary for the influence exercised by the "prince of Persia" in Dan 10. Is there any evidence that Cambyses did indeed occupy such a position at that time?

5. *The Political Situation: Cambyses as "Coregent"*

Biblical Evidence for the Coregency

There is some evidence from Dan 10 itself for a coregency of the kind described above. This evidence comes from the unusual statement of the angel interpreter in vs. 13, "But the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me twenty-one days: but, lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me; and I remained there with the kings of Persia." The direct sense of this statement appears

²⁵W. H. Shea, "A Further Note on Daniel 6: Daniel as 'Governor'," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 169-171.

to be that the “kings” (plural) were located in the same place where the angel had been opposed by the “prince” (singular).

If we are dealing with a human prince here, as has been argued above, then that human prince should have been located in the same place as those kings. That opens up the possibility that this prince was also one of those kings.

But how could a prince be both a prince and a king at the same time? He could be, if he was prince of Persia and king of Babylon. By occupying both of those positions, Cambyses could have fulfilled the requirements of this statement.

The occurrence of the plural form of the word “kings” in Dan 10:13 has posed a problem for many commentators. Since they have not understood any sense in which there could have been two contemporary kings involved, several different solutions to this problem have been proposed.

One approach has been to emend the word “prince” and to change the word “king” to “kingdom.” This results in a second reference to the “prince of the kingdom of Persia.”²⁶ This procedure rests upon altering the original form of the Hebrew text to make it more understandable to the interpreter. But if it is understandable as it stands, it does not need to be emended.

Another approach to this passage has been to apply its reference to the “kings of Persia” to the *successive* kings of that dynasty collectively.²⁷ The passage itself, however, appears to refer to action that involved *contemporaneous* kings.

A third main approach has been to suggest that the writer was simply free and inaccurate with the singular and plural forms.²⁸ But cases of free and inaccurate use of the plural for the singular

²⁶L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City, N. Y., 1978): 256.

²⁷A. Jeffery, “Daniel,” *IB* 6:507.

²⁸Montgomery, p. 412. This school of thought argues that since there is an interchange between the meanings of king and kingdom in Daniel, there should also be an interchange of ideas between king and kings. In those other instances, however, both words occur in parallel passages, while only one word occurs here. Equating a king with the kingdom over which he rules is understandable politically, while equating a king with kings would represent a confusion in number over how many rulers ruled. The two cases are not equivalent.

have not been identified elsewhere in Daniel, and hence this appears to be a case of special pleading.

None of the three main solutions that have been proposed for this problem appears to be satisfactory. On the other hand, if there really were two Persian kings envisaged in Dan 10—Cyrus and Cambyses—, then this difficult passage can be understood just as it stands. Technically speaking, of course, Cyrus and Cambyses were not fully equal co-kings of the Persian Empire. They were both Persian kings in the generic sense, but they were not both kings of Persia. Cambyses was a Persian king over Babylon, which was a part of the Persian Empire. The approximation seems sufficiently close to satisfy the requirements of this biblical statement. At least, it offers a better explanation for the statement than does the suggestions offered by previous commentators.

Cuneiform Evidence of the Coregency

Another line of evidence which bears upon the position of Cambyses at this time comes from twenty-nine cuneiform tablets which indicate that Cyrus made Cambyses king of Babylon on a certain occasion, while he retained for himself the title and authority of the king of Persia. Twenty of these tablets are dated simply "Cambyses King of Babylon, Year 1," without the additional title of "King of Lands" that Cambyses carried during his own full and sole reign as king of the whole Persian Empire. The other nine tablets are more specific. They date to "Year 1, Cyrus King of Lands, Cambyses King of Babylon."

The fact that none of these coregency tablets date to any year higher than Year 1 indicates that this arrangement lasted only through one regnal year of Cyrus. In my previous discussions of these tablets,²⁹ it has been noted that the regnal year of Cyrus to which they belong has not yet been localized with precision. The 1st, 8th, and 9th years of Cyrus appear to have been ruled out, but that still leaves the possibility of any year between his 2d and 7th years.

²⁹W. H. Shea, "Darius the Mede: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 237-240; idem, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period, II," *AUSS* 9 (1971): 99-128.

In the chronological discussions above, it was noted that Cyrus' 3d year, according to Daniel's Jewish fall-to-fall reckoning would have run from the fall of 536 to the fall of 535 B.C. However, the first month, Nisan, that occurred within that fall-to-fall year would have begun the 4th year of Cyrus' reign in the spring of 535, according to Babylonian reckoning. I would currently suggest that as a working hypothesis these coregency tablets may be dated to that Babylonian 4th year of Cyrus, fitting well there with the time frame of the reference to the "kings of Persia" in Dan 10:13.

Cambyses' Installment at New Year's Festival

One final point of interest about Cambyses' kingship is the time of year that it began. Since documents from this year that are dated in terms of Cambyses' kingship begin with the third day of Nisan and continue all the way through the year, it is evident that Cambyses must have been installed as coregent at the time of the spring New Year's festival, regardless of the year of Cyrus in which this took place. As Dubberstein has noted for his reconstruction of these events, which he places at the end of Cyrus' reign, "At the New Year's festival, the official beginning of the year, in March-April 530 B.C., Cambyses became the official king of Babylon while Cyrus retained the broader title of king of Lands."³⁰ While Dubberstein does not appear to have been correct in dating the inception of this coregency in the last year of Cyrus, he was correct in dating its commencement at the time of the New Year's festival in the spring.

The Nabonidus Chronicle provides several points of information about the New Year's festival that illustrate the vital importance of the relationship of the king to it throughout this period. During the ten years that Nabonidus was away in Tema in Arabia, the New Year's festival was not held, because the king was not present to participate in it. Successive entries in the Chronicle for his regnal years repeat as a refrain the fact that "the king did not come to Babylon for the (ceremony of the) month of Nisanu; the god Nebo did not come to Babylon, the god Bel did not go out (of Esagila in procession), the festival of the New year was omitted."³¹ Then,

³⁰W. H. Dubberstein, "The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses," *AJSL* 55 (1938): 418.

³¹A. L. Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," in *ANET*, p. 306.

when Nabonidus finally did arrive in time to celebrate that festival at the beginning of his 17th and last year, the same text reads, “[Seventeenth year:] . . . Nebo [went] from Borsippa for the procession of [Bel . . .] [the king] entered the temple É.TÛR.KALAM.MA, in the t[emple] . . . (partly unintelligible). [Be]l went out (in procession), they performed the festival of the New Year according to the complete (ritual).”³²

These alternating fates of the New Year’s festival provide an interesting parallel to what Cambyses—not Cyrus—did after the Persians had taken over Babylon. The successive events narrated by the Chronicle refer to the death of Gubaru, then the death of his wife, and then the mourning performed for her. That period of mourning was completed on Nisan 3. Cambyses then entered the temple the next day to perform the rites of the New Year’s festival, as the king ordinarily would:

From the 27th day of Arahshamnu till the 3rd day of Nisanu a(n official) “weeping” was performed in Akkad, all the people (went around) with their hair disheveled. When, the 4th day, Cambyses, son of Cyrus, went to the temple É.NÍG.PA.KALAM.MA.SUM.MA, the É.PA priest of Nebo who . . . the bull . . . they came (and) made the “weaving” by means of the *handles* and when [he le]d the image of Ne[bo . . . sp]ears and leather quivers, from. . . Nebo returned to Esagila, sheep-offerings in front of Bel and the god *Má[r]-b[îti]*.³³

This passage of this text is, unfortunately, badly broken, but what survives of it evidently refers to ceremonies connected with the New Year’s festival, as can be seen from a comparison of this passage with the two quoted above that describe similar events from the same text.

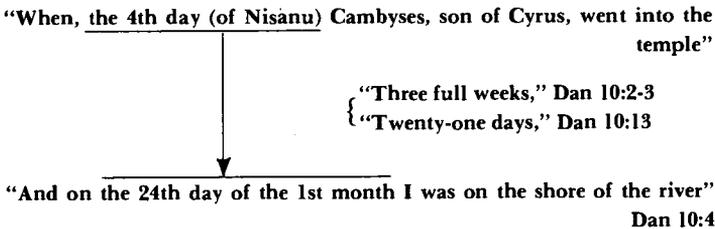
From these parallels, it is evident that Cambyses was functioning as a kingly type of figure in this case. If more of the text had survived in a legible condition, it might have told us whether or not this was the occasion on which Cambyses was installed as king and coregent with his father Cyrus. Nor is the chronology of this text clear, a point with which I have already dealt in an earlier

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid, pp. 306-307.

study.³⁴ This entrance of Cambyses into the temple took place at least one year later than is generally held by scholars who have discussed this text. This New Year’s festival is usually dated in the spring of 538 B.C., when it actually took place in the spring of 537 B.C. or possibly in even a later year.³⁵

While the specific year in which Cambyses entered the temple at the New Year’s festival cannot be determined with precision at the present time, the description of these events still provides an interesting parallel for consideration in connection with Daniel’s description of the events in which he participated in the 3d year of Cyrus. This New Year’s temple entry by Cambyses may well have occurred in a year earlier than Daniel’s mourning and fasting, but it might have occurred the very same year. It is very unlikely, on the other hand, that it could have occurred later. The potential relationship present here is derived especially from a comparison of the dates within the month of Nisan upon which these events took place:



What we find when these dates are compared is that the period of Daniel’s mourning (during which also the angels wrestled with the prince of Persia)—twenty-one days—is the exact equivalent of the length of time between the date in Nisan on which Cambyses entered the temple during the New Year’s festival, the 4th, and the date in Nisan on which the events of Dan 10 are described as occurring, the 24th. If the 24th of Nisan was the twenty-first day of Daniel’s mourning, then by working backwards we find that the first day of Daniel’s mourning was the 4th of Nisan, the same day

³⁴Shea, “Darius the Mede,” p. 240.

³⁵Shea, “An Unrecognized Vassal King, IV,” *AUSS* 10 (1972): 159.

on which Cambyses entered the temple during the New Year's festival.

Because of the broken state of the Chronicle, we cannot definitely say that these events both occurred in the same year; nevertheless, this is a distinct possibility. However, even if they did not, Cambyses' participation in the New Year's festival provides a good model for analogy with the year in which he was installed as coregent, for his coregency should also have started with the New Year's festival.

We have tentatively located this coregency in the 4th Babylonian regnal year of Cyrus, his 3d year according to Daniel's fall-to-fall reckoning. With Cambyses installed as the official king of Babylon, Daniel would have had good reason for mourning, in view of Cambyses' attitude toward foreign cults and their activities, such as the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem that was under political attack at the time.

6. *Daniel as Governor*

A final point should be made about Daniel's position as governor during this period. It was proposed in a previous article that there is room in history for Daniel to have been governor of Babylon for a time, because the name of the Babylonian governor is not attested until Gubaru appears in the 4th year of Cyrus.³⁶ Some two dozen Babylonian texts written over the next decade indicate, cumulatively, that Gubaru held that office until the 5th year of Cambyses. Daniel was by then already an old man, and may be expected to have passed off the scene of action soon after we last hear of him early in the 3d year of Cyrus in Dan 10.

From a consideration of the chronological factors involved, the interval between Daniel and Gubaru can be narrowed somewhat more than the general statement above, relating to Cyrus' 3d and 4th years. In earlier discussion in this article, I have proposed that the first month of Cyrus' 3d regnal year mentioned in Dan 10 should be calculated according to a fall-to-fall calendar. This dates those events in Nisan in the spring of 535 B.C., for according to the Babylonian calendar, that was the time when Cyrus' 4th regnal year began.

³⁶Shea, "Note on Daniel 6," pp. 170-171.

It is of interest to note, therefore, that the first dated reference to Gubaru appears in a text that is dated to the 8th month of Cyrus' 4th year. Since Daniel was last heard from towards the end of the first month of that same year, the interval between the last reference to Daniel as a possible governor of Babylon and the first definite reference to Gubaru in that office is narrowed to approximately seven months, from the spring to the fall of 535 B.C.

7. *The Unity and Date of Dan 10-11*

It is the considered opinion of virtually all commentators on Daniel that chaps. 10 and 11 belong together as a part of the final prophecy of the book that also includes chap. 12. A few quotations will suffice to illustrate the general trend:

J. A. Montgomery: "These chapters (10-12) constitute one 'Vision,' the breaks introduced by our chapter divisions being fairly modern."³⁷

A. Jeffery: "Chs. 10-12 are really only one vision . . . the division is artificial, for there is no real break in the sense after either 10:21 or 11:45."³⁸

N. W. Porteous: "It is generally agreed that these chapters belong together as a single whole and tell a single revelation."³⁹

André Lacocque: "Chapters 10-12 constitute a literary unit."⁴⁰

R. H. Charles: "These three chapters are to be taken closely together as forming the whole."⁴¹

A. Di Lella: Chaps. 10-12 "form a single and final prophecy."⁴²

Citations of similar sort could be multiplied many times over.

³⁷Montgomery, p. 404.

³⁸Jeffery, p. 499.

³⁹N. W. Porteous, *Daniel*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 149.

⁴⁰André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, trans. D. Pellauer (Atlanta, 1979), p. 200.

⁴¹R. H. Charles, *The Book of Daniel*, The Century Bible (Edinburgh, 1904-1912), p. 110.

⁴²Hartman and Di Lella, p. 275.

Since Dan 10 and 11 are essentially inseparable in this final complex of prophecy in the book, the historical content of Dan 10 takes on considerable significance in dating this final prophecy. If Dan 10 does indeed convey a very specific historical knowledge of events in the sixth century B.C., and if Dan 11 is intimately bound up with Dan 10 in the final literary complex of the book, then the historical date supplied by the contents of Dan 10 should also be applied to the date when the prophecy of Dan 11 was written down.

It is commonly held that Dan 11 was composed in the second century B.C. It seems unlikely in the extreme, however, that someone writing in the second century B.C. would have known that the 24th of Nisan in the 3rd year of Cyrus, figured according to the Jewish fall-to-fall calendar, was a sabbath. This kind of information is so specific that it is hard to imagine how someone in the second century B.C. would have been able to determine such a minor and remote chronological datum with such accuracy.

The alternative is that this date was conveyed so accurately because it was written down by someone who lived through those events in the sixth century B.C. The unity of the prophecy of Dan 11 with the narrative of Dan 10 that is so specifically connected with the sixth century B.C. suggests that same date for the composition of the prophecy of Dan 11 as well.

8. *Summary*

The narrative of Dan 10 conveys some rather specific chronological information connected with the prophetic experience described in that narrative. That episode in the prophet's experience is dated on the 24th day of the first month of Cyrus' 3d year. The lines of evidence for interpreting Cyrus' 3d year according to a fall calendar have been presented above, and the acceptance of these lines of evidence dates the events of Dan 10 to the spring of 535 B.C., rather than to the spring of 536 B.C. Moreover, by consulting the appropriate tables available, we can determine that Nisan 24 may be equated with the Julian equivalent of May 11 in 535 B.C. The prophet was in mourning and fasted for a period of three full weeks that led up to and concluded with that 24th day of Nisan. The use of the phraseology "full weeks" implies that those weeks should be taken as ending on the sabbath, the last day of a "full

week." The prophet thus received this vision on a sabbath. Through a second set of tables available for the purpose, it can be determined that in 535 B.C., May 11 did indeed fall on a sabbath. This correlation illustrates the detailed accuracy of the knowledge of the sixth century B.C. conveyed by the narrative in Dan 10.

Larger issues were at stake in Dan 10 than mere chronological factors, however, as a struggle between heavenly powers and earthly potentates was then underway, according to the narrative. This struggle involved some aspect of God's plan for his people, and by a process of elimination that particular aspect can be narrowed down to the reconstruction of the temple. One of the key figures in this struggle was the "prince of Persia." The use of this word "prince" elsewhere in Daniel indicates that it can refer to either a supernatural prince or a natural human prince. The context of its use in Dan 10 favors the latter usage. If one looks for an earthly human prince of Persia in the 3d year of Cyrus, there is one specific candidate for that historical position: Cambyses, the son and crown prince of Cyrus.

Characterwise, Cambyses fits well the kind of problem that his angelic antagonists encountered with him, since his opposition to foreign cults is well documented from ancient records, especially those which deal with his conduct in Egypt. Judging on the basis of his performance elsewhere, we would readily conclude that it would only have been natural for him to oppose the temple building project in Jerusalem. It is interesting to note in this connection that no further attempts at rebuilding the temple were undertaken through the last half of Cyrus' reign, when Cambyses exercised a significant degree of influence over the affairs of the province of Babylon and Beyond the River (which included Judah). The same was true during Cambyses' sole reign thereafter. It was only with the accession of Darius I to the throne of Persia that the Jews were able to resume the temple building project.

In order to have exercised a determining influence in the affairs of the Jews and other peoples of the Persian Empire, Cambyses probably would have had to rise to a position of importance beyond that of mere heir-designate to the throne. The position of authority proposed for him here is that of king of Babylon, a sort of coregent with his father Cyrus, who was still the king of the Persian Empire. Due to a lack of direct information in the cuneiform tablets which

testify to this coregency, it has not been possible as yet to date with precision the year of its occurrence. It is proposed here that this coregency took place during Cyrus' 4th Babylonian regnal year, his 3d year according to the Jewish reckoning employed in Dan 10. The reference in Dan 10:13 to the "kings" of Persia at this time would fit well with such a circumstance.

This, then, was the time when Cambyses succeeded to a position of sufficient power with which to have interfered directly in the affairs of Judah. Thus, on the basis of this reconstruction we ascertain the person and the issue with which the angels were struggling while Daniel was mourning and fasting about those very same circumstances. In the normal course of events, Cambyses would have taken up his Babylonian kingship during the New Year's festival in Babylon, at the beginning of the first month of the year, Nisan. The Nabonidus Chronicle provides an interesting parallel, for it was on the 4th day of Nisan that Cambyses entered the temple of Babylon during the New Year's festival of whatever year that passage refers to. Three weeks after Nisan 4 would take us to the 24th of Nisan, the very date on which the "three full weeks" of Daniel's mourning and fasting were brought to a conclusion by the prophetic experience that came to him.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE COVENANTAL FORM IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

In an earlier issue of *AUSS* my colleague, William H. Shea, provided an illuminating discussion of the covenant form in the book of Revelation, particularly in the letters to the seven churches in chaps. 2-3.¹ All the basic elements of the ancient Hittite suzerainty-treaty formulary appear in each of those letters: (1) the *preamble* identifying the suzerain (here, Christ under appropriate symbolisms); (2) the *historical prologue* indicative of past relationships (presupposed in the "I know your works . . ." statements); (3) the *stipulations* (the prescribed course of action for each congregation in view of its circumstances); (4) the call upon *witnesses* (here the repeated imperative to "hear what the Spirit says to the churches"); and (5) the *blessing and curse* (the promises to the overcomer and the warnings for unfaithfulness).² I concur fully with Shea's analysis, and would simply call attention to some further perspectives that may merit consideration:

1. It is likely that the ancient suzerainty-covenant formulary, in addition to its occurrence in conjunction with each of the individual letters to the seven churches, appears also in a broader, constitutive pattern for the entire book. In this broader pattern, the *prologue in chap. 1* (especially vss. 5-6) furnishes the covenantal "preamble" and "historical prologue," the *epilogue in chap. 22* (notably vss. 6, 7, 14, 16-20) furnishes the covenantal "call upon

¹William H. Shea, "The Covenantal Form of the Letters to the Seven Churches," *AUSS* 21 (1983): 71-84.

²The basic study of Hittite covenants was done by V. Korosec, *Hethitische Staatsverträge* (Leipzig, 1931), in which he distinguished *suzerainty* treaties and *parity* treaties. The former, with which we are interested here, provides the basic formulary that binds the vassal to the Hittite suzerain. (The parity treaty is simply two suzerainty treaties going in opposite directions, and is exemplified in the

witnesses" and "blessing-and-curse" formulation, and the *rest of the book* (including the messages to the seven churches) embraces the specifics of the covenantal "stipulations."³

2. This broader covenantal pattern highlights two aspects of the ancient suzerainty-covenant formulary that are apparent, though not so clearly delineated, in each of the seven letters: (a) the divine Suzerain's *prior goodness* which supplies the basis for, and which lies at the very heart of, the covenantal relationship itself; and (b) the divine Suzerain's *continuing goodness* as part and parcel of the stipulations segment of the formulary. In fact, the expression of

international covenants between the Hittite Empire and Egypt [cf. *ANET*, pp. 199-203]).

The foundational study that has explored the ancient Hittite formulary in terms of biblical relationships is by George E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1955), a reprint of his articles in *BA* 17 (1954): 26-46, 50-76. A study of the book of Deuteronomy in the light of this formulary has been presented by Meredith G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963). Brief excerpts from the treaty between Hittite king Mursilis and his vassal Duppi-Tessub, together with analysis, have been provided in K. A. Strand, *Brief Introduction to the Ancient Near East: A Panorama of the Old Testament World* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1969), pp. 174-177. That treaty has been given much more fully in a translation by Albrecht Goetze in *ANET*, pp. 203-205. (In my presentation of excerpts, I have utilized the basic five subdivisions by Mendenhall adopted by Shea, whereas Goetze provides somewhat different categories. One additional element noted by Mendenhall, p. 34, but not relevant to Shea's and my own discussions is the "provision for deposit in the temple and periodic public reading.")

³When I here refer to "constitutive pattern," I do not, of course, exclude other *types* of pattern that may also be evident. I have elsewhere called attention to the *broad chiastic structure* of the Apocalypse (*Interpreting the Book of Revelation*, 2d ed. [Naples, Florida, 1979], pp. 43-52).

That the covenantal "stipulations" in this broad covenantal pattern should cover virtually the entire book of Revelation may at first thought seem strange, for specific imperatives appear only intermittently throughout the book (i.e., aside from their rather regular appearance in the seven letters). However, what must be kept in mind is that the book of Revelation is a different kind of work from the legal documents embodying the covenant formulary among the Hittites and different also from the OT legal and/or legal-historical presentations where the formulary is evident. Within the *apocalyptic* framework of Revelation, the stipulations are not generally stated directly; rather, they surface through pictorializations of covenant loyalty within the conflict setting that is the constant backdrop to the book's portrayals.

that continuing goodness is the complement of, and counterpart to, the Lord's stipulations as he calls his followers to unswerving loyalty in the face of hostile opposing forces.

In addition, it should be noted that the book's prologue reveals an interesting relationship between the covenantal "preamble" and covenantal "historical prologue." The "preamble" is given as a trilogy describing what *Christ is*, and the "historical prologue" takes the form of a further trilogy expressing *what Christ has done* (and what he continues to do). The basic elements of these trilogies, moreover, are inter-related. We will give brief consideration to these trilogies after first taking note of the two perspectives mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

1. *The Broader Covenantal Pattern in Revelation*

In brief, the broader covenantal pattern in the book of Revelation (which supplements the outlines given by Shea for each of the seven letters of chaps. 2-3) may be set forth as follows:

Preamble

"... and from Jesus Christ, the Faithful Witness, the First-born of the dead, and the Ruler of earth's kings" (1:5a).

Historical Prologue

"To him who loves us, and has loosed us from our sins by his blood, and has made us a kingdom, priests to his God and Father" (1:5b-6a).

Stipulations

In addition to the imperatives of the seven letters, the book of Revelation is replete with calls to loyalty and faithfulness—against deception, against persecution, etc. (note, e.g., Rev 6:9-11; 7:13-14; 12:11, 17; 14:12-13; 16:15; 18:4; 20:4). Intermingled with such "stipulations" are declarations of the suzerain Lord's own loyalty and faithfulness to his followers (note, e.g., Rev 5:9-10; 7:15-17; 11:18; 14:1-4; 16:4-7; 18:20; chaps. 19-22; and also the promises and assurances in the seven letters of chaps. 2-3).⁴

Witnesses

"I Jesus have sent my angel with this testimony for the churches..." (22:16a).

⁴Cf. the second paragraph in n. 3, above.

"The Spirit and the Bride say, 'Come'; and let him who hears say, 'Come'" (22:17a).

"He who testifies to these things" (22:20a).

Blessing-and-Curse Formulation

"Blessed is he who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book" (22:7b).

"Blessed are those who wash their robes [KJV and New KJV, "do his commandments"⁵] (22:14a).

"I warn everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book that if anyone adds to them, God will add to him the plagues described in this book; and if any one subtracts from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away his share in the tree of life and in the Holy City which are described in this book" (22:18-19).

2. *The Suzerain's Prior and Continuing Goodness*

A basic aspect of the ancient covenant formulary, whether in the biblical literature or in the Hittite suzerainty treaty, was to reveal the suzerain's prior goodness and unmerited favor toward the vassal. Indeed, the expression of this goodness and favor on the part of the suzerain lay at the very heart of the covenant relationship. In Exod 20:2, after the "preamble" identifying the lawgiver as "the Lord [Yahweh] your God" comes the brief but poignant historical prologue: "who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." This reveals Yahweh's prior goodness to Israel in his great redemptive act in delivering them in the Exodus from Egypt.

The Hittite formularies, too, emphasized the unmerited favor of the Hittite suzerain. For instance, in the treaty with Duppi-Tessub, Mursilis says, "When your father died, in accordance with your father's word I did not drop you. . . . I sought after you. To be sure, you were sick and ailing, but although you were ailing, I, the Sun, put you in the place of your father. . . ."⁶ Mursilis had made

⁵The best ancient MS evidence favors, of course, the wording "wash their robes." It should be noted, however, that in the context of the book of Revelation, this term and "do his commandments" are virtually synonymous. Cf., e.g., Rev 12:11 with 12:17.

⁶ANET, pp. 203-204, sect. 7.

Duppi-Tessub a king, even though the latter was "sick and ailing," and apparently not fit to be a king. The graciousness of the Hittite suzerain is thus revealed.

Regarding the letters to the seven churches, Shea has aptly pointed out that the "I-know-your-works" refrain "implies an association between two parties that have been working together closely enough for one to be able to evaluate the past works of the other."⁷ As such, therefore, this element in the seven letters is properly identified as the "historical prologue" of those letters. The specific acts of "prior goodness" on the part of the Christian community's Lord, however, are not set forth in the letters themselves. Rather, these specific acts are called to attention in the book's prologue.

What is Christ's relationship of *prior* (and continuing) goodness to his covenant community? The gracious acts are stated in a trilogy. The divine Suzerain (1) "loves us"; (2) "has loosed us from our sins by his blood"; and (3) "has made us a kingdom, priests to his God and Father" (Rev 1:5-6).⁸

This trilogy expresses in succinct and paradigmatic form the essentials of Christ's gracious activity and provides the basis for the covenant relationship between him and his people. More will be said concerning this important trilogy in the next section of this article.

The goodness of Christ to his people is not only a *prior goodness*, however; it is also a *continuing* goodness. The present tense of the first element in the trilogy indicates this directly. But the *continuing-goodness* emphasis is one that is basic too, of

⁷Shea, p. 74.

⁸In this trilogy, there is a sudden switch from a present participle (first element) to an aorist participle (second element). As for the present tense of the first element, it would seem that although a past event, Christ's death, is the ultimate expression of his love, a stress is here being placed on the continuing and ever-present nature of that love. (More will be said in this regard later.)

As for the second element in the trilogy, I have adopted the now generally accepted reading λύσαντι (rather than the *Textus Receptus* reading λούσαντι). The translation of the clause is frequently given as "freed us from our sins" (e.g., RSV, NIV, *Good News Bible*), contrasting with "washed us from our sins" (KJV). For arguments favoring the reading λύσαντι, see Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1971), p. 731.

course, to the seven letters and to the entire book of Revelation. In those seven letters, Christ's continuing love, care, and activity on behalf of his faithful followers is set forth in one way or another, but usually in conjunction with the "blessings" statements, rather than as a part of the "stipulations" segment of the messages (among possible exceptions is the short, pithy "Be faithful unto death, and I will give you the crown of life" [2:10]⁹).

In the broader context of Revelation, however, we find assurances of Christ's love and care in conjunction with the various visions in which God's people encounter oppressive forces, and wherein the divine call to loyalty (the "stipulations" element) is constantly in view either implicitly or explicitly.¹⁰ For example, Christ gives assurance that he holds the keys of the grave and death (1:18), a particularly pertinent message for Christians facing martyrdom; the prayers of the saints are depicted as being mingled with incense from the altar and ascending to God's throne (8:3-4); and the earth helps the woman by swallowing the flood with which the dragon seeks to entrap her (12:16).

Such assurances of the Suzerain's care in the present age are complemented by his promises of reward in the future. Each of the seven letters contains such promises, of course; and their fulfillment is depicted in chaps. 21-22. But other examples occur throughout the book, such as the saints' reign on earth envisioned in 5:9-10; the multitude in Rev 7 whom Christ will lead to living waters and from whose eyes he will wipe away all tears; the acclamation in 19:2 of vindication over the judged and doomed harlot Babylon, who had oppressed God's people; and in 20:4 the enthronement of the saints resurrected in the first resurrection.

The intermingling, throughout the book of Revelation, of Christ's call for loyalty on the part of his followers and his assurance of his own care for them is paralleled in what has been characterized as the "stipulations" section of the ancient Hittite suzerainty-treaty formulary. That ancient formulary has rightly been called a "suzer-

⁹The only other two possible exceptions that I have noted within Shea's outlines of the messages to the seven churches (see Shea, pp. 76-81) are in the stipulations to Laodicea ("I will come in to him and eat with him . . .") and in the prologue to Philadelphia ("I have set before you an open door").

¹⁰Cf. the second paragraph in n. 3, above.

ainty treaty," for it is *unilateral*. It binds a vassal king to his overlord, with only the vassal being told what to do.¹¹ The very fact, however, that that vassal has been given this vassal kingship implies an obligation (mainly protection) on the part of the supreme monarch. Such recognition of self-imposed obligation toward the vassal is at times explicitly expressed. For example, an introduction to one of the military clauses in the Hittite treaty between Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub states that "I, the Sun, am loyal to you" (this prefaces the requirement that Duppi-Tessub extend military help to his overlord).¹² Later, there is indication that if Duppi-Tessub is attacked or faces a revolt and writes to Mursilis, the latter will dispatch "foot soldiers and charioteers" to aid Duppi-Tessub (who, in turn, must not treat these forces "in an unfair manner").¹³

The ancient formulary thus highlights both the overlord's *prior goodness* (in the "historical prologue") and *continuing care* (in conjunction with the "stipulations"). That past and present goodness finds its highest expression in the very vassal kingship itself, wherein the unworthy recipient has so graciously received and continues to enjoy the suzerain's blessings. The vassal has first of all *been made a king*, and then is *continuously accorded the privileged treatment of a king*. In the account of the Exodus covenant, Israel's honored status is expressed in the statement that God has made Israel "a kingdom of priests" (Exod 19:6). In the passage under discussion in the book of Revelation, similar imagery is used to express the relationship of the Christian church to her suzerain Lord, who has made her "a kingdom, priests to his God and Father." This expression is further paralleled in 1 Pet 2:9 by the description of the church as a "royal priesthood."

3. The "Preamble" and "Historical-Prologue" Trilogies

The two trilogies of Rev 1:5-6 that I have identified as representing the covenantal "preamble" and covenantal "historical prologue" bring to attention theological motifs that are the postulates or "givens" for the message of the entire Apocalypse. In elucidating

¹¹See Mendenhall, p. 29; Strand, *Ancient Near East*, p. 175.

¹²*ANET*, p. 204, sect. 10.

¹³*ANET*, p. 204, sect. 11.

the basis upon which the covenant relationship between Christ and his church is built, each of these trilogies provides its own *sequence* of the essential experiences that make this saving relationship possible. I would suggest, further, that the sequential items of the "preamble" trilogy also bear a direct interconnecting relationship to the corresponding sequential items of the "historical-prologue" trilogy. As an aid to our further discussion of these aspects of the trilogies, the two trilogies may be placed in parallel columns, as follows:

<i>What Christ Is</i>	<i>What Christ Has Done</i> ¹⁴
1. Faithful Witness	1. Loves Us
2. First-born of the Dead	2. Has Loosed Us from Our Sins. . . .
3. Ruler of Earth's Kings	3. Has Made Us a Kingdom, Priests. . . .

The Sequential Aspects

In the "preamble" trilogy, Christ is first identified as the "Faithful Witness." This is a designation he carries elsewhere in the book of Revelation, and especially so in conjunction with the word "true" (in 3:14, the "Faithful and True Witness"; in 19:11, the victorious rider called "Faithful and True").

In the initial identifying statement of 1:5, however, the action *par excellence* which has revealed Christ to be this "faithful," "loyal" witness is presupposed. That action was his death in behalf of mankind, the death which inaugurates the identifying marks that make him Lord and Savior for the Christian community. This is clear from the very fact that the next two identifications follow in an obviously chronological sequence: He is the "First-born of the dead" (a clear allusion to his resurrection), and the "Ruler of earth's kings" (the exaltation which follows upon, and results from, the victories accomplished in his death and resurrection).

It should be added that this motif of Christ's death as the ultimate act that identifies him as the "Faithful Witness" finds a counterpart in Revelation in the similar role that is depicted for his

¹⁴Concerning the present tense of the first element, see the first paragraph of n. 8, above. Further discussion will also follow shortly.

followers. They become faithful witnesses, too, in their loyalty even to death. For example, Antipas in Pergamum is described as "my [Christ's] faithful witness who was killed . . ." (2:13); and the conquerors in the struggle against the great dragon are so designated because they "conquered him [the dragon] through the blood of the Lamb, and through the word of their testimony, and they loved not their lives unto death" (12:11). Explicit statements, as well as implicit characterizations, could be multiplied; and the very tone of the book fortifies the conclusion that the ultimate in faithful witness is the martyr's death in loyalty to God and Jesus Christ (cf. 6:9-11, 14:13, and 20:4).¹⁵

In determining the meaning of the term "Faithful Witness" in 1:5, it is useful also to go to other NT data (cf., e.g., 1 Tim 6:13, where Christ is described as giving the "good confession" before Pontius Pilate). Especially important in this connection are the accounts in the four gospels, particularly in the Gospel of John. That Gospel breathes, as it were, a "courtroom atmosphere" throughout, as Christ's consistently true testimony is placed in striking contrast to the false testimony of his enemies (cf. John 8:43-47). Christ stands forth as the genuine Faithful Witness in every way. He is unswervingly loyal to God his Father, to God's word, to his own disciples, and to the mission of salvation before him. This loyalty culminates in his passion and death; and, indeed, that ultimate outcome—his death on the cross—is the high point in his faithful witness, to which all his other faithful witness was a prelude and prefiguration.

Thus, the sequence in Rev 1:5 from "Faithful Witness" to "First-born of the dead" to "Ruler of earth's kings" is both a logical one and a chronologically sequential one. As we turn to the "historical-prologue" trilogy, we find a similar sequential arrangement.

¹⁵A perceptive comment has been made by Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1977), p. 70: "This designation ['the faithful witness'] should not be limited to his [Christ's] role in mediating the revelation which comprises the book itself. . . . It refers to the larger purpose of his life as the one who bore witness to the truth from God (Jn 3:32f; 18:37) with special emphasis on his death that followed as a result."

Christ is, first of all, the one who "loves us" (the one "loving us," according to a more literal rendering of the present participle), and from that basic fact and its supreme demonstration at Calvary flow the next two elements in the description of what Christ has done for his people—"loosed us from our sins by his blood" and "made us a kingdom, priests to his God and Father."

The centrality of Christ's vicarious death as the supreme evidence of divine love is highlighted in the Fourth Gospel in a number of significant statements: for instance, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up. . . . For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son . . ." (3:14-16); "Jesus, knowing that his hour was come . . . having loved his own . . . he loved them to the end" (13:1, especially significant in being the introduction to the Last Supper with its implications for Christ's impending death¹⁶); "No one has greater love than this, than to lay down his life for his friends" (15:13).

Christ's love is indeed a continuing love (as the present participle indicates in Rev 1:5), but it looks to the past event of the crucifixion as the foundational basis for, and supreme evidence of, that continuing love. A similar thought is conveyed in Rom 5:8: "God commends [present tense] his own love to us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

From the foundational fact of Christ's love for us as evidenced in his vicarious death, the subsequent two elements of the "historical-prologue" trilogy emerge in a logical sequence, as we have already noted.

Interconnection of the Trilogies

Not only do both trilogies reveal a sequential arrangement as indicated above, but the individual elements in the first sequence also appear to bear direct relationship to the corresponding elements in the second sequence, thus interconnecting the two trilogies in a

¹⁶Cf. 1 Cor 11:26: "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death till he comes." In John 13, the focus (in vss. 2-17) is, of course, on the accompanying *footwashing*. For the Johannine community, this too, together with the cleansing involved, represented a martyrological/eschatological rather than (or at least in addition to) a missionary or liturgical concern. Cf. Herold Weiss, "Foot Washing in the Johannine Community," *NouvT* 21 (1979): 298-325.

striking way. For instance, as we have already observed, Christ as the "Faithful Witness" and Christ as the one who "loves us" point directly to his death at Calvary. Thus, the first elements in the two trilogies are closely linked to each other.

The second elements in the trilogies appear similarly to be closely linked. In the "preamble" trilogy, the allusion is obviously to Christ's resurrection, for he is there described as the "First-born of the dead." As for the "historical-prologue" trilogy, that same resurrection of Christ is the vital element (even though not specifically stated as such right here), for it is his resurrection that gives him the power to loose us "from our sins by his blood." The efficacy and importance of Christ's death and shed blood constitute, of course, a central postulate for the theology of the book of Revelation, but that death and shed blood become effective only by virtue of Christ's resurrection—by virtue of his powerful presence as the *Resurrected One*. In the book of Revelation, the "Lamb slain" is again alive and is the powerful *living* Lamb, who alone in the universe can break the seven seals and open the scroll of destiny (chaps. 5:1-8:1). In fact, in the very first vision of the book, Christ had already introduced himself as the one "who was dead" but now is "alive forever" (1:18).

The loosing from sin of Rev 1:5 would seem to entail more than forgiveness (though that would undoubtedly be included). As Paul Minear has aptly pointed out, the basic thought is that of a transfer away from the power or dominion of sin.¹⁷ In this sense, this expression closely parallels the presentation in Rom 6, two verses of which may be noted here (though the whole line of argument is pertinent to our discussion):

We have therefore been buried with him [Christ] by baptism into death, that as Christ was resurrected from the dead by the glory of the Father, so also we should walk in newness of life (vs. 4).

Having been emancipated from sin, you have become servants of righteousness (vs. 18; cf. vs. 22).

¹⁷Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth: An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse* (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 16. Minear's own translation reads, "He has freed us from Sin's bondage by his death."

Christ's resurrection is of vital significance in bringing about for the Christian the possibility and the reality of this change of allegiance—the transfer from the domain of sin to the domain of righteousness. And thus, there is also a close link between the second elements of the two trilogies.

The very language of the final elements reveals a close connection by their referring to rulership or kingship. It is by virtue of his death and resurrection that Christ has been exalted to rulership over earth's kings. In this royal status, he is empowered to grant vassal kingship to his followers, making them, "a kingdom, priests . . ." In the ancient Hittite suzerainty treaty, the great Hittite king by reason of his supreme kingship could, and did, grant to other persons a royal power that enabled them to rule over the various districts within the far-flung boundaries of the Hittite Empire. It is precisely this sort of imagery that also comes into play here, as Christ through his supreme royal authority can, and does, give subordinate royal authority to his followers.

The precise meaning of the term "earth's kings" in Rev 1:5 has engendered a certain amount of debate. Several options appear reasonable. Are these "kings" to be understood as (1) rulers on earth in a broad generic sense (the book does at times seem to use the term in this way)? Or are they (2) the particular leaders of evil forces that are depicted in the book of Revelation as opposing God's people (such as Babylon and her supporting kings in chaps. 17-18)? Or are they (3) God's own covenant people, who by virtue of the covenant relationship have been raised to kingship with their Suzerain?

Inasmuch as Christ's authority over all earthly rulership and his defeat of the antidivine powers are thematic elements throughout the book of Revelation, it may be tempting to opt for one or the other of the first two alternatives mentioned above. Without excluding those alternatives entirely from view, however, I would suggest that the setting of this particular reference to rulership over "earth's kings" makes it more appropriately a designation of Christ's relationship to his own covenant community. The paralleling third element in the "historical-prologue" trilogy—"made us a kingdom . . ."—suggests as much. Perhaps even more basic than this is the fact that the terminology occurs within the "preamble" of the covenantal formulary. The ancient suzerainty treaties or

covenants pertained specifically to the suzerain and his vassals, not to the suzerain and other persons or groups. Would not the same obtain here in expressing Christ's relationship to *his* people? Also, it is, after all, to his people that the entire book of Revelation as a covenant document is addressed. This is a fact made clear in the messages to the seven churches, in the introductory and concluding settings of prologue and epilogue (see 1:1, 11; and 22:6, 16), and in various allusions throughout the book.¹⁸

In whatever way we may wish to interpret that third element in the "preamble" trilogy, the corresponding third element in the "historical-prologue" trilogy is clear and undebatable. It bespeaks that highest of honors that can be bestowed upon those who are in covenant relationship with the all-powerful Risen One. The OT background symbolism in Exod 19:6 has already been mentioned, as has the NT paralleling description in 1 Pet 2:9 of the Christian church as a "royal priesthood."

The biblical references add a significant dimension to the royalty aspect already within the Hittite formulary. Ancient Israel and the Christian church actually enjoy a relationship with their Suzerain that goes even beyond the exalted role of vassal kingship. They also have a *priesthood*. As set forth in the text from 1 Pet 2:9 referred to above, Christ's people are a "royal priesthood" and a "holy nation" that they may "declare the praises" of him who has called them "out of darkness into his marvelous light." Thus, as in the case of Christ himself, so with his covenant people: both royal and priestly functions are combined.

¹⁸Because of the reference in Ps 89:27 to "firstborn" and "most exalted of kings of earth," some commentators would opt for the first of the three alternatives I have mentioned above. However, the context in Revelation itself is the truly determinative factor as to how the language is intended there. Minear, p. 14, has called attention to a somewhat different threefold choice: (1) "emperors like Domitian, and their provincial delegates, like Pilate, Herod, and their successors . . ."; (2) "such invisible heavenly rulers as Satan, the Dragon, Sin, and Death"; and (3) "those faithful servants of Christ who have received from him that sovereignty over the earth which Adam had lost. . . ." Without being aware of the added arguments from the covenant formulary that I have indicated, Minear nevertheless opts for the "faithful-servants" alternative—on the basis of the "immediate sequel in vs. 6 . . . , and in vs. 9 where John and the Christians are described as partners in Jesus' royal power." He notes, as well, that the picture of Christians as "being rulers of the earth" is "undeniably present" in the book of Revelation, and cites Rev 5:10; 20:4, 6; and 22:5.

4. Conclusion

As noted at the outset of this essay, William H. Shea has presented an illuminating discussion of the ancient covenant form as it appears in the letters to the seven churches in Rev 2-3. His analysis is one with which I fully concur, and the purpose of this study has been simply to take a look at a broader expression in the Apocalypse of the same pattern—an expression of it that I consider to be, in a sense, constitutive.¹⁹ I have also taken a brief closer look at the nature of some of the subdivisions of the formulary as represented in the book of Revelation, with special attention to the “preamble” and “historical-prologue” trilogies.

In conclusion, two further points should now be made: First, the book of Revelation graphically portrays through its various visions and hortatory expressions the inestimable honor and worth of the church’s covenant relationship with her Suzerain, the Lord Jesus Christ. It is a relationship that must not lightly be cast aside. Indeed, the Suzerain’s own infinite sacrifice was made in order to establish the covenant relationship and is the fundamental standard by which to measure the crucial significance of that relationship. It is a relationship so vitally important that it must also be safeguarded by the vassal’s own death, if need be (Rev 2:13; 12:11; 14:12-13; etc.).

Second, it should never be lost sight of that the whole concept of vassal obligation within the covenant relationship is built upon the prior goodness of the suzerain. In the NT setting, it is Christ’s prior goodness that has brought about the existence of the Christian community, and the obligation of loyal obedience on the part of this community rests squarely upon this fact. Obedience to the covenant stipulations—summarized in the book of Revelation as “the commandments of God” and “the testimony of Jesus” (12:17; cf. 14:12)—represents the Christian’s obligation of love that stems from Christ’s own prior love. Indeed, such obedience emerges as a response to that unspeakable and immeasurable *prior goodness* manifested in our Lord’s great redemptive activity. “We love because he first loved us” (1 John 4:19; cf. vs. 10).

¹⁹Constitutive, i.e., for the entire book according to *this particular pattern*, but *not to the exclusion of other patterns*, such as the overall chiasmic framework of the book. See the first paragraph in n. 3, above.

THE COMMANDMENT TO LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR
AS YOURSELF AND THE PARABLE OF THE
GOOD SAMARITAN (LUKE 10:25-37)

NORMAN H. YOUNG
Avondale College
Cooranbong, N.S.W. 2265
Australia

Popular volumes on modern pastoral counseling often appeal to the commandment to love your neighbor as yourself in support of their contention that self-love or a positive self-image is biblical and therefore Christian.¹ No doubt the NT gives the counselor every warrant to encourage those who have an unduly negative estimate of themselves to appreciate the value that the divine love places upon man. It is doubtful, however, whether Jesus' approval of the lawyer's quotation of Lev 19:18 in Luke 10:27 carries any exhortation to recognize one's self-worth.

Theologians have often grappled with the apparently unchristian exhortation to love oneself in Luke 10:27. John Kleinig suggests that the command to love our neighbor as ourself means "to include among *our* interests (in a non-self-regarding fashion) the interests of others."² Karl Barth is adamant that "if I love my neighbour, that is the judgement on my self-love and not its

¹E.g., " 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' implies that we show a regard for others that is conditioned by the feelings we have for ourselves. . . . We love others because we regard ourselves with positive self-esteem" (Maurice E. Wagner, *The Sensation of Being Somebody* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1975], pp. 231-232). Bruce Narramore, commenting on Luke 10:27, says, "There is an intimate connection between our love for ourselves and our love and esteem for God and others. When we fail to love ourselves, all of our relationships suffer" (*You're Someone Special* [Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978], p. 119). James Dobson in a widely read manual declares that not only are we "permitted a reasonable expression of self-love," but that "love for others is impossible—until we experience a measure of self-respect" (*Hide or Seek*, rev. ed. [Old Tappan, N.J., 1979], pp. 185-186).

²John Kleinig, "Ayn Rand and Social Justice," *Interchange* 20 (1976): 215.

indirect justification.”³ However, Barth does concede that the text presupposes self-love, but he maintains that the command to love one’s neighbor as oneself condemns this self-love and does not approve of it or exhort the transference of it to one’s neighbor.⁴

The strong tradition in Christian thought that the double commandment of love to God and to one’s neighbor as oneself includes a third command to love oneself has been challenged by a number of modern scholars besides Barth. Such scholars, though usually granting that Luke 10:27 presupposes self-love as the natural and sinful condition of man, maintain that the ὡς σεαυτόν (Luke 10:27) reverses or overcomes this self-love and does not affirm it.⁵ This position, though theologically sound, stands in need of greater exegetical support.

The second commandment is given quite elliptically, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν (Luke 10:27b), and is attached to the future verb ἀγαπήσεις of the first commandment (vs. 27a). The common interpretation that urges that ὡς σεαυτόν demands a Christian self-love, presupposes the addition of ἀγαπᾶς to the text thus: ἀγαπήσεις . . . καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς [ἀγαπᾶς] σεαυτόν. This is the assumed Greek text behind the two widely disseminated paraphrases *The Living Bible* and the *Good News Bible*. The former translates, “And you must love your neighbor just as much as you love yourself.” The latter renders Luke 10:27, “Love your neighbor as you love yourself.”

Another suggested translation is offered by J. D. M. Derrett⁶ and independently also by myself,⁷ that is, to render Luke 10:27b: “You shall love your neighbor as if he were yourself.” This

³Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 1, pt. 2: *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, trans. G. T. Thomson and Harold Knight (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 450.

⁴Ibid.

⁵See, e.g., Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, trans. Philip S. Watson (London, 1954), pp. 100-101; R. Bultmann, *Jesus* (Tübingen, 1951), p. 100 (quoted in Nygren, p. 101); Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, trans. Irene and Fraser McLuskey (London, 1960), pp. 113-114.

⁶J. D. M. Derrett, “‘Love Thy Neighbour as a Man Like Thyself?’” *ExpTim* 83 (1971): 55-56.

⁷“Once again, Now, ‘Who is my Neighbour?’”: A Comment,” *EvQ* 49 (1977): 178-179.

translation is open to the objection⁸ that syntactically the third person "he" cannot be related to the second person σεαυτόν. Derrett's and my suggestion does indeed assume an expanded Greek text something like ἀγαπήσεις . . . τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς [ᾄδοντα] σεαυτόν, which is indeed difficult if not impossible Greek.

The governing verb is, of course, ἀγαπήσεις; and this no doubt should guide us in our expansion of the elliptical phrase in Luke 10:27b. The text would then read ἀγαπήσεις . . . καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς [ἀγαπῶν] σεαυτόν ("You shall love your neighbor as though you were loving yourself"). This is perfectly good Greek, and the use of ὡς to introduce a supposition clause is common enough in elliptical phrases in the NT⁹—for example, 2 Thess 2:2, μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς δι' ἡμῶν ("nor by letter as though it were coming from us"); Eph 5:22, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ ("as though you were obeying the Lord"); Eph 5:28, ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ("as though they were loving their own bodies"); Eph 5:33, ὡς ἑαυτόν ("as though he were loving himself")¹⁰; Luke 15:19, ὡς ἓνα τῶν μισθίων σου ("as though you were treating one of your hired servants"); Rom 4:17, ὡς ὄντα ("as though they were"); Heb 13:3, ὡς συνδεδεμένοι ("as though you were a fellow prisoner").¹¹

Which of the two translation possibilities for ὡς σεαυτόν in Luke 10:27—"as you love yourself" or "as though you were loving yourself"—is to be accepted, is made clear by the point of the parable itself (vss. 30-35). First, we must remind ourselves that although at initial glance there may not appear to be a great difference between these two alternatives, closer attention reveals a vast difference. Clearly, "as though you were loving yourself" assumes that no man hates his own flesh, that in treating the other as though treating himself he will act with compassion. Though it assumes this, it does not exhort it. The text does not urge a self-

⁸Made verbally by J. Lambrecht after the reading of a short paper on this point by me at the 35th General Meeting of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, Toronto, August, 1980.

⁹T. Muraoka, "The use of ΩΣ in the Greek Bible," *NouvT* 7 (1964/65): 51-72, esp. 58-60.

¹⁰E.g., Muraoka, p. 60, says, "Not that one's own wife is *like* his body, but that she *is* his body."

¹¹Further examples are cited in Derrett, p. 55.

love, but a selfless love of the other. The love here admonished is directed outward to the other, not inwardly to the self, not even in the first instant. Love is to be conditioned by the other, not the self. The translation "as you love yourself," however, unequivocally states the fact of self-love. But Jesus is not simply requiring the transference of one's self-love to the other, he is demanding a radical exchange of roles.

"As though you were loving yourself" demands, then, not simply the transference of a prior self-love, but the placing of oneself into the other's predicament before one acts towards him. Jesus is not here urging that we love our neighbor with the same love with which we love ourselves, but rather that we love our neighbor in such a way that we treat our neighbor as though we were acting towards ourself. The circle of self-love is not simply expanded; it is shattered.

It is just such a role reversal that the parable of the good Samaritan presents, and this leads us to examine the lawyer's question (vs. 29) and the frequently noted shift in meaning between it and Jesus' own interrogation in vs. 36.¹² Jesus gave an example of one *who* acted as neighbor, but the lawyer wished to know to *whom* he was to act as neighbor; Jesus spoke *subjectively* of one who *did* mercy, the lawyer asked *objectively* about who should *receive* mercy. The lawyer apparently could have walked away agreeing that he must show mercy as the Samaritan had done, but still muttering, "Yes, but to whom? that is the question."

The tension between the questions in Luke 10:29 ("Who is my neighbor?") and 10:36 ("Who was neighbor?") is considered so severe by many scholars that they treat Luke 10:25-28 as originally separate from 10:29-37.¹³ A. Jülicher refers to "the deficient logic of the conversation."¹⁴ However, the question, "Who is my friend

¹²According to M. D. Goulder, one must be a don to observe it, which is doubtful. See M. D. Goulder, "Characteristics of the Parables in the Several Gospels," *JTS* 19 (1968): 59; and further, see Eta Linnemann, *Parables of Jesus*, trans. John Sturdy (London, 1966), pp. 139-141, n. 14.

¹³E.g., R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (Oxford, 1968), p. 178.

¹⁴Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2d ed. (Tübingen, 1910), 2: 596—"die mangelhafte 'Logik der Rede.'"

(= neighbor)?” can be taken in two ways.¹⁵ It can mean, “Whom am I to treat as a friend?” (which is what the lawyer intended), but equally it can mean, “Who treats me as a friend?” (which is clearly how Jesus took it).¹⁶ The former is answered by listing those who qualify to be treated as a friend (e.g., Jews but not Samaritans); the latter permits the reply, “those who help you in your hour of need.” By construing the lawyer’s question in this way, Jesus makes him the recipient rather than the giver of aid; Jesus reverses the lawyer’s role and makes him the one in need of help instead of the dispenser of aid.¹⁷

Thus, though Jesus does not answer the intended import of the question, he does give a perfectly valid answer to the verbal form of the enquiry. The lawyer is forced to become involved in the parable: he is slapped down bleeding beside the Jericho road, and it becomes no longer a question of who qualifies for his help but who will help *him*. This is a “twist” characteristic of Jesus’ parables.¹⁸

Barth’s pronouncement that your “neighbour is [your] fellow-man acting towards [you] as a benefactor”¹⁹ is a legitimate comment, given the ambiguity of τίς ἐστίν μου πλησίον (i.e., “who is friend to me?” or “to whom am I to be a friend?”); but his term “fellow-man” tames the biting force conveyed by the fact that it is a Samaritan who is the benefactor. The bitter feud between the Samaritans and the Jews was basically a religious quarrel about

¹⁵This is true of both the English and the Greek, τίς ἐστίν μου πλησίον.

¹⁶That Jesus in the Lukan dialogue takes the μου as “to me” (i.e., an objective genitive) is made clear by the verbally close parallel in vs. 36, τίς . . . πλησίον . . . γεγονέναι τοῦ ἐμπεσόντος, where τοῦ ἐμπεσόντος is equivalent to μου in the earlier clause and means “to the one who fell” (i.e., an objective genitive).

¹⁷Robert W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God* (New York, 1966), pp. 210-212. B. van Elderen, “Another Look at the Parable of the Good Samaritan,” in *Saved By Hope*, ed. James I. Cook (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1978), pp. 115-116. Linnemann (p. 141, n. 14), denies this shift because the Aramaic equivalent for πλησίον is reciprocal; but the shift in the Greek form of the dialogue is due to Jesus taking the ambiguous μου in one sense while the lawyer intends another. The point does not turn on the meaning of πλησίον or the Aramaic behind it.

¹⁸L. Paul Trudinger, “Once Again, Now, ‘Who is My Neighbour?’,” *EvQ* 48 (1976): 160.

¹⁹Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 420.

priestly succession, hence hatred was most intense between the Sadducees and the Samaritans.²⁰ This observation heightens the enormity of Jesus' contrast between two members of the priestly order and a Samaritan.²¹ As R. W. Funk notes, "The Samaritan is he who the victim does not, could not expect would help, indeed does not want help from."²²

Jesus' patient Socratic questioning leads the lawyer himself to declare, even if somewhat indirectly, that a hated enemy is his neighbor. The steps are simple and compelling:

1. "Love your neighbor as though loving yourself" (vs. 27).
2. "Who is neighbor to me?" (vs. 29).²³
3. "Who was neighbor to you when you were a victim?" (vs. 36).
4. "The Samaritan" (vs. 37a).²⁴
5. "Then love Samaritans [enemies] as though you were loving yourself" (σὺ ποιεῖ ὁμοίως) (vs. 37b).

The tension between vss. 25-28 and vss. 29-37 is by no means as severe as many imagine. The transfer of role indicated in ὡς σεαυτὸν qualifies πλησίον in the first dialogue (vs. 27) and prepares the way for the situation in the second dialogue, where the lawyer is forced to play the role of the victim and from this perspective is himself obliged to pronounce the true meaning of πλησίον.

²⁰Matthew Black, "The Parables as Allegory," *BJRL* 42 (1960): 286-287.

²¹A modern parallel would be to tell a northern Irish Presbyterian congregation about an Anglican and a Methodist who passed by a wounded Irish Presbyterian in contrast to a southern Irish Catholic who stopped to help him.

²²Funk, p. 213. John Dominic Crossan penetratingly observes that "the story challenges the hearer to put together two impossible and contradictory words for the same person: 'Samaritan' (10:33) and 'neighbor' (10:36)" (*In Parables* [New York, 1973], p. 64).

²³As Jesus in the Lukan dialogue construes τις ἐστίν μου πλησίον. The lawyer, as we have observed, asked, "How far am I to extend the list of those who qualify as recipients of my love?" "In what way and to what degree am I to discriminate between those whom I treat as friends and those whom I do not?"

²⁴Van Elderen, p. 115.

True, "neighbor" is used in vs. 27 in a passive sense (one to whom help is offered) and this is also true of vs. 29 in the lawyer's intended meaning, whereas vs. 36 clearly has an active nuance (one who offers help). However, it should be noted that the total phrase in vs. 27 involves a transfer of role in which "neighbor" is not simply a passive object of one's love, but the loving of the other as oneself (i.e., not simply $x \rightarrow y$ but $x \rightarrow y = x$). Further, vs. 29 is very close in verbal form to vs. 36²⁵ and can be construed quite legitimately in an active sense. There is not, then, a hopeless contradiction between the force of $\pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ in vss. 27, 29 and vs. 36.

The questions in vs. 29 and vs. 36 are not, therefore, in any verbal contradiction and give no basis for isolating the parable from the preceding dialogue with the lawyer (vss. 25-28). In fact, the parable of the Good Samaritan forms part of the second stage in the exchange between Jesus and the lawyer. In the first section, the lawyer asks Jesus a test question (vs. 25), no doubt expecting the stock answer (vs. 27), and thus giving himself the opportunity to startle Jesus with his clever objection (vs. 29). Jesus, however, avoids the trap and answers with a question (vs. 26), which forces the lawyer to reveal that he knew the usual answer (vs. 27). Having thus been maneuvered into answering his own question and thereby prevented from challenging Jesus if he had answered in the expected way, the lawyer, in order to regain prestige, opens up a new dialogue with his real test question (vs. 29). But in this second round, Jesus follows the pattern of his first encounter and leads the lawyer to the same conclusion. K. E. Bailey has set out the unity of the two parts of the dialogue very plainly:

Round One

Lawyer—Question 1	<i>"What must I do to inherit eternal life?"</i>
Jesus—Question 2	<i>"What about the law?"</i>
Lawyer—Answer 2	<i>"Love God and your neighbor."</i>
Jesus—Answer 1	<i>"Do this and live."</i>

²⁵Ibid. Van Elderen sets it out nicely as follows:

Lawyer:	<i>tis estin</i>	<i>mou</i>	<i>plēision?</i>
Jesus:	<i>tis gegonei</i>	<i>tou empesontos</i>	<i>plēision?</i>

Round Two

Lawyer—Question 1 “Who is my neighbor?”

Jesus—The parable of the Good Samaritan

Question 2 “Which of these three became
a neighbor?”

Lawyer—Answer 2 “The one who showed mercy
on him.”

Jesus—Answer 1 “Do and keep on doing this.”²⁶

In the second dialogue the lawyer is compelled to abandon his citadel of smug liberality and to assume the place of one helped by an enemy. The Samaritan's compassion thus hammers home the lesson that to love your neighbor as if you were loving yourself demands even the placing of oneself in the enemy's lot before acting towards him.²⁷ The golden rule (Luke 6:31) includes enemies. “Love your neighbor as yourself” can no longer carry the corollary to “hate your enemies” (Matt 5:43). Jesus' parable makes it impossible ever again to make such a restriction; to love your neighbor means to do good to your enemies (Luke 6:27).

The lawyer made no protest that his question was unanswered; what he was left musing about was not the deficient logic of the speech, but what he would do if *he* met a wounded Samaritan.

²⁶K. E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1976), p. 74.

²⁷J. Piper, “*Love Your Enemies*” (Cambridge, Eng., 1979), p. 59.

BOOK REVIEWS

Collinson, Patrick. *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society, 1559-1625*. The Ford Lectures, 1979. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. 270 pp. \$39.95.

Work on the English Reformation has become something of an industry of late, much of it tucked away in learned journals and unpublished theses. Collinson would have put us all in his debt by simply drawing it together in a manageable compass. He has, however, done far more than that.

The title should not be taken too seriously, for the book omits any discussion of doctrine, which Collinson disarmingly admits in his preface to be the heart of the matter; the promise of the subtitle is, however, richly fulfilled. In six lucid chapters, two major themes recur. First and foremost is the "mistake of writing the history [of the English Church] in the anachronistically dichotomous terms of an Anglicanism not yet conceived and an alien puritanism not yet clearly disowned" (p. ix). The second is that the major tragedy for the church he depicts, and for the society in which it moved, was the triumph of the Laudians. This triumph upset the growing, though still delicate, consensus and turned natural conservatives into reluctant rebels.

In a fascinating chapter on voluntary religion, Collinson persuades us that the more earnest (we hardly dare call them puritans any more) contrived to live happily within the church by becoming a self-conscious, sometimes covenanted, community within the parish (one is reminded here of Luther's projected *ecclesiolae*); schism had no place in their program. It was often, though never exclusively, the "better sort" who were to be found in these house groups or attending lectures by combination on market days. And in more than a few places it was the magistrate—the local magnate in the countryside, the councilor in town—who played a leading role in such fellowships, in alliance with likeminded ministers.

The mentality of such men, Collinson amply demonstrates in another chapter, was essentially conservative: they looked for "a reinforcement of social values and objectives which were common to their class, not to the substitution of novel and deviant values and objectives" (p. 187). Thus the "radical" John Udall, one of the Marprelate men, collaborates with his local worthies in having his congregation seated according to social standing. This is a long way from the alienated mentality of Michael Walzer's puritans. If they suffered from anything, it was fear of the dissolution of their society, not the hope that it would be brought low. They were the law-and-order conservatives of their day and found it hard to bear when they suddenly found themselves accused of being law-breakers and schis-

matics, and publicly humiliated, as were the Norwich city fathers, by a Laudian bishop.

It was thus the activities of Laud, rather than those of the puritans, which had such a destabilizing effect on both church and society. Collinson argues that the bishops were coming to approximate the Protestant ideal. They preached widely, confirmed diligently, dispensed ecclesiastical justice and discipline impartially in person or by careful delegation, ordained clergy who were educated and competent, and performed a large number of miscellaneous tasks for both central government and the local community. They were, above all (and, of course, with notable exceptions), reconcilers: reconcilers of their more puritan clergy and gentry to the church settlement, and very often of gentlemen to one another. The Arminian/Puritan, Episcopalian/Presbyterian split was thus by no means inevitable before the advent of Laud and his supporters. Indeed, in another chapter, this time on the ordinary clergy, Collinson argues that far from a rift developing in the Jacobean church, greater unity was achieved, as clergy of similar educational backgrounds and reasonably common goals developed a sense of profession and *esprit de corps*.

We are back once more to what Collinson calls the "disaster" of Laud's triumph at the accession of the like-minded Charles I. As he points out in his first chapter, the story of the English church had been one in which "the two leading forces of monarchy and episcopacy manoeuvred, sometimes together but often in subdued contention, for a controlling interest" (p. 38). The biographer of Grindal is well aware of how hamstrung a bishop could be without the support of the crown. It was a different story in 1625.

But to dwell exclusively on the change that occurred in 1625 is to give a wrong impression of the book as a whole. Here is a rich kaleidoscope of church life during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I. The lectures abound in lively and telling illustrative material, and any reader who does not leave this book more aware of what it must have been like to live in the embrace of the Elizabethan and Jacobean church has not been trying.

This is especially so in the chapter on the popular success of the English Reformation. While admitting (and giving evidence of) a quite widespread apathy, Collinson is not happy with the assumption of his colleagues that it was the poorest level of the community—what he calls the Third World of English society—that remained unreached or unmoved. As he points out, many of the activities in which non-churchgoers indulged involved the spending of money. Rather, he identifies the young and the unmarried—those without responsibilities—as those most likely to be found participating in condemned Sunday activities. But if the more elderly and settled tended to conform, they were not necessarily convinced or doctrinally sound, a point which readers of Gerald Strauss's *Luther's House of Learn-*

ing will not find surprising. Josias Nichols complained in 1602 that scarcely a tenth of his parishioners had a proper grasp of sound doctrine; despite his preaching and catechizing, the majority remained easy-going Pelagians. There was an uneasy feeling among the enthusiasts that preaching and catechizing were failing, but their only answer was to clamor for a stricter application of the laws on church attendance and for the punishment of the morally wayward—and, of course, for still more preaching. It was hardly an imaginative approach.

The early English reformers had been ready to use the more popular media—pictures, ballads, and plays—, but by the second half of the sixteenth century these were frowned upon, the moreso as they were fully reclaimed by the secular world. As a result, earnest Elizabethans vainly embarked upon a repression of the popular media and a furious effort to place printed words in the minds of people who “must have found it very difficult to convert the words into authentic and meaningful experience” (p. 234). Much of this is persuasive, although it does not explain why the richer, more literate youth, and to some extent men in general, should also have had little time for godly reformation. Susan Brigden has provided us with some valuable clues about youth (in *Past and Present* 95 [May 1982]: 37-67); but, at least to this reviewer, the greater enthusiasm exhibited by women remains something of a mystery.

The Religion of Protestants is a valuable book and will surely remain recommended reading for many years. Students will find themselves to be further in Collinson's debt if he now directs their minds in an equally erudite but painless way to the doctrinal heart of the church that he has portrayed so well.

Newbold College
Bracknell, Berkshire RG12 5AN
England

HARRY LEONARD

Ferch, Arthur J. *The Son of Man in Daniel Seven*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 6. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983. x + 237 pp. \$8.95.

This 1979 Andrews University dissertation addresses two main problems in research on the Son of Man (SM) referred to in Dan 7:13. The first of these problems is whether this figure is individual and personal or symbolic and collective. Although the more prominent opinion in the scholarly world today favors the view that the SM of Daniel is a corporate figure standing for God's saints or something similar, Ferch argues forcibly for the minority view that the SM is individual and personal. The second question examined is whether or not the SM figure in Daniel's apocalyptic

has been derived from extra-Israelite sources—Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, Canaanite, etc. Scholarly opinion on this is divided. Ferch sides with that group of scholars who hold that this idea developed from within Israelite circles.

The first chapter, containing the customary review of literature, demonstrates quite well that in Christian circles from the Early Church to post-Reformation times, the dominant interpretation of the SM was the individual and personal view, relating this prophetic figure to Jesus Christ for its fulfillment. There were a few fathers in the Syrian church who took the corporate view, but in doing so, they argued for a dual application which also accepted the individual Messianic view. The very first individual whom Ferch was able to locate as proposing the collective view alone was the Neo-Platonist Porphyry in the third century A.D. This view was brought up again in the modern period by H. Paulus (1802). Half a dozen commentaries on Daniel published in the nineteenth century accepted this view, but not until the present century has it become the dominant view among the more standard commentaries.

In Jewish circles, the dominant view has also been that this figure was individual and messianic. The first Jewish interpreter that Ferch located as diverging from this point of view was Ibn Ezra in the twelfth century. The shift from the individual, messianic view of the SM to the collective one occurred in Judaism at about the same time that this shift took place among Christian writers, beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An additional factor involved in the impetus for this shift in Judaism was the fading of the messianic hope.

By way of contrast, the History-of-Religions approach (discussed especially in chap. 2), which sees this SM figure as borrowed from extra-Israelite sources, is a twentieth-century phenomenon. The first source proposed was Babylonian, and several different types of texts were suggested in this connection: the Adapa Epic, the Creation Story, depictions of Marduk, etc. The proposal of a Babylonian origin for the SM imagery in Daniel currently enjoys little popularity in scholarly circles, and Ferch rightly rejects it. Even less can be said in favor of the views which have found the source for the SM in Egyptian and Iranian sources. Current discussions focus mainly upon Canaanite sources, now that the mythology of Canaan is reasonably well known from the texts from Ugarit. This is the area to which Ferch has directed most of his attention in examining the History-of-Religions approach.

The idea that the Ancient of Days and the SM of Dan 7:9-14 have been taken over from Canaanite conceptions about El and Baal goes back to publications by J. Emerton and L. Rost in 1958. This view has been taken up and popularized by Frank Cross of Harvard University and in a doctoral dissertation written by his student J. J. Collins. In subjecting the relevant

Ugaritic texts and proposals made from them to a critical scrutiny, Ferch has noted accurately that the parallels proposed are in most instances rather remote. The content of the SM passage and its context in Daniel are quite distinctive and cannot be reproduced to any significant degree in Ugaritic sources; therefore Ferch rejects the Canaanite-source hypothesis for the origin of the concept of the SM in Daniel.

In the third and final chapter of his thesis, Ferch takes up the subject of the SM in Dan 7 itself. To examine this subject adequately, it is necessary first to perform a literary-critical analysis of the text of Dan 7, because some scholars—M. Noth and L. Ginsberg, in particular—have dissected the text into various fragments attributed to different hands at different times. Ferch argues strongly for the unity of the scenes with the Ancient of Days (vss. 9-10) and the SM (vss. 13-14) with the portion of the vision described previously. He does so by noting that the description of the vision in the text takes on the literary configuration of a chiasm (p. 136). The presence of a literary structure of this nature here argues strongly for the unity of this passage, because the removal of any of the units from that structure would disrupt its originally balancing series.

From this general consideration, Ferch turns next to an examination of the court scene with the Ancient of Days (vss. 9-10) and then to the scene in which the SM appears. The comparative particle *k* which precedes the SM, Ferch finds as signifying description (p. 158). The term SM itself (Aramaic, *br ʔnš*) Ferch evaluates as describing this being as man-like (p. 162). The clouds which accompany the SM imply that he is also divine, according to a comparison of the uses of clouds in the OT in other than climatological senses (p. 165). The use of the verb *plh* with the SM indicates that he is an object of "worship," which supports the same idea about him inferred from the clouds. The pronoun used with this verb in vs. 27 points back to the SM in vss. 13-14 as its antecedent.

In view of this relationship, the SM is seen as the great future ruler of the Saints of the Most High. He is distinct from them and does not represent them corporately. A series of points are made in support of this idea. All of this Ferch summarizes in his composite picture of the SM: He is "an individual, eschatological, and celestial figure with messianic characteristics. Though he is distinguished by divine attributes, he is distinct from the Ancient of Days, in that he assumes a subordinate role in the presence of the latter. The SM is also a celestial being, yet set apart from the heavenly beings of vs. 10. Finally, while he resembles a human being, he is not one of the terrestrial saints with whom he, nevertheless, shares a perpetual kingdom or kingship and dominion" (p. 184).

While I may be accused of partiality because I was a member of Ferch's dissertation committee, it still seems to me that Ferch has done his work well, using sound methodological procedures. He has paid careful

attention to the text and what has been said about it, and he has weighed alternatives judiciously.

In spite of the fact that Ferch is cutting against the grain of much current scholarly opinion, his conclusions still seem sound to me and need to be addressed by those who hold differing views. To some extent, such a dialogue—with J. J. Collins—has already begun in the pages of *JSOT*.

The Son of Man in Daniel Seven makes a considerable contribution to the discussion of the issues involved in the interpretation of Dan 7, and I would recommend it to those readers particularly interested in that prophetic passage.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Leshner, W. R., and Wallenkampf, A. V., eds. *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical and Theological Studies*. Washington, D.C.: Biblical Research Institute, 1981. xiv + 730 pp. \$9.95.

This collection of studies by some two dozen Seventh-day Adventist scholars deals with three main topics: (1) the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation; (2) Christ's atonement on the cross, and theological views that have been taken concerning it throughout the history of the Christian church; and (3) the ministry of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary in its phases of both mediation and judgment. Discussions surrounding these doctrinal topics have been quite active in the Seventh-day Adventist Church, especially since 1980. Although this book was published in 1981—in the midst of such discussions—it had actually been in preparation for several years prior to that time. Hence it was not published in direct address to those issues.

The book is divided into four sections, treating respectively the OT, the NT, church history, and theological perspectives.

The longest of these treats OT subjects, containing twelve of the thirty studies. Two of the chapters deal with the OT sanctuary, with regard to its services and function in the camp of ancient Israel (Frank B. Holbrook), and as an object of archaeological study (Lawrence T. Geraty). Two other OT studies deal in more direct detail with the daily and yearly sanctuary services and their significance (both by Gerhard F. Hasel), one treats sacrificial substitution (Angel Rodríguez), and another explores the concept of the heavenly sanctuary (Niels-Erik Andreasen). The prophecies of Dan 7, 8, and 9 are covered next in a series of five studies (Arthur J. Ferch, Hasel, Jacques Doukhan, and two by W. H. Shea). The view taken in these studies is historicist and premillennialist. A final study in the OT section deals with the judgment of Judah from the temple in Jerusalem as described in Ezekiel (Shea).

The first of the NT studies looks at the NT texts from which any doctrine of the atonement must be derived (Raoul Dederen). The second of the studies in this section deals with the nature of Christ's mediatorial ministry in heaven since his ascension (Walter F. Specht). Two studies in Hebrews follow. The first rejects the Philonic view of the sanctuary of God in heaven (William G. Johnsson). The second discusses the significance of the allusions to the Day of Atonement in Hebrews (also Johnsson). The final NT study deals with the views of the heavenly sanctuary and its work as described in the visions of Revelation (Mario Veloso).

Historical studies of the atonement begin with the views of the medieval interpreters (Paul Landa) and the Protestant Reformers (V. Norskov Olsen). These are followed by summaries of the views of the atonement in the writings of John Wesley (Cedric Ward), in current general Protestant thought (Richard Rice), and in present-day Evangelical circles (David Duffie). The main studies of this section conclude with two chapters on the historical development of the doctrines of the atonement and judgment in the Seventh-day Adventist Church (both by C. Mervyn Maxwell), followed by a brief review of prominent challengers to the Adventist position (Arnold V. Wallenkampf).

The final section of the book is entitled "Theological Studies." Its contents consist of a chapter on the role and function of the sanctuary services (William T. Hyde), three studies on the atonement in the writings of Ellen G. White (all by John W. Wood), and a theological evaluation of subjective and objective aspects of the atonement (Edward Heppenstall).

There naturally is some unevenness in the writing styles and approaches taken to the topics covered in this book, as is to be expected of a multi-authored work. In general, the studies fall, however, into a somewhat similar category of writing, being more scholarly than popular. It might have been helpful to the general reader if brief biographical sketches of the authors had been included, rather than simply identifying these writers by name only. (The lack of running heads for the chapters is also somewhat disconcerting.)

The material provided in this volume furnishes a very good and useful update on the topics covered, from the standpoint of current Seventh-day Adventist scholarship, and the book can be recommended to both ministers and lay persons alike.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Thiele, Edwin R. *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*. [3d ed.] Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1983. 253 pp. \$12.95.

Edwin R. Thiele's outstanding contribution to biblical studies in his reconstruction of the chronology of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah during the Divided Monarchy is well known and has justly been recognized as a genuine "breakthrough." An intriguing account of this remarkable achievement has been provided in a paper by another renowned OT scholar, Siegfried H. Horn, and entitled "From Bishop Ussher to Edwin R. Thiele" (a Founders' Week address at Andrews University in 1979 in honor of Thiele, and published in *AUSS* 18 [1980]: 37-49).

Thiele's initial publication on the subject appeared in *JNES* 3 (1944): 137-186. An expanded version appeared under the present title in 1951 (published jointly by the University of Chicago Press and Cambridge University Press), with a revised edition in 1965 (published by the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company in Grand Rapids, Michigan). Thiele has amplified those treatments with articles in various scholarly journals, and has also provided a simplified shorter version of his work, entitled *A Chronology of the Hebrew Kings* (published in 1977 by the Zondervan Publishing House in its Contemporary Evangelical Perspectives series; see my review of this particular title in *AUSS* 17 [1979]: 227-228).

Inasmuch as Siegfried H. Horn has reviewed at some length the 2d edition of *Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (see *AUSS* 5 [1967]: 213-214), a thoroughgoing description of the work will not be necessary here, but rather I should like to call attention more particularly to some of the new features of the present edition as compared with the earlier ones.

First of all, it may be observed that the somewhat technical chapter on "Modern Chronological Systems" which appeared in the 1st edition but was already excluded in the 2d edition is also omitted in the 3d edition. On the other hand, this newest publication contains a short but significant chapter on "Coregencies and Overlapping Reigns" which was not present in either of the earlier editions. Also beyond what was included in those earlier editions, this new book contains a short—but important—paragraph on p. 55 relating to what Thiele calls "dual dating." The significance of this phenomenon is there described as follows: "Concerning the regnal data for coregencies and rival reigns, it is vital to know that in five of the nine such reigns the datum for the length of reign is the number of years from the beginning of the period of overlap to the end of the sole reign, but the synchronism of accession marks the end of the overlap and the commencement of the sole reign. This I term *dual dating*. Failure to understand this practice more than anything else has been responsible for the confusion and bewilderment that has arisen concerning the data in

Kings." (Although not treated as such in the earlier editions of *Mysterious Numbers*, Thiele has hitherto given this concept of "dual dating" considerable exposure in his *Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*.)

Except for the items mentioned above, the basic content and the general sequence in which the materials are presented remain the same in all three editions, albeit with different chapter divisions and a completely revised mode of presentation in this new edition (more will be said shortly about the new mode of presentation). Perhaps the most striking change in chapter titles in the present book as compared with its forerunners is the absence of the rubrics "Pattern Twelve-Thirteen" (1st ed.), "Patterns Twelve-Twenty and Two-Seventeen" (2d ed.), and "Pattern 752" and "Pattern 740" (*Chronology of the Hebrew Kings*); but the new presentational scheme tends itself to highlight somewhat the problems and solutions dealt with earlier under those various rubrics. In any case, Thiele has not failed in this new book to cover adequately the essentials of what is involved with regard to the confusing data he treated earlier under those special designations.

Especially noteworthy in this 3d edition is the completely new mode of presenting the data pertaining to the kings of Israel and Judah. Concerning this new organizational scheme, Thiele himself states in the Preface to the 3d edition: "I will discuss the Hebrew rulers one by one in the order of sequence in which their accounts appear in Kings. That order is important, for it is the order in which the editors of Kings believed the rulers to have commenced their reigns. Step by step I will build up the pattern that represents the original arrangement of years in which the Hebrews fitted into ancient history" (p. 23).

Not only does the new mode of presenting the data pertaining to the monarchs of Israel and Judah lend to the meaningfulness called to attention by Thiele, but it also breaks the text up into useful and readily manageable segments. The reigns are numbered in sequence in *side-heads* that provide the particular ruler's name, country (Israel or Judah), and dates of reign (all helpfully put into bold type). This is followed by a *listing* of the following pertinent items: Bible reference, synchronism data, length-of-reign data, and other relevant information about the ruler (e.g., Ahab of Israel fought in 853 B.C. against Shalmaneser III at the battle of Qarqar [p. 94]). Thereafter follows the discussion itself.

That discussion has, of course, been updated in this volume to take notice of recent discoveries. New information coming to light between the appearance of the 1st and 2d editions—including D. J. Wiseman's 1956 publication of a group of tablets under the title *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (625-556 B.C.) in the British Museum*—was utilized in the 2d edition; and it is interesting to observe that the striking relevant discoveries between 1951 and 1965 confirmed the basic accuracy of Thiele's original reconstruc-

tion. The same still holds true, though perhaps the new information that has come to light since 1965 is not as remarkable as that which surfaced in the interim between the first two editions of *Mysterious Numbers*. (In this connection, it can only be regretted that Hayim Tadmor's long-awaited study of the section of Tiglath-Pileser III's annals dealing with Judahite king Azariah has not been published in time for Thiele to utilize before having to go into print with his 3d edition.)

In this present volume, one of the more fascinating newer items relates to a certain stele inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III that makes mention of Menahem of Israel (reigned 752-742 B.C.). Although the full inscription as yet awaits publication, Louis D. Levine published two brief items about it in 1972. Thiele's own penetrating analysis of the location on this stele of the reference to "Menahem of Samaria" as among tribute-payers to Tiglath-Pileser indicates that that reference belongs to events of the Assyrian monarch's years 3 and 4—i.e., 743 and 742 B.C. (pp. 126-128). Such dating accords perfectly, of course, with Thiele's chronology as to the time of Menahem's reign.

The present edition of *Mysterious Numbers* has its text enhanced by numerous accompanying charts, diagrams, and lists. Indeed, there were precursors to these in the 2d edition; but in my opinion, especially are the thirty-three "Charts of Reigns" more useful than the earlier tables in that they break the chronological span into shorter, simpler, and more meaningful segments in relationship to the accompanying text.

The new edition of *Mysterious Numbers*, like its predecessors, contains eight helpful appendices dealing with various related and/or background matters (pp. 215-229). It contains, in addition, an introductory table that lists in order the specific references in 1 and 2 Kings, together with the names of the monarchs and relevant data pertaining to them (unnumbered pp. 11-13, preceding the prefaces). There is a "Glossary of Basic Terms" (pp. 231-232), a comprehensive bibliography (pp. 233-242), and several indexes (prepared by James F. Scott): "Subject and Person," "Author," and "Scripture" (pp. 243-253).

As a fitting conclusion to this review, it will be in order to give a brief quotation from Thiele's own concluding chapter as to the results of his work in reconstructing the chronology of those "mysterious numbers" of the Hebrew kings: "The original chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah were contemporary productions in full accord with the facts of the times. During the period of the exile the records from north and south were brought together in a single book. The facts we have set forth here in the restoration of the chronological patterns of the individual reigns give evidence that the work from beginning to end was done with great devotion and almost unbelievable accuracy" (p. 208).

Wilkinson, John. *Health and Healing: Studies in New Testament Principles and Practice*. Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1980. ix + 195 pp. £5.75. (Also, New York: Columbia University Press; price—\$15.00.)

The author of this volume is fully qualified in theology and in medicine (B.D., M.D., F.R.C.P.) and brings his expertise in both fields to bear on the topic of health and healing in the NT. In fact, his competence not only in modern medicine but also in the history of ancient medicine (as well as in the history of the early church) and his frequent and perceptive references to the Greek words used for describing different physical conditions mentioned in the NT, give an unusual degree of authoritativeness to the volume.

Part I of this book, entitled "The Biblical Understanding of Health," contains three rather brief chapters that deal, appropriately enough, with background concepts and principles. The first of these chapters treats the concept of health in the OT, the second surveys the vocabulary used for health in the NT, and the third provides a definition of health in the NT.

In his brief treatment of the OT, the author sets forth clearly the biblical usage, which is holistic in nature, so that "health" is "basically a state of wholeness and fulfillment of man's being considered as an undivided entity" (p. 4). It consists of "complete obedience to God's law," "righteousness," "strength and long life" (*ibid*)—in short, "wholeness and holiness" that derive from and are reflective of God's wholeness and holiness (pp. 7-8).

The second chapter conveniently lists seven Greek words used for "health" (and/or "healing") in the NT, and suggests nuances which the words imply (within the same broad, holistic framework expressed in the OT). Wilkinson's treatment in chap. 3 of the NT definition of "health" is set forth in four sections, whose titles bespeak, once again, the comprehensive scope of the term: "Health as life," "Health as blessedness," "Health as holiness," and "Health as maturity" (pp. 13-16).

Part II of the volume consists of five chapters (4-8) dealing with "Healing in the Gospels." The chapter titles indicate the coverage: "The Records of Healing," "The Approach to Healing," "The Methods of Healing," "The Case of the Epileptic Boy," and "The Case of the Bent Woman." The comprehensiveness, as well as organizational clarity, that is accomplished in the relatively short presentations (the five chapters occupy but some sixty pages) is almost beyond belief and can only be appreciated by seeing the book first-hand.

Tabulations in list form are most helpful. In chap. 4 (pp. 19-35), e.g., the discussion is divided into four sections, each with appropriate summary tables. (1) "The Space Devoted to Healing" includes three listings that indicate in different ways the number of verses and percentage of space

devoted in the four gospels to healing incidents. (2) "The Narratives of Healing" provides comprehensive lists of the references in the four gospels for accounts of the healing of individuals and for the accounts of the healing of groups. (3) "The Diseases Healed" furnishes a list of healings of individuals wherein the incidents, together with their Scripture references, are subdivided into "acute" and "chronic" physical diseases and into occurrences of demon possession "with specific physical manifestations described" and "with no specific physical manifestations described." Then a subsection of the same division in the chapter provides a tabulation of group healings recorded in the four gospels, giving four basic pieces of information for each: the incident, the Scripture reference, the English word(s) used to describe the malady, and the Greek original from which the English in each instance has been translated. Also, a further outline classifies the sick in the group contexts as those with "specific diseases" (*poikilais nosois*) and those with "tormenting diseases" (*basanois*), the latter including (a) "demon possession," (b) "epilepsy," and (c) "paralysis." (4) Finally, "The Words for Healing" analyzes the usage, meaning, and distribution of five main Greek verbs occurring in the four gospels to signify healing, with a quick overview again given in tabular form (near the beginning of the discussion).

The foregoing description of the contents of chap. 4, with particular emphasis on lists and tables, has been somewhat detailed so as to serve as an illustration or sample of the author's approach and comprehensiveness throughout the volume. In addition to the very helpful summaries afforded by the lists and tables, there is, of course, a good deal of illuminating discussion that also is most valuable. Those lists and tables, however, make this otherwise informative volume into a useful reference tool, as well.

Moving on to the further main divisions of the book, we may note that Part III deals with "Healing in the Apostolic Church" (there are four chapters: "Healing in the Acts of the Apostles," "Healing in the Epistles," "Paul's Thorn in the Flesh," and "Healing in the Epistle of James"), and then that Part IV is devoted to application for the church today (entitled "Healing in the Church Today" and including two relatively short chapters: "The Healing Commission to the Disciples" and "The Healing Ministry of the Church Today").

The chapter on Paul's thorn in the flesh (pp. 112-142) deserves at least a brief further word here because of the interest this subject has engendered over the centuries and in our own day. Wilkinson deals first with the meaning of the phrase in the Greek. Then he treats the features of the thorn—its onset, its occurrence, its character, and its effect—as deduced from the description of it in 2 Cor 12:7-9. Here his training as a medical practitioner becomes evident. For the sake of completeness, he then goes

on to consider a number of other texts which commentators have felt might refer to Paul's thorn in the flesh, but for the most part rejects the possibility of their being applicable in this way (just one example: "We are weak, but you are strong" [1 Cor 4:10]). In dealing with five references often cited to indicate that Paul had an eye affliction (Acts 9:9; 23:1,5; Gal 4:14-15; 6:11), he concludes that it is "doubtful whether any of these verses taken individually would suggest that Paul had an affliction or infection of the eyes, and even their cumulative information and force is no more suggestive" (p. 117). He also considers some seven references that are at times taken to suggest that Paul suffered from a fatal disease, and concludes that they "do not refer to a fatal disease, and neither do they lend any support to the notion that Paul regarded himself as suffering from one. They clearly refer to the constant exposure to violence which Paul faced in the course of his travels and preaching" (p. 118). The reference in 1 Thess 2:18 to hindrance by Satan is likewise not to be identified with Paul's thorn in the flesh, for it "is too indefinite to provide any real clue to the nature of the hindrance which Satan continually placed in the way of Paul and his companions to prevent their going to Thessalonica" (pp. 118-119).

In the next section of the chapter, Wilkinson proceeds to try to identify the thorn. Here he gives a virtually exhaustive compilation of theories which identify the thorn in both non-physical and physical categories. It is obvious that he has thoroughly canvassed the literature from the early-church period onward, so as to be able to present the views held from ancient times to the present. It is also obvious from his discussion that most presenters have failed to take the careful note of symptoms and characteristics of the thorn that a medical practitioner would. Indeed, it would seem that a number of the identifications are read into the text instead of being read out of it.

Wilkinson's own conclusion as to the nature of the disease is that the symptoms revealed in 2 Cor 12 and in Gal 4:13-15 best fit malaria, which Paul could readily have contracted in the Pamphylian plain, with recurrences several times during his life. The theory of an epileptic fit that is set forth by some interpreters Wilkinson debunks, since according to Acts 22:9 the bright light could not have been a premonitory aura inasmuch as his companions also saw the light; moreover, they fell to the ground along with Paul, and also heard the voice even though not distinguishing the words (p. 128). (He adds a number of further indications in that text which would preclude epilepsy.) Several other common "diagnoses" (including eye disease) are rejected, but he marshals nine features from 2 Corinthians and seven from Galatians that accord perfectly with his own "diagnosis" of malaria (pp. 133-135). He does, however, wisely state that in the circumstances "no conclusions can be final" (p. 135).

The two chapters in Part IV raise the questions, respectively, of the validity today of Christ's healing commission to the twelve and the seventy and of the approach to be taken towards healing as a ministry of the modern church. As to Christ's healing commission, there are certain restrictive aspects in the way in which the mission charge (of which the healing commission was a part) was set forth to the twelve and to the seventy, and this fact leads Wilkinson to consider that the commission was "local and temporary" (p. 166). Although his line of argument on this point merits serious attention, one might query whether his own view of the matter might not possibly be a bit too restrictive. However, his final chapter makes clear that he places a certain (and valid, I believe) emphasis on modern medical missionary activity, and also sets forth the efficacy of prayer, the Word, and touch in the church's present-day healing ministry (pp. 176-179). In that final chapter he provides, as well, an informative succinct historical survey of healing and medical practice. His emphasis on the church's *community* aspect with respect to modern healing is noteworthy, too.

Although one would naturally disagree from time to time with some of Wilkinson's conclusions, the volume as a whole shows remarkable insightfulness and balance. It provides fascinating reading that is medically and theologically competent, organized in such a way as to be easy to follow, analytical in a manner that keeps up the reader's suspense and interest, and written in lucid style and clear language.

The chapters contain useful endnotes. There is also a select bibliography (pp. 181-185); and there are indexes of subjects, authors, words (Hebrew and Greek), and main NT references (pp. 187-195).

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Young, G. Douglas, ed. *Ugarit in Retrospect*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1981. xv + 238 pp. \$12.50.

This book is the result of a rather remarkably ambitious undertaking. Ancient Ugarit, located at Ras Shamra on the coast of Syria, and the cuneiform alphabetic tablets that were found there first came to the attention of the archaeological world with the discovery of that site in 1929. To commemorate the half century that has passed since that discovery, and the contribution that Ugarit and its tablets have made to our understanding of the ancient world in which the people of the Bible lived, the Mid-West Region of the Society of Biblical Literature and the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society jointly organized a symposium on this subject, held at the University of Wisconsin in Madison on February 26, 1979. The present volume represents papers published from that sym-

posium. Appropriately, the volume is dedicated to Claude Schaeffer, the excavator of the site and the discoverer of its tablets.

In general, the papers of the conference represent the high quality of presentation that one would expect as befitting of such an occasion. Some of the studies give broad summaries of the state of the art of the subjects treated, while others deal with more specific and detailed matters, but all appear to be generally well done.

The book is divided into three sections. The first deals with history and archaeology, the second treats the subjects of language and literature, and the third and final section consists of an overall summary essay contributed by the noted Ugaritologist Cyrus Gordon.

The first section begins with two historical studies, one written from the standpoint of Ugarit looking at the powers occupying the land around it and the other looking towards the sea. In studying "Ugarit and the Great Powers," M. C. Astour has discussed the relations of Ugarit locally with other city-states in Syria in the Late Bronze Age, and with the great powers of the time—the Hittites to the north, Mitanni to the east, and Egypt to the south. The fortunes of Ugarit oscillated in relationship to which of the great powers was in control of the area at any given time. This cycle of political control followed a Hittite-Egypt-Hittite pattern during this period. With the establishment of peace between these two powers in the early 13th century B.C., Ugarit's commercial prospects prospered. E. Lindner's study, "Ugarit: A Canaanite Thalassocracy," explores the Ugaritic texts that deal with the city's maritime trade and activities.

Since it was the French who excavated Ugarit, it is only appropriate that two of the archaeological studies contributed to this volume come from French scholars. P. Bordreuil has dealt with the recently discovered Ugaritic texts from the nearby site of Ras Ibn Hani. The summer palace of the kings of Ugarit appears to have been located at that site, where excavations began in 1975. Two of these new texts, both cultic in nature, are transliterated in full here, and one of these is translated. J. Margueron has provided the summary study to this first section of the book, under the title "New Perspectives of the Excavations." It provides a discussion of stratigraphy, architecture, and ceramics at Ugarit.

Also included in this first section are three further studies that deal with sites or areas other than at the city of Ugarit. D. I. Owen has treated relations between Ugarit and Aphek on the coast of Palestine, through an Akkadian cuneiform tablet found at Aphek. It mentions both the governor of Ugarit and an Egyptian official at Aphek to whom the former wrote. Since this Egyptian official is known from other sources to have served under Ramesses II, this text provides nice historical, archaeological, and chronological cross-correlations, coming as it does from a "government house" at Aphek that was destroyed in the mid-13th century B.C.

R. Giv'eon's further examination of Egyptian relations presents a study of the name of Ugarit in Egyptian sources and a treatment of some Egyptian objects excavated at Ugarit. R. Dornemann's discussion of the archaeological relations of Ugarit puts the findings from that site in the larger context of similar findings from elsewhere in Syria. .

In the first study of the second section of the book, V. Sasson provides a positive statement analyzing some of the Ugaritic epics from the standpoint of current theory in "Folklore Scholarship." P. C. Craigie gives an overview of various aspects of relating Ugaritic texts to words and ideas in the Hebrew Bible. He concludes that while much progress has been made thus far in this area, much work also remains yet to be done. D. Pardee examines current theories of metrical analysis in biblical and Ugaritic poetry and finds them all largely wanting in terms of fitting the form of the material in the texts. B. Margalit has re-examined the geographical setting of the Aqhat epic and argues, once again, that it should indeed be connected with Kinnereth or the Sea of Galilee in Palestine. M. Pope returns to one of his favorite topics, the cult of the dead, and elucidates some relations between it and passages in several Ugaritic texts. Cyrus Gordon then summarizes what he has found of central interest in all of the papers presented. This is followed by the ten-page text of a panel discussion by four of the participants on various points of interest in Ugaritology, interspersed with various comments by Gordon as moderator and with questions and comments from the floor. The volume concludes with a bibliography and six sets of indices.

All in all, I found this volume to meet its goals quite successfully. The papers were carefully and thoughtfully prepared, whether plowing through narrow details or providing broad summaries. Of most specific interest to readers of this journal probably will be Craigie's review of relationships between Ugarit and the Bible. Considering the close linguistic relationships involved and the amount of illumination already derived from Ugaritic for the understanding of biblical Hebrew, any careful student of the OT will do well to take full cognizance of the interesting range of significant studies on the history and literature of the ancient world of Western Asia that have been brought together in this publication. The two regional societies that organized the symposium from which this volume has developed are to be congratulated upon their achievement.

Andrews University

WILLIAM H. SHEA

BOOK NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES

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

Cassidy, Richard J., and Scharper, Philip J. (eds.). *Political Issues in Luke-Acts*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983. ix + 180 pp. \$16.95/\$9.95.

Ten essays treat the specific aspects of Luke's presentation of Jesus' political stance. Some of the topics discussed are politics and peace, tribute to Caesar, role of women, reconciliation and forgiveness, martyrdom.

Dennison, James T., Jr. *The Market Day of the Soul: The Puritan Doctrine of the Sabbath in England, 1532-1700*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. xii + 174 pp. \$19.75/\$9.75.

Analyzes the doctrinal content of the Puritan Sabbath. Focuses on the evolution of that doctrine as a middle road between the Prelatic doctrine of the Church of England and the position of Seventh-day Sabbatarianism.

Doukhan, Jacques. *Aux portes de l'espérance: Essai biblique sur les prophéties de la fin*. Dammarie les Lys, France: Editions Vie et Santé, 1983. 316 pp. Paperback. No price given.

Highlights the themes of prophecy, judgment, battle, and the final triumph of the kingdom of God, especially in the books of Daniel and Revelation, but other passages as well. Includes rich footnotes.

Harron, Frank; Burnside, John; and Beauchamp, Tom. *Health and Human Values: A Guide to Making Your Own*

Decisions. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. xv + 194 pp. \$24.95/\$6.95.

This introductory work for a general audience explores provocative problems: euthanasia, abortion, *in vitro* fertilization, the distribution of health care, truth-telling, determination of death, and genetic engineering. Each chapter contains actual case studies and provides background information of medical, philosophical, legal, and public policy factors.

Supplemental volumes:

Biomedical-Ethical Issues: A Digest of Law and Policy Development. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. xii + 166 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

Human Values in Medicine and Health Care: Audio-Visual Resources. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983. v + 86 pp. Paperback, \$3.95.

Hawthorne, Gerald F. *Philippians*. (Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 43.) Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1983. xxiii + 232 pp. \$18.95.

Deals in depth with the authorship and integrity of the Epistle, the recipients and their city, place and date of writing, Paul's opponents and the false teachers at Philippi, Paul's purpose for writing to that church, and aspects of the christology of Philippians.

Henry, Carl F. H. *God, Revelation and Authority*. Vol. 6: *God Who Stands and*

Stays. Part 2. Waco, Texas: Word Books Publisher, 1983. 566 pp. \$19.95.

"Unless the study of biblical theology finds its rightful preeminence among the priorities of modern learning, there will be no authentic rescue or salvation for modern society." Evaluates current alternatives to the biblical view of God, such as existentialism, process theology, and humanism, pointing out that none of these can compensate for the loss of the biblical God.

James, T. G. H., ed. *Excavating in Egypt: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1882-1982*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press/London: British Museum Publications, 1982. 192 pp. Hardcover prices—\$22.00; £9.95.

This volume celebrates a hundred years' work of the Egypt Exploration Society in London. Essays describe the great expeditions and excavations, which resulted in enormous and wide-ranging discoveries. Richly illustrated.

Knight, George R., ed. *Early Adventist Educators*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1983. xv + 250 pp. \$9.95.

Through portrayal of eleven individuals who made a significant contribution to Adventist education, light is shed on the church's early educational struggles and challenges. The biographies treat James, Ellen, and Edson White, Goodloe Harper Bell, Sidney Brownsberger, John H. Kellogg, William Prescott, Edward Sutherland, Frederick Griggs, Percy Magan, and Anna Knight.

LaRondelle, Hans K. *Deliverance in the Psalms: Messages of Hope for Today*.

Berrien Springs, Mich.: First Impressions, 1983. vii + 210 pp. \$12.50/\$8.50.

A selection of eighteen psalms explained first from their own historical context and then also in the light of Christ and the NT. Four introductory chapters deal with the religious significance and poetic style and theology of the book of Psalms. "Intended for all Jews, Christians, and others who desire to better understand the psalms of Israel and would like to know how to pray and how to praise God more fully."

Neall, Beatrice S. *The Concept of Character in the Apocalypse, With Implications for Character Education*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. xii + 224 pp. \$21.50/\$10.75.

"This study analyzes the concept of character in the Apocalypse against a background of humanistic philosophy originating in Plato and Aristotle, noting in each system the concepts regarding the norm of character, the nature of man, the nature of good and evil, and the method of character development." Advocates a return from subjectivity to objective moral values, from secular humanism to a morality rooted in the biblical book of Revelation.

Singer, Karl H. *Die Metalle Gold, Silber, Bronze, Kupfer und Eisen im Alten Testament und ihre Symbolik*. (Forschung zur Bibel. Bd 43.) Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1980. 195 pp. Paperback, DM 39.00.

This dissertation on "The Metals Gold, Silver, Bronze, Copper, and Iron in the Old Testament and Their Symbolism" treats the subject from the viewpoint of literary symbolism.

A TRIBUTE TO MARTIN LUTHER

(1483-1546)

KENNETH A. STRAND

AUSS Editor



MARTIN LUTHER

(AFTER A PAINTING BY LUCAS CRANACH)

The current year 1983 marks the 500th anniversary of the birth of the famous Protestant Reformer Martin Luther (b. Nov. 10, 1483)—an event being celebrated by means of numerous conventions, seminars, and other special activities in many countries throughout the world. Reformation-Lands tours are highlighting Luther this year. And publications about the Reformer, prolific as these are year in and year out, appear to be in an upsurge in recognition of the Luther jubilee.

The *AUSS* staff wishes to join in the widespread tribute being given this year to honor the memory of this great religious leader of the sixteenth century, whose life has so profoundly and powerfully influenced subsequent history. In fact, it had earlier been our intent to make this current issue of *AUSS* a special Luther one, but several considerations led us to a decision to defer such an issue until 1984. Prominent among the reasons was our desire to capture as much as possible of the "Luther Year" to report to our readers. We plan to provide a brief review of a number of pieces of the more significant Luther literature of 1983 and to give a survey of "cutting edges" and "new directions" in Luther research as brought to light in some of the major conferences being held during this Luther quincentennial.

The Spring issue of *AUSS* will also contain several significant articles on various aspects of Luther's career and contributions, plus some special features (including a pictorial overview of the Reformer through fifteen portraits of him covering a span of some twenty-six years).

As we look forward to the more extensive treatment with which we will pay tribute to Martin Luther a few months hence, we wish also at this time to join the vast multitudes worldwide—representing such numerous nationalities and religious confessions—who are honoring a leader whose remarkable career has reached down through the centuries to touch us today in manifold ways.

Although Luther's contributions went far beyond the purely theological sphere (with, for example, significant input into the fields of education, philology, and music), there was always for the Reformer the centrality of a deep religious concern. As Luther specialists are coming more and more to learn, Luther's was a very practical and pastoral type of concern—the concern of a person exceedingly alert, sensitive, and alive to the times and to the specific needs around him.

Even a faint verbal portraiture of him is impossible here, but perhaps one glimpse of him as evidenced in one of his own writings may provide a fitting climax and conclusion to this "Tribute." The following is from the opening paragraphs of Luther's *Liberty of the Christian* of the year 1520 (as translated by W. A. Lambert and revised by Harold J. Grimm, in the American Edition of *Luther's Works*, 31 [Philadelphia, 1957]: 343-344):



LUTHER AS DEPICTED IN A WOODCUT FROM 1520

Many people have considered Christian faith an easy thing, and not a few have given it a place among the virtues. They do this because they have not experienced it and have never tasted the great strength there is in faith. It is impossible to write well about it or to understand what has been written about it unless one has at one time or another experienced the courage which faith gives a man when trials oppress him. But he who has had even a faint taste of it can never write, speak, meditate, or hear enough concerning it. It is a living "spring of water welling up to eternal life," as Christ calls it in John 4 [:14].

As for me, although I have no wealth of faith to boast of and know how scant my supply is, I nevertheless hope that I have attained to a little faith, even though I have been assailed by great and various temptations; and I hope that I can discuss it, if not more elegantly, certainly more to the point, than those literalists and subtle disputants have previously done, who have not even understood what they have written.

To make the way smoother for the unlearned—for only them do I serve—I shall set down the following two propositions concerning the freedom and the bondage of the spirit:

A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none.

A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.

These two theses seem to contradict each other. If, however, they should be found to fit together they would serve our purpose beautifully. Both are Paul's own statements, who says in I Cor. 9 [:19], "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all," and in Rom. 13 [:8], "Owe no one anything, except to love one another." Love by its very nature is ready to serve and be subject to him who is loved. So Christ, although he was Lord of all, was "born of woman, born under the law" [Gal. 4:4], and therefore was at the same time a free man and a servant, "in the form of God" and "of a servant" [Phil. 2:6-7].

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

- = a	וּ, י (vocal shewa) = e	· = o
ֵ = ā	וּ, יֵ = ē	וּ = o
ִ = a	יְ = i	יִ = o
ֶ = e	יִ = i	יֵ = u
ֶ = ē	יֵ = o	יֵ = u

(Dāgēs 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>Beihfte zur ZAW</i>
ADAJ <i>Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</i>	BZBW <i>Beihfte zur ZNW</i>
AER <i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	CAD <i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
AJO <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>Apoec. 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>	Enclsl <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>
BCSR <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>	RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
JAOS	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.</i>	RevQ	<i>Revue de Quémér</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>	RevScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.</i>	RevSém	<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>	SBLMSB	<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>
JReIS	<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>Semitica</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>	TGL	<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>
NovT	<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 attes. Wiss.</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische 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-Encycl.</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>	ZRGW	<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>		