ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and brief
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geography, ancient history, church history, systematic theology,
philosophy of religion, ethics, history of religions, missiology, and
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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

DEDICATED TO

LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

A NOTE ABOUT THIS ISSUE OF *AUSS*

The present issue of *AUSS* is dedicated to, and presented in honor of, our esteemed colleague Leona Glidden Running. Although perhaps not in every respect a *Festschrift*, it probably comes as close to such as we will ever publish. The articles—about twice the number in a regular issue—have all been solicited and prepared with the *specific* intent of honoring Leona, and they therefore represent various areas of her special interest and expertise: biblical studies, biblical and cognate languages, Near Eastern antiquity, and archaeology in the Bible lands. The "Book Notices" (an enlarged section in this issue of *AUSS* to compensate for the omission of "Book Reviews") constitutes the one part of this publication that does not relate fully or specifically to the areas of Leona's special interests.

Unfortunately, all persons who would have liked to contribute articles for this issue of *AUSS* were not able to do so—either because of their own time constraints or because of our publication schedule. Our endeavor, nonetheless, has been to provide a selection of studies that would both reflect Leona's scholarly interests and include as authors a fair representation of biblical scholars with whom she has had contact. Some of the authors are, or have been, colleagues on the Seminary faculty; and several of these are also former students of hers. Others, while neither her students nor Seminary colleagues, are long-time acquaintances in the field of biblical and Near Eastern studies. In the last group, David Noel Freedman of the University of Michigan may be especially mentioned for his having collaborated with her in the publication of a definitive biography of William Foxwell Albright (see p. 5 below).

The original suggestion to honor Leona with a special issue of *AUSS* came from Associate Editor Lawrence T. Geraty, at the time when he was a colleague on the Seminary faculty. It was my intent to leave this project largely in his hands, until such was made impossible by his acceptance of the heavy responsibilities of the presidency of Atlantic Union College in South Lancaster, Massachusetts. For his continuing interest and support, including his own article published herein, I am grateful. And special thanks must go, as well, to William H. Shea, not only for his essay, but for contacts he made with some of the other authors and for help in the editorial procedures; and to George R. Knight, who took the oversight of the editorial process when some of the manuscripts were arriving during my absence from campus last summer. To the other *AUSS* staff members who worked so faithfully to make this issue possible, and especially to all the contributors of essays, I wish, too, to express my deepest appreciation.

Initially, several of the authors included dedications to Leona in their manuscripts. For the sake of style consistency, these dedications have been omitted—especially since the intent of this issue is that *all of the articles* are dedicated to her. However, as a fitting close to this introductory note, the tribute from Lawrence Geraty in his manuscript on "Hezekiah's Lachish" may be quoted here as representing the sentiment of us all. After indicating that it was in Leona Running's Hebrew courses that he "first gained access to the linguistic tools so essential to scholarly research," Geraty added: "It is therefore a privilege for me to provide this review of an important archaeological site in Professor Running's beloved Israel for a collection of essays in honor of a remarkable teacher, colleague, and friend."

—Kenneth A. Strand
Editor

LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

A TRIBUTE TO LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING AND SKETCH
OF HER SCHOLARLY CAREER

Leona Glidden Running is the only member of the *AUSS* staff who has served this journal in an official capacity continuously ever since its founding 25 years ago. And that *longevity* of service has also been characterized by the utmost in *faithfulness* and *competence*. Indeed, how frequently in her busy schedule has she made time to read, evaluate, and copy-edit manuscripts or to check and correct galley proofs and page proofs—often on the very short notice that characterizes certain stages in our editorial process! And her broad competence in both modern and ancient languages, her editorial expertise, and the care and indefatigability with which she always pursues her work have made, and continue to make, her input to *AUSS* immeasurable.

We must take note here also of a few of the other highlights in her outstanding scholarly career. With a college major in French and minors in German, English, and Education, she had her first academic appointment at Laurelwood Academy in Gaston, Oregon, from 1937 to 1941, teaching French and German. For the last three of those years she also served as the school's librarian.

She then moved to Glendale, California, where in 1942 she married Leif H. Running, whose untimely death in 1946 brought a sudden tragic end to this happy and meaningful relationship. During the years from 1942 to 1950, she served in Glendale and elsewhere in various capacities wherein she could put to good use her language, secretarial, educational, and editorial skills. She was responsible, for instance, for Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Italian scripts for Voice-of-Prophecy radio broadcasts; and she also prepared various religious study materials in German. From 1950 to 1954 she served as copy editor for *Ministry* magazine, headquartered in the Washington, D.C., area. It was during the latter year that she decided to do advanced study in Biblical Greek and Hebrew at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in Takoma Park, Maryland. Upon completion of her Master of Arts program in 1955, she joined the teaching staff of the Seminary as a teacher of biblical languages, and she has served this institution ever since—first in Takoma Park until 1960, and thereafter in Berrien Springs, Michigan. (In 1959-60, the Seminary and its affiliated Graduate School of Potomac University made a two-stage move to Berrien Springs, merging with Emmanuel Missionary College to become Andrews University.)

Leona earned her Ph.D. in Semitic Languages in 1964 at Johns Hopkins University, where she had the privilege of acquaintance with the world-renowned archaeologist and orientalist, William Foxwell Albright. During the academic year 1965-66, she was privileged to serve

as Albright's research and editorial assistant during a leave of absence granted her for this purpose by Andrews University.

Although Professor Running's main contributions have been in the field of biblical languages (her doctoral dissertation was on Syriac manuscripts, and her Seminary teaching has concentrated on Biblical Greek, Biblical Hebrew, Syriac, Akkadian, Egyptian, and other ancient languages), she has also taken an active interest in archaeology of the Middle East. Among her Seminary courses have been some dealing with archaeological exploration in the Bible lands, and her publications include travel and archaeology titles, such as *36 Days and a Dream* (1952) and *From Thames to Tigris* (1958). Perhaps her most outstanding published work is the authoritative and definitive biography of Albright, entitled *William Foxwell Albright: A Twentieth-Century Genius* (New York: The Two Continents Publishing Group, Ltd./Morgan Press, 1975)—a major undertaking in which David Noel Freedman collaborated. (This hardback volume of nearly 450 pages [list price, $15.00] is currently available through Andrews University Press, Bell Hall, Berrien Springs, MI 49104, at the special price of $9.95.)

Another area in which Leona has made outstanding contributions is that of "Women in Church and Society," and in 1981 she donated her sizable collection of materials on that subject to the Adventist Heritage Center, an archive and research center in the James White Library of Andrews University. This collection includes some 85 published books and pamphlets, 40 cassette tapes, and 70 folders of newspaper and magazine clippings, manuscripts, and other items. It is a valuable resource, which she continues to update.

It was also in 1981 that Dr. Running "retired" from her long and distinguished career of teaching at the Seminary, as Professor Emerita of Biblical Languages. Nonetheless, she still teaches Seminary courses on a part-time basis, is in demand by doctoral students for their dissertation committees, and continues her much-needed and much-appreciated service for *AUSS*.

On the immediately following pages of this issue of *AUSS*, we include two further tributes to Leona—one by *AUSS* founding editor Siegfried H. Horn (also a former dean of the Seminary) and the other by current Seminary Dean Gerhard F. Hasel. As editor, I wish to extend herewith my own personal appreciation and thanks to her for her excellent service. In doing so, I know I express also the sentiment of all the colleagues, both past and present, who have been privileged to associate with her on the Seminary faculty and on the *AUSS* staff.

—Kenneth A. Strand
Editor

A NOTE OF APPRECIATION FROM *AUSS'* FIRST EDITOR

It is a real honor to be asked to express appreciation to Dr. Leona Glidden Running, a coworker, colleague, and friend, who during the first twelve years of the life of *Andrews University Seminary Studies* was one of my main assistants in my editorial work on the young scholarly journal. As I tried to establish *AUSS* as a respected and reputable vehicle of communication of the biblical, theological, and archaeological work carried out by the faculty, and by former and current students and friends of the Seventh-day Adventist Seminary, Leona was a faithful adviser, an ever-ready consultant, and a willing helper in reading, evaluating, and editing articles that were submitted for publication.

I want to join the present editor, therefore, in thanking Dr. Running for what she did for the journal and for me, and for what she has continued to do for *AUSS* to the present day. And I wish her many more years of fruitful association with a journal that during its life of two dozen years must have grown close to her heart and undoubtedly has become a beloved child of hers which she has helped to nurture to maturity.

—Siegfried H. Horn
Jerusalem, Israel

A NOTE OF APPRECIATION FROM THE SEMINARY DEAN

It is a special privilege to contribute a few words in appreciation to a most outstanding teacher, colleague, church woman, and friend, Dr. Leona Glidden Running.

It was my grand opportunity over a quarter of a century ago to have Dr. Running introduce me to Biblical Hebrew while I was a graduate student at the Seminary. Her indefatigable enthusiasm in teaching this language has instilled a deep and lasting love for it in my heart as well as in the hearts of unnumbered Seminarians over the years. Dr. Running's seemingly inexhaustible knowledge of the comparative relationships of ancient Near Eastern Semitic languages and their developments have awed students time and again and given evidence of the larger connections of Biblical Hebrew with its sister languages. Dr. Running has endeared herself also to students and colleagues for her expeditious and speedy editorial help when such assistance was needed for papers, reports, scholarly manuscripts, books, theses, and dissertations. Who could have had a better editor, with professional skills in this area and additionally the knowledge of more than a dozen languages, both ancient and modern? There is truly only

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one Dr. Running. We are grateful that she still is active as a teacher, counselor, and editor, after formally retiring in 1981, at which time she was honored as the first Seminary female faculty member to become Professor Emerita.

AUSS and the Seminary could not be what they are without Dr. Running. Andrews University as a whole would be impoverished had she not left a lasting stamp on all of us who were and are her students and who are serving with her at this institution of excellence as well as in church and society at large. As dean, I consider it a distinct honor to extend to Leona my own personal appreciation for distinguished service and lasting inspiration; and on behalf of faculty, staff, and students, I wish her God's continued blessing.

—Gerhard F. Hasel
Dean

HEADINGS IN THE BOOKS OF THE
EIGHTH-CENTURY PROPHETS

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The present essay is part of a larger contemplated study of the headings or opening lines of several biblical books, and what they can tell us about the purpose and process of scriptural redaction and publication. The project at hand involves an examination of the headings of the four books of the eighth-century prophets, listed in the order in which we find them in the Hebrew Bible: Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah.[1]

With slight but significant variations, the headings are formulaic in character, follow the same pattern, and contain the same or corresponding items of information. If we set the introductory lines side by side or organize them in tabular form, as we do on pp. 10-11, we can recognize at a glance both the formulary and the divergences in detail.

1. *Structure of the Headings*

The headings consist basically of two parts, each of which may have a varying number of subdivisions or extensions. Thus, the heading proper consists of a phrase in the form of a construct chain containing two words, the first defining the experience of the prophet

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[1]Most of the headings (or titles) of the prophetic books in the Hebrew Bible, while sharing similar elements, show remarkable diversity. The headings of the eighth-century prophets compared with the other prophetic headings show sufficient similarity to suggest that they were shaped by a common editorial tradition. For a general discussion of the content and structure of the headings of the eighth-century prophets as they compare with the headings of the later prophets, see F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Hosea*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY, 1980), pp. 143-149.

or the core of divine revelation, while the second, the absolute, identifies either the prophet himself, or the source of revelation, Yahweh. The opening phrase is then followed by one or two relative clauses, introduced by the relative particle, ᵃšer. The clausal verbs are hāyâ and hāzâ, with either one or both used to qualify the initial phrase.

The second major component consists of the chronological indicator, which in this period is linked with the reigning kings of Judah and Israel. The opening word in every case is bîmê ("in the days of. . . ."; i.e., "during the reign of . . ."), followed by the names of the kings during whose reigns the prophet was active. Unlike the headings of later prophets such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the specific years are not mentioned. In every case, the appropriate kings of Judah are mentioned or listed, and in two cases the contemporary king of Israel is also given. In one case, an additional chronological datum is offered (Amos 1:1). We may set out the headings according to the following plan:

PART I: HEADING PROPER

A. Isaiah

   1. ḥᵃzôn yᵉšaᶜyāhû
      ben-ᵓāmôṣ
                      The vision of Isaiah
                         ben Amoz,

   2. - - - - -   - - - - -

   3. ᵓᵃšer hāzâ ᶜal-yᵉhûḏâ
      wîrûšālāyim
                       which he saw concerning
                        Judah and Jerusalem.

B. Hosea

   1. dᵉbar yhwh   The word of Yahweh,

   2. ᵓᵃšer hāyâ ᵓel-hôšēaᶜ
      ben-bᵉᵓērî
                       which came to Hosea
                       ben-Beeri.

   3. - - - - -   - - - - -

C. Amos

   1. dibrê ᶜāmôs   The story of Amos

   2. ᵓᵃšer hāyâ bannōqᵉḏîm
      mittᵉqôaᶜ
                       who was among the cattlemen
                       from Tekoa,

   3. ᵓᵃšer hāzâ
      ᶜal-yiśrāᵓēl
                       who had visions
                       concerning Israel.

D. Micah

1. *dᵉbar yhwh*	The word of Yahweh,
2. *ᵃšer hāyâ ᵓel-mîkâ* *hammōraštî*	which came to Micah the Morashtite,
. . . .	. . . .
3. *ᵃšer hāzâ ᶜal-* *šōmᵉrôn wîrûšālāyim*	who had visions concerning Samaria and Jerusalem.

PART II: CHRONOLOGICAL INDICATOR

A. Isaiah

1. *bîmê ᶜuzziyyāhû yôṭām*
    ᵓāhāz yᵉhizqiyyāhû
    malkê yᵉhûdâ
	In the days of Uzziah, Jotham,
	Ahaz, Hezekiah,
	the kings of Judah

2. - - - - -	- - - - -

B. Hosea

1. *bîmê ᶜuzziyyâ*
    yôṭām ᵓāhāz yᵉhizqiyyâ
    malkê yᵉhûdâ
	In the days of Uzziah,
	Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah,
	the kings of Judah;

2. *ûbîmê*
    yārobᶜām ben-yôᵓāš
    melek yiśrāᵓēl
	and in the days of
	Jeroboam ben-Joash,
	the king of Israel

C. Amos

1. *bîmê ᶜuzziyyâ* *melek-yᵉhûdâ*	In the days of Uzziah the king of Judah;

2. *ûbîmê*
    yārobᶜām ben-yôᵓāš
    melek yiśrāᵓēl
	and in the days of
	Jeroboam ben-Joash,
	the king of Israel,

3. *šᵉnāṯayim lipnê hārāᶜaš*	two years before the earthquake.

D. Micah

1. *bîmê yôṭām ᵓāhāz* *yᵉhizqiyyâ malkê yᵉhûdâ*	In the days of Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, the kings of Judah
2. - - - - -	- - - - -

Notes to Part I

1. With regard to the opening phrase, Hosea and Micah have the traditional *dᵉbar yhwh*, while Isaiah and Amos specify the name of the prophet after the initial word *hzwn* or *dbry*.

2. With regard to the $^{\supca}$šer clauses, Amos and Micah have both $^{\supca}$šr hyh and $^{\supca}$šr ḥzh, although in Micah the second subordinate clause comes at the end of the unit after the chronological indicator rather than before. Isaiah has only the $^{\supca}$šr ḥzh clause (like Amos and Micah), while Hosea has only the $^{\supca}$šr hyh clause, corresponding to Micah in this respect. It may be noted that while Amos has the same basic pattern as the others, the details vary more widely from the others, and the verb hyh requires a different rendering.

Notes to Part II

1. All four prophets are dated according to the sequence of Judahite kings. In the cases of Hosea and Amos we also have synchronisms with a king of Israel. In the case of Amos, a third datum is offered, the only specification of years by number, i.e., "two years before the earthquake."

2. A curious feature of the king lists is the omission of the conjunction ("and") between the names of the kings of Judah, as though they were copied directly from an official list or docket. The fact that this feature is common to all of the headings, along with the repetition of formulas and the general patterns, suggests that the headings in their present form are the work of a single editor or compiler.[2]

3. We may note further that there is a divergence in the spelling of two of the names in the list of the kings of Judah: Uzziah and Hezekiah. In both cases the Book of Isaiah preserves the long form of the names, while in the three minor prophets the names are consistently shortened:

ISAIAH	MINOR PROPHETS
ʿuzziyyāhû	ʿuzziyyâ
yᵉḥizqiyyāhû	yᵉḥizqiyyâ

This divergence does not reflect a difference in authorship or editing, but rather the separate development in the spelling of words in these books.

[2]The lists of the kings of Judah in the headings of the eighth-century prophets appear with the conjunction omitted between each king (with the exception of Amos, which mentions only one Judahite king) and are preceded by the noun yᵉmê in the construct. Compare this with a similar list in the heading of the book of Jeremiah, where the construct yᵉmê is repeated before each king. The use of one construct noun coordinated with a series of kings, along with the designation of the group as a whole as "kings of Judah," gives the impression that the editor considered the successive reigns as one era. It is noteworthy that the kings of Judah serve as the primary chronological reference point both for the northern prophets (Amos and Hosea) and for the Judahite prophets (Isaiah and Micah). For further discussion of the evidence for common editorship, see Andersen and Freedman, pp. 146-147.

As can now be confirmed from inscriptional evidence, the longer spelling reflects the older original form of these names correctly preserved in the Book of Isaiah. The shorter spelling reflects post-exilic developments, as represented by similar names in seals and other inscribed materials. The preserved orthography is consistent with what we know of the books (= scrolls) in question.[3]

2. *Orthographical Considerations*

The scroll of the Minor Prophets exhibits a consistent pattern of very late orthography, including numerous examples of the latest developments in the Bible. Its transmission history is quite different from that of the Book of Isaiah, the first edition of which can be associated with the prophet of that name and may have been produced as early as the end of the eighth century or shortly thereafter. In this compilation we find as we expect the name of the prophet and the names of the kings spelled out in full in accordance with pre-exilic practice. That spelling has been preserved in the MT of Isaiah.[4]

A further, similar example of early and late spelling can be cited as well: The name of King David is spelled with three letters (*dwd*) in the Book of Isaiah, while the predominant spelling in the Minor

[3]For a historical discussion of the long (*-yhw*) and the short (*-yh*) spellings of the divine element in personal names, see D. N. Freedman and M. O'Connor, "YHWH," in *TDOT* 5:501, 506-508. The most recent and exhaustive study of biblical spelling can be found in F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*, Dahood Memorial Lecture (Rome, 1986), pp. 315-316. They conclude that the spelling in the Latter Prophets is less conservative than in the Primary History but more conservative than in the Writings. While there is variation between the individual books of the Major Prophets (and in the case of Isaiah, between chaps. 1-39 and 40-66), the orthography of the Major Prophets is more conservative than that of the Minor Prophets, which is characterized by spellings consistent with the Second-Temple period and which show a "remarkable homogeneity in their spelling" (ibid., p. 315).

[4]The consistency of the spelling in the Minor Prophets, although individually coming from quite different time periods, strongly suggests that the spelling throughout reflects the date of publication (Second-Temple period) of the composite work—which cannot antedate the latest individual book. The more conservative spellings of Isaiah argue for an earlier publication date, preserving the spellings of the time which would have been maintained through the centuries and preserved in the MT. See D. N. Freedman, "The Spelling of the Name 'David' in the Hebrew Bible," *Hebrew Annual Review* 7 (1983): 99-100; and Andersen and Forbes, pp. 315-316.

Prophets (including some of the eighth-century prophets) is with four letters (*dwyd*). Just so, the evidence from other books of the Bible is that the three-letter spelling is archaic and pre-exilic, while the four-letter spelling was introduced in post-exilic times.[5]

We draw the following conclusions from the textual and orthographic evidence for the headings of these four books:

1. The headings belong to the same genre, use the same formulas, and reflect a common authorship, or were written under the same direction. There is every reason to believe that the headings were composed in connection with the initial publication of the books and that in their original form they belong to the pre-exilic period, perhaps as early as the end of the eighth century or more likely the first decade of the seventh century.

2. In the transmission of the text, there is an important orthographic divergence between the heading of the Book of Isaiah and those of the three Minor Prophets. The former retains the authentic pre-exilic spelling of two of the royal names (*ᶜuzziyyāhû* and *yᵉḥizqiyyāhû*), while the latter exhibit the shorter post-exilic spelling of the same names (*ᶜuzziyyâ* and *yᵉḥizqiyyâ*). Generally, the scroll of the Minor Prophets in the MT reflects a very late orthographic style, while Masoretic Isaiah is both more moderate and earlier.[6]

3. *Chronological Considerations*

Our next concern is with the chronological information in the four headings. The only significant differences are with the number and distribution of the royal names, and to a consideration of these we will now turn. For the sake of convenience we will set the data in

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[5]E.g., all 572 occurrences of the name "David" in the books of Samuel are defective (three-letter spelling), while the 271 occurrences in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles are *plene* (four-letter spelling). See n. 3, above. For a detailed statistical discussion, see Freedman, pp. 89-104, and Andersen and Forbes, pp. 4-6.

[6]Freedman, pp. 99-100, and Andersen and Forbes, pp. 315-316.

tabular form so that the congruences and divergences will be imme-
diately apparent:

ISAIAH	HOSEA	AMOS	MICAH
bîmê	*bîmê*	*bîmê*	*bîmê*
ʿuzziyyāhû	*ʿuzziyyâ*	*ʿuzziyyâ*	- - - - -
yôṭām	*yôṭām*	- - - - -	*yôṭām*
ʾāḥāz	*ʾāḥāz*	- - - - -	*ʾāḥāz*
yᵉḥizqiyyāhû	*yᵉḥizqiyyâ*	- - - - -	*yᵉḥizqiyyâ*
malkê	*malkê*	*melek*	*malkê*
yᵉhûḏâ	*yᵉhûḏâ*	*yᵉhûḏâ*	*yᵉhûḏâ*
	ûḇîmê	*ûḇîmê*	
	yāroḇʿām	*yāroḇʿām*	
	ben-yôʾāš	*ben-yôʾāš*	
	melek	*melek*	
	yiśrāʾēl	*yiśrāʾēl*	
		(šenāṭayim	
		lipnê	
		hārāʿaš)	

Two impressions arise immediately from consideration of this
table or chart: (1) The first is how very much alike the headings are
and how extensively they overlap. Except for the unique reference to
the earthquake as a chronological marker in Amos, all of the other
data are duplicated at least once. Thus, the names of the four
Judahite kings occur three times each, and two of the four lists of
these kings are the same (Isaiah and Hosea). The single Israelite
king is mentioned twice (in Hosea and Amos). (2) The second
impression is that in spite of the formulaic similarities and the
repetition of common elements, no two texts are exactly the same.
Each text is different from every other.

The first of the foregoing factors was to be expected in view of
the overlapping contents of the books of these prophets and the
apparent effort on the part of compilers and editors to organize the

information into some unified structure or pattern. The latter fea-
ture, however, shows that the headings were tailored or shaped for
the individual prophets to reflect both the time and circumstances of
their ministries and careers. By comparing the texts carefully we can
infer and deduce a variety of propositions concerning this group of
prophets. In other words, we are encouraged and obliged to take
seriously and in detail both what is included and what has been
excluded in connection with each prophetic heading.[7]

We will make some general observations first, to be followed by
more detailed proposals:

1. While the lists of Judahite kings dominate the headings in
terms both of quantity and priority (i.e., they always come first), the
presence of an Israelite king in two of the lists provides a partial
synchronism (there is an overlap between Jeroboam II of Israel and
Uzziah of Judah, but it is universally agreed among scholars that the
latter outlived the former), thus helping to define the period of the
prophets' work. Also, it gives information about the place in which
the prophet carried out his commission from Yahweh. Thus, we
interpret the reference to Jeroboam of Israel in Hosea and Amos to
mean that both prophets uttered oracles and performed their pro-
phetic task in the northern kingdom during the reign of Jeroboam,
and by inference not after his reign. Had they continued in the
northern realm after Jeroboam's death, then reference would have
been made to successor kings of the latter, e.g., Zechariah, Shallum,
Menahem, etc. Such inferences are generally confirmed by the con-
tents of the books mentioned, and no one has ever seriously doubted
that Amos and Hosea conducted prophetic missions in the north,
i.e., carried out their prophetic activity in the kingdom of Israel. If,
however, we take the headings at face value, then we must also affirm
that overlapping with such activities and/or subsequent to their
work in the north, they carried out their prophetic mission in the
southern kingdom as well—Amos during the reign of Uzziah, while
Hosea, along with the remaining prophets in our lists, continued

    [7]Andersen and Freedman, p. 144, provide a list of eight distinct features that may
be included in the prophetic headings of all of the Hebrew prophets: "1) A name for
the work; 2) The prophet's name; 3) The prophet's patronymic; 4) His hometown;
5) A reference to his call, however vague; 6) A time of his activity; 7) A precise date (of
his call or first oracle); 8) The subject matter of his prophecy." Although the headings
of the four eighth-century prophets demonstrate enough similarities—in view of the
variety made possible by these eight elements—to conclude a common editorial
tradition, the variations (both additions and deletions) are also quite apparent and
should be carefully analyzed.

into the reign of Hezekiah. What this information indicates is that the books of these prophets were developed and processed in the southern kingdom and reached their published form under Judahite and possible royal sponsorship.

2. The lists not only define the broad limits of this period of prophetic activity, but they also provide clues to the specific scope of the individual prophets within the larger range. Thus, the entire period extends from the overlapping reigns of Jeroboam in the north and Uzziah in the south into the reign of Hezekiah, a time span of perhaps 100 years, from ca. 790 to ca. 690.[8]

If we look at the king lists in the headings, the principal difference is in the number of kings mentioned. They range from two (Amos) to five (Hosea), with no two headings exactly the same: e.g., Micah has three and Isaiah has four. If we arrange the kings in tabular form we can recognize immediately the correspondences and the divergences. We follow the order of the books in the Hebrew Bible:

	ISAIAH	HOSEA	AMOS	MICAH
Judah:	Uzziah	Uzziah	Uzziah	- - - - -
	Jotham	Jotham	- - - - -	Jotham
	Ahaz	Ahaz	- - - - -	Ahaz
	Hezekiah	Hezekiah	- - - - -	Hezekiah
Israel:		Jeroboam II	Jeroboam II	

It will be noted at once that Hosea's list is the only complete one, and that it encompasses all the others. That fact may explain why Hosea is placed first among the Minor Prophets.

While the order of the books is broadly chronological in the sense that the earlier books are toward the front and the later books are toward the back (e.g., the three eighth-century prophets are among the first six, or in the front half [Hosea is no. 1; Amos, no. 3;

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[8]There are substantial differences in the dates assigned by various scholars to these kings, and it cannot be said that a consensus has been reached: e.g., Albright's dates would be from 786 (Jeroboam II) to 687 (death of Hezekiah), while Thiele's would be from 793/2 to 687/6, and Tadmor's from 790(?) to 696(?). These differences do not seriously affect the calculations in this essay, so I have adopted a compromise position as indicated. Within those broad limits we can place the four prophets in chronological order, assigning them positions in relation to each other and also against the actual dates deducible for the reigns specified.

and Micah, no. 6], and the three sixth/fifth-century prophets are at
the end of the group: Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi [nos. 10-12]), it
has generally been agreed that Amos is earlier than Hosea, and that
such a conclusion is readily deducible from the contents of the two
books and comparison with information provided elsewhere in the
Hebrew Bible (e.g., Kings). Furthermore, our examination of the
headings conforms to the order: Amos preceding Hosea, rather than
the other way around. So why are they reversed in the traditional
arrangement in the scroll of the Minor Prophets? The answer would
seem to be that the order is not precisely chronological and another
concern or interest has supervened in the order of the books.

What the heading suggests or implies is that Hosea is the key
figure in the group and that his ministry overlapped with all of the
others, and that he may at some time or other have had contact with
them. We may even speculate that he had an important part in the
compilation and assembly of the materials that went into the four
books. In passing, we may add that the evidence of the heading
suggests that Hosea departed from Israel during the reign of Jero-
boam and was domiciled in the south during the reigns of the four
successive Davidides in our list. Clearly there are parts of the book
that reflect circumstances and events in the north and probably the
south that post-date the era of Jeroboam (e.g., the revolving-door
series of kings following the death of Jeroboam), and it is widely
agreed that Hosea's ministry extended down to the times of crisis in
Israel. His location and his relation to the southern kingdom remain
obscure, however; but in my opinion, some connection on his part
with the south is unavoidable.

If we then compare the list in the heading of Hosea with those
for Amos and Micah, we note that the lists in Amos and Micah
together form a list exactly equivalent to that of Hosea. Amos has
Uzziah and Jeroboam, the first and last in Hosea's list, while Micah
contains the three intervening kings: Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah.
Thus, for the three minor prophets we have two complete lists, one
in Hosea and the other distributed between the other two prophets.
It is clear that Amos and Micah were active in different periods and
did not overlap; on a professional basis, at least, there was no contact
between them. After Hosea, the order in the group is chronological:
Amos preceded Micah.

Isaiah spans a period very much like that of Micah, the only
difference being that presumably Isaiah's ministry began while

Uzziah was still alive, even if barely so, whereas Micah's ministry began after Uzziah's death, when Jotham was sole king. Isaiah could also have been a prime mover in organizing the collection and publication of the literature under consideration.

On the basis of the information provided, we can put the prophets in the following order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah. Amos and Hosea were both active during the reigns of Jeroboam and Uzziah, so they belong in the earlier part of the period under consideration. Isaiah's ministry apparently began at, or toward the end of, the reign of Uzziah.

If we take Isa 6 to be Isaiah's inaugural vision (still the prevailing opinion among scholars), then Isaiah's formal career as a prophet began in the year of Uzziah's death. That Micah belongs at the end of the list is clear from the fact that the first king in his list is Jotham, the successor of Uzziah. It is true that Jotham ruled as co-regent while his father Uzziah was still alive, but during that period Uzziah continued to be recognized as reigning, even if not ruling; therefore, Uzziah would have been mentioned in Micah's heading if in fact Micah had been active while Uzziah was still alive.

When it comes to terminal dates, we note that for three of the prophets (Isaiah, Hosea, Micah) the lists end with Hezekiah, while for the remaining one (Amos) the limits are more circumscribed, with only Uzziah and Jeroboam being mentioned. Clearly Amos' career was considerably shorter than that of the others, a conclusion consistent with the biographical and other information in the book itself.

The relative periods of prophetic activity of the four prophets can now be set forth in the following way:

	Jeroboam Uzziah	Jotham	Ahaz	Hezekiah
Amos	- - - - - -			
Hosea	- -			
Isaiah		- -		
Micah			- -	

Two points become apparent upon inspection of this diagram:

1. The terminal date for prophetic activity for three of these books is in the reign of Hezekiah. That fact is not only important in its own right, but

may offer helpful clues in resolving the question of the occasion and reason for the compilation of the collection of the eighth-century prophets.

2. The case of the heading of the Book of Amos is exceptional, limiting his ministry to the overlapping reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah. The terminal date for Amos' prophetic activity and the completion of his book (or the production of a version of the book bearing his name) must lie in the reign of Uzziah, much earlier than the presumed date for the other three books. This unusual aspect of the Book of Amos must be associated with the unique added item about the earthquake, which provides another clue to the date of the book. The earthquake in question—obviously a major one with significant impact on at least one population center—occurred during the reign of Uzziah, as we know from the reference to it in the Book of Zechariah (14:5), and it serves as a fulcrum or pivot for the Book of Amos.

The implication of the statements in Amos 1:1 is that the book of Amos (= dibrê ʿāmôs) was published after the earthquake occurred, but that it contained only oracles and other materials uttered or compiled up to two years before that event. It may be suspected that the dramatic confrontation between priest and prophet at the Temple in Bethel took place on the earlier occasion, and that the earthquake occurred two years later. During that period, the oracles or stories were assembled, with whatever materials may have been added, and the collection as a whole was then published shortly afterwards. Thus, it was the earthquake that provided the occasion for the publication and vindication of the oracles and predictions of the prophet.

It is in the fifth vision (Amos 9:1-5, esp. vs. 1) that we find the forecast of the coming seismic tremor which validated Amos as an authentic prophet and verified a particular vision and prophetic utterance. The Book of Amos therefore was the first of this group (or in fact, of the whole collection of prophetic works) to be issued in written form—precisely because of the unusual circumstances surrounding the visions and the sudden confirmation of the prophetic prediction by a violent manifestation of nature.

4. *The Process of Compilation and Publication*

We can then consider the process of compilation and publication of the other three prophetic works in the light of the proposed account of the production of the Book of Amos. According to our analysis of the three other headings, the prophets completed their active careers during the reign of Hezekiah; or, put another way, there is no evidence of prophetic activity on their part during the reign of Hezekiah's son and successor Manasseh. While it is perfectly possible that one or more of these prophets lived or lingered on into the next reign, as seems to be the case with Isaiah (if we can credit the legends recorded or reflected in intertestamental works such as

The Lives of the Prophets; or a suggested NT reference in Heb 11:37, where mention of prophets or martyrs being sawn asunder is interpreted as an allusion to the martyrdom of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh), that in itself would not be in conflict with the view taken here.

If we have interpreted correctly the implication of the headings of these prophetic works, then we must consider both the reasons and occasions for the termination of the prophetic activity at that time, and also both the reason and occasion for the compilation of a collection of such prophetic materials.

I believe the answer is to be found in one of the books in question, in particular in the stories that round out First Isaiah, the collection of oracles and stories that make up the bulk of chaps. 1-39 of that book. I would exclude from the collection only chaps. 34-35 as belonging to Second (or Third) Isaiah, and argue that First Isaiah was a literary product of the First-Temple period or more particularly the Exile, a work close in character and time of publication to the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but especially Jeremiah, which also concludes with a chapter drawn from, or parallel to, the account in 2 Kings. While there are notable expansions and other differences separating Isa 36-39 from the corresponding section of 2 Kings (18:13-20:19), the connections or correlations are so close, not only in content, but also verbally that a common undertaking in compilation and publication must be acknowledged.

In this account of the reign of Hezekiah, the central and decisive event is the invasion of the land by Sennacherib and the resultant siege of the capital city, Jerusalem. Without examining either the problems of the narrative or exploring the numerous details, we can say that the high and culminating point is the miraculous deliverance of the city, an outcome in which the prophet, Isaiah, is credited with a major role. In response to the king's prayer in behalf of the nation and the city, Isaiah brings the assurance of Yahweh that the invasion will fail, the siege will be lifted, and the city and the king will be spared (Isa 37 = 2 Kgs 18). Shortly thereafter the prophecy became fact, although the details are confusing and the biblical accounts do not present a consistent picture. With the help of the detailed Assyrian records of the same event, the following seem to be the central and verifiable facts in the case:

Sennacherib and his armies responded to Hezekiah's rebellion by overrunning the land and investing the city of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, and in spite of accepted and standard Assyrian procedure in

such cases, the Assyrian army did not capture the city of Jerusalem, and the rebellious king Hezekiah was not deposed nor was his dynasty terminated. Instead, Hezekiah paid a huge indemnity, thus acknowledging his status and role as vassal of the Assyrian king.

While the outcome does not qualify as a victory for Judah or as a rout of the king of Assyria, the deliverance of the city and the royal house was certainly worth a prayer of thanksgiving and the recognition that the nation had been spared by a compassionate deity. This was the view of the incident a century later when Jeremiah reported on it (Jer 26:18-19). The main point was that because Hezekiah and the people had repented in all earnestness, Yahweh also repented of the evil he intended against them and reversed his decision, and so the city and kingdom were spared. In the passage in Jeremiah, the ominous prediction by Micah about the fate of Jerusalem was quoted as a conditional threat, providing reason or occasion for the subsequent repentance on the part of king and people, which in turn induced divine repentance and the deliverance of the city. We can understand, therefore, why the prophecies of Micah would be brought into the collection of prophetic works in which this central or decisive event was presented.

It is my suggestion that the collection of the books of the four prophets was assembled during the reign of Hezekiah, to celebrate and interpret the extraordinary sequence of events associated with the Assyrian invasion of Judah and investment of Jerusalem, along with the departure of the Assyrian army and the deliverance of the city. While giving due attention to the roles of the two local prophets and their oracular utterances, the compiler(s) also recognized that the sparing of Jerusalem in 701 was only the final act, the climactic note at the end of a long and theologically significant series of events. During this period the parallels and contrasts between the two capital cities, Samaria and Jerusalem, were in constant view and under continued discussion and debate.

In all four of the prophetic books here under consideration, these two cities, representing their respective nations, were under severe scrutiny. In general, they were attacked as centers of sin and placed under the same divine judgment. It is a typical feature of eighth-century prophecy (followed by Jeremiah and Ezekiel) to compare the capital cities of Israel and Judah with the cities of the plain (Amos and Isaiah refer to Sodom and Gomorrah; Hosea

mentions Admah and Zeboiim) and to threaten both of them with the same fate.

In the end, however, it was Samaria that fell to the Assyrians, while Jerusalem was spared. In order to focus attention on the latter event and to explain this extraordinary outcome, it was necessary and important to emphasize the full presentation of the prophets that included both kingdoms and both capital cities. The story began with the oracles of Amos and Hosea, and was continued in those of Isaiah and Micah.

Put together, the major lesson and moral could be drawn: Yahweh is the devoted Lord of his people in both kingdoms. Both are under heavy judgment for deliberate defiance of the deity and persistent violation of the central demands and commands of the Covenant. The only possibility of escape from violent final punishment is genuine repentance on the part of all, king and nobles, priests and prophets, and the people as a whole. If they repent, Yahweh may also repent and spare them. The experience of the capital cities proved the truth of that doctrine. Samaria—its kings and priests and people—did not repent, and the city was captured and the kingdom brought to an end. Jerusalem, to the contrary, was spared because its leaders, including the king, and its people repented.

Thus, the collection of prophecies was made after the miraculous deliverance of the city of Jerusalem, as a thank-offering to Yahweh, a *te Deum* addressed to the God who had himself repented in response to the repentance of the king and people of Judah. This mutual or reciprocal repentance on the part of people and God was in marked contrast with the resistant behavior of the leaders and people of the north. It may be noted that the theme of the God "who repents over the evil" (*nihām ʿal-hārāʿâ*) is also prominent in other books that are about or from the same period, or that are bound in with the eighth-century prophets in the scroll of the Minor Prophets (cf., e.g., Jonah 4:2 and Joel 2:13 [Heb.]). We may say, therefore, that it is this aspect of the Godhead, this thread in the historical theology of the Bible, that runs through the corpus of eighth-century prophets. We may add that the compilation was originally intended as a dramatic and informed interpretation of the traumatic and critical history or sequence of events through which the two Yahwistic kingdoms had passed in the course of the eighth century,

concluding with the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem and at least temporary reprieve of the kingdom of Judah at the end of that century.

I would further propose that the composite work combining the books of the four prophets was carried out under the sponsorship and with the approval and support of King Hezekiah himself, who seems to have been not only a major religious reformer (as documented in 2 Kings and much more extensively in 2 Chronicles) and military and diplomatic mastermind (like his great-grandfather Uzziah, not to mention David, the founder of the dynasty, and David's immediate successor Solomon), but also a city planner and builder on a large scale (as we find from the Siloam Water Tunnel and from archaeological excavations in the Western Extension). In addition, he was a patron of the principal art in Judah: literature (cf. the curious but important reference in Prov 25:1). Only a king of such stature and ethical sensitivity, as Hezekiah is described to be, could and would have encouraged such a work. Others, too numerous to mention, would have tolerated neither the words nor the prophets responsible for them; e.g., we hear of neither prophets nor their works nor anything like them in the otherwise long and peaceful reign of Manasseh, the bitterly condemned son and successor of Hezekiah. While this idea must remain speculative, it is hard to imagine such a work being put together at any other time or without the consent and support of the reigning monarch.

The work exhibits, of course, the rather unusual combination of serious—even severe—criticism of the monarch, along with continuing support of him and his dynasty. It recognizes that the House of David remained the best hope for continuity, stability, and the fulfillment of the ultimate dreams of people and prophets alike. Of all the kings mentioned in our headings, only Hezekiah qualifies as sympathetic with the goals and standards of the prophets and sensitive to basic theological and ethical issues. The prophets would find in him a ready listener and one willing to translate into practice their harsh and difficult prescriptions. In return, he would see in them authentic channels to and from the divine presence—men firmly dedicated to the ultimate well-being of the nation, its king and people—however hard and uncompromising their words of condemnation and reprobation might be. There would be a community of interest, and they could make common cause in this account of the crises which came in flood-tide in the course of the century, overwhelming the northern kingdom and so swamping the south as to leave behind a barely surviving kingdom as a remnant.

An authentic analysis of that experience was needed to serve as a valid interpretation of what the nation had been through, and as an informed set of guidelines and exhortations for the future. Small wonder that the amalgamated experience of the eighth century was incorporated into the whole prophetic collection when it was assembled in the sixth century or later. The great lessons of the earlier time were still to be learned and absorbed, but they would be available from that time onward for every succeeding generation.

5. *Conclusions*

We may summarize the results of this cursory investigation as follows:

1. It is my belief that the headings of the four eighth-century prophetic works were devised in accordance with a standard form and formula, but that these were modified to accommodate the differences in time and place of the individual prophets. Therefore, I maintain that the books of these prophets belong to a common collection and that at the same time they exhibit divergences which are important in placing the prophets chronologically, geographically, and in relation to one another. Thus, we can arrange the four prophets in the following historical order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah.

2. From the headings we can also identify and isolate features and factors in the prophets' careers and oracles. It is clear, for instance, that Amos and Hosea were active in the north, while Isaiah and Micah were active in the south. Unexpectedly, however, we find evidence pointing to activity in the south on the part of Amos and Hosea as well, which may have echoes and reflections in disputed passages in these prophets.

3. I believe that the books of the eighth-century prophets were compiled and combined in a two-stage process: (1) The first of these involved the publication of the Book of Amos as a result of a remarkable occurrence. After a major earthquake in the days of Uzziah, it was believed by a group of disciples (and perhaps Uzziah himself) that Amos had been vindicated as an authentic prophet of Yahweh and that his prediction of an imminent earthquake had been confirmed by that event. (2) Later, during the reign of Hezekiah, and after an equally or even more remarkable event, the books of the three other prophets were collected and published along with the Book of Amos (perhaps with a modicum of updating), to celebrate

the miraculous rescue of Jerusalem from the besieging army of Sennacherib, the Assyrian king.

4. The principal purposes and objectives of this work, in my view, were to establish an authoritative theological-historical interpretation of the events that had transpired during the last three-quarters of the eighth century—from the time that Jeroboam II embarked upon his masterful and major campaign to recover the territories across the Jordan that had belonged or been subject to Israel in times past, until the armies of Sennacherib withdrew from Jerusalem and left the southern capital badly shaken but intact and at peace, at the end of the century.

5. The lessons to be inculcated and learned were the following: (1) That both kingdoms were under divine judgment for serious and deliberate violations of the Covenant commands and that Yahweh would use foreign powers, especially the Assyrians, to punish his rebellious, apostate, and idolatrous people, both north and south. (2) That the only recourse remaining and available to the people, including their leaders, was whole-hearted repentance, regret for sins past and present, and new resolution to remake their lives. General repentance would in turn beget divine repentance, that is, a profound change of heart and mind on the part of God. (3) That the results for Samaria and Jerusalem brought out the truth of these assertions: Samaria persisted in rebellion and was destroyed, Jerusalem repented and was spared.

6. I believe that the books or scrolls of the prophets were produced and published to celebrate the survival of Jerusalem, to explain the historical experience of the eighth century, to warn present and future generations about the available options, and to renew both threats and promises for the time at hand and for the time to come.

7. I believe that the publishing project was carried out by the surviving prophets and their followers shortly after the deliverance of Jerusalem, and that the enterprise had both the approval and the support of the king, who himself had been delivered along with the city, and who remained on his throne and was able to pass it on to his descendants. Hezekiah had much for which to be thankful and, much about which to be worried. It was important to offer thanks, and also to leave a record and a warning for posterity.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE
AT HEZEKIAH'S LACHISH

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The publication of David Ussishkin's beautiful new large-format book *The Conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Publications of The Institute of Archaeology, no. 6 [1982]; 135 pages, 13 × 13 inches) coincided appropriately enough with the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement in 1932 of archaeological excavation at Tell ed-Duweir, the site now generally thought to be ancient Lachish. Since that time three expeditions have worked at the site: From 1932 to 1938 the Wellcome-Marston Expedition mounted a major effort under James Starkey, with the assistance of Olga Tufnell, Lankester Harding, and others. In 1966 and 1968, Yohanan Aharoni headed an Israeli team that reexcavated a temple known as the Solar Shrine. And since 1973 Ussishkin has been involved in a long-term systematic study of the site under the auspices of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University and the Israel Exploration Society.

When a biblical archaeologist thinks of Lachish, at least three key "problems" come immediately to mind: (1) Can the ancient site really be located at Tell ed-Duweir? (2) Is the massive destruction first uncovered by Starkey in his Level III to be associated with the conquest of Sennacherib, presumably in 701 B.C., or with that of Nebuchadnezzar, presumably in 597 B.C.? (3) Was Sennacherib involved in two campaigns or only one campaign into Palestine? In this essay I shall first address these three problems, and then provide an overview of Ussishkin's volume, noting the lines of well-documented evidence that he provides regarding Lachish.

1. *Key "Problems" Regarding Lachish*

It seems to me that Ussishkin has come close to settling once-for-all at least the first two of the three vexed issues mentioned above. His assumption concerning the third "problem" is, in my

view, incorrect; he himself does not, in fact, deal with the evidence
for two campaigns.

Is Tell ed-Duweir the Site of Lachish?

With regard to the site of Lachish, it was Albright back in
1929 who first proposed the identification of Tell ed-Duweir with
Lachish on the basis not only of its impressive size but also of its
location. Eusebius had said that Lachish was a village in the 7th
(Roman) mile from Eleutheropolis (Arabic Beit Jibrin) on the way
to the Daroma (south). A few scholars have questioned this identi-
fication, the most recent being G. W. Ahlström,[1] who says Tell
ed-Duweir is only 4.3 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis and not
even on the road to the Daroma. He even questions the tell's
strategic importance in the Iron Age. Furthermore, he infers from
the famous Lachish Letter IV that this ostracon was a message sent
about Lachish and Azekah to a third place, i.e. Tell ed-Duweir.
Granted that this is a possible interpretation of the text so that, as
D. W. Thomas once said, Ostracon IV "does not in itself provide
sufficient evidence to prove that Tell ed-Duweir marks the site of
ancient Lachish,"[2] yet it is not the *only* possible interpretation.

In a direct response to Ahlström, G. I. Davies has argued that
nothing in the Hebrew text excludes the possibility that Tell
ed-Duweir, where the ostracon was found, is in fact Lachish.[3]
Furthermore, Davies says excavation has shown that the Judeans
must have thought the site was strategically important or they
would not have gone to all the trouble of fortifying it! He also
suggests that the British excavation found evidence that there may
have been a road to Gaza that branched off the Eleutheropolis-
Daroma road and by that route it would be 7 Roman miles from
Eleutheropolis to Tell ed-Duweir/Lachish. Davies concludes:

> Whether or not it is possible to base an argument on a detailed
> correlation of the reliefs with the excavations at Tell ed-Duweir,
> this latter site demands identification with a city of the magnitude
> of Lachish and there is really no other name that comes seriously

[1]G. W. Ahlström, "Is Tell Ed-Duweir Ancient Lachish?" *PEQ* 112 (1980): 7-9.

[2]D. W. Thomas, "The Site of Ancient Lachish, The Evidence of Ostrakon IV
from Tell ed-Duweir," *PEQ* 72 (1940): 148-149.

[3]G. I. Davies, "Tell Ed-Duweir = Ancient Lachish: A Response to G. W.
Ahlström," *PEQ* 114 (1982): 25-28.

into the reckoning. Moreover, the archaeological listing of Tell
ed-Duweir matches exactly the requirements of texts, biblical and
other, which refer to Lachish. . . . [4]

In my opinion, Ussishkin has made a very compelling case in
his new book for the location of Lachish at Tell ed-Duweir. He has
done this through his detailed correlation of the latter's topog-
raphy and the results of the British and Israeli excavations there
with what is seen on Sennacherib's reliefs.

Who Destroyed Lachish—Nebuchadnezzar or Sennacherib?

If Ussishkin is correct on the first "problem," it follows, I
think, that it will be very difficult to refute his arguments on the
second key "problem," arguments which favor Level III being
destroyed by Sennacherib rather than by Nebuchadnezzar. Starkey
had favored the latter because Level II, the city-remains strati-
graphically just above Level III, seemed securely dated to the Baby-
lonian destruction of 588/6 B.C. on the basis of comparison with
Albright's dating of Stratum A2 at nearby Tell Beit Mirsim. And
the pottery found in both those contemporaneous levels so closely
resembled what was found in Level III that he felt the latter could
not have been brought to a fiery end more than a decade or so
before. Nebuchadnezzar's Babylonian campaign of 597 B.C. described
in 2 Kgs 24:10-17 seemed the perfect correlation, even though
admittedly it mentions only Jerusalem and not Lachish.

After Starkey's untimely death in 1938, Olga Tufnell worked
on the Lachish material, including some discovered after his death,
and came to a different conclusion. She found a clear typological
distinction between the pottery from Levels II and III. Further-
more, she discerned two phases in the Level-II gate, both brought
to an end by fire. A decade just did not seem enough time to
account for the new data, so she assigned the end of Level III to the
next available major military invasion: Sennacherib's campaign of
701 B.C.

In the years since Tufnell published her conclusions, most
Israeli scholars have sided with her, while most American and British
scholars were still persuaded by Starkey's arguments. Ussishkin's
excavation has produced abundant data, both stratigraphic and
typological, to support Tufnell's interpretation that the evidence

[4]Ibid., p. 27.

requires more than a decade to have elapsed before the Babylonian destruction of Level II. It must now be said that a destruction date of 701 B.C. for Level III fits the findings in the city-gate area better than a date of 597 B.C. One of the implications of this conclusion is a recognition that pottery styles often evolved along *different* lines in the northern and southern regions of the country during the biblical period of the Divided Monarchy.

Were There Two Campaigns by Sennacherib?

Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah in 701 B.C. is well known and accepted by OT scholars and Assyriologists because we have unusually complete accounts of the episode from both sides. The third key "problem" mentioned above is whether or not these accounts indeed refer to only a single episode. As I have already mentioned, Ussishkin assumes that they do so without arguing the case.

It is generally agreed by OT specialists that 2 Kgs 18:13-16 and Sennacherib's annals of his third campaign in 701 refer to the same event. They correspond in date, in the scope of the conquest of Judah, and in the tribute exacted from Hezekiah, who is mentioned by name. The question is whether the continuation of the biblical story in 2 Kgs 18:17-19:36 describes a continuation of the same campaign or whether it reports a later campaign by Sennacherib. The annal in question ends, as far as Judah is concerned, with Hezekiah's payment of tribute; strangely, Lachish is never mentioned.

But the narrative in 2 Kgs 18 goes on at great length with an account that appears to conflict with the information in vss. 13-16 if the same event is described. Instead of being satisfied with the tribute as both the earlier verses and the annal imply, Sennacherib, through an emissary sent from Lachish to Jerusalem, demands unconditional surrender. In the meantime, "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia," appeared on the scene to help Judah. We know from Egyptian chronology that Tirhakah did not begin his reign till 690/689 B.C. For this and other reasons many biblical scholars feel the records of two campaigns by Sennacherib have been joined together in the biblical text.[5] Although the annals for Sennacherib's

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[5]Cf., e.g., Siegfried H. Horn, "Did Sennacherib Campaign Once or Twice Against Hezekiah?" *AUSS* 4 (1966): 1-28.

last eight years have so far not been discovered, and hence the argument is one from silence, most Assyriologists tend to see only one invasion, because the second apparently does not exist in an Assyrian source—or does it?

In a brilliant piece of detective work, Nadav Naᵓaman published in 1974 a hitherto unrecognized account of Sennacherib's campaign in Judah during the reign of Hezekiah.[6] The fragmentary inscription records the conquest of Azekah (10 miles north of Lachish) as well as the conquest of a royal Philistine city that Hezekiah had *previously* annexed to his kingdom—possibly Gath but more probably Ekron. As my former Andrews University colleague William H. Shea has pointed out, Hezekiah was *not* in possession of Ekron in 701 B.C.[7] It was the Ekronites themselves who had sent their pro-Assyrian king Padi to Hezekiah. But Sennacherib punished them according to his 701-B.C. annal and put Padi back on the throne, dividing Judahite territory among the kings in the Philistine cities of Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza. Gath is not mentioned because it was possibly uninhabited by this time, according to Shea (cf. 2 Chron 26:6 and Amos 6:2). When Sennacherib was busy subduing Babylon in 694-689 B.C., the Palestinian kings took the opportunity to rebel against Assyria. Hezekiah would naturally have tried to reclaim his territory lost to the Philistines. Thus, when Sennacherib returned on a second campaign to deal with Hezekiah—if we posit a second campaign based on the biblical narrative and this new Assyrian text—he found Ekron in Hezekiah's hands and had to reconquer it. This second invasion would most likely have been after 689 B.C., when Sennacherib's extant annals end, but before 686 B.C., the year of Hezekiah's death.

This reconstruction based on Shea's suggestions makes sense out of the biblical data: 2 Kgs 18:16-17 marks the dividing line between the account of Sennacherib's first campaign of 701 B.C., when he lifted the siege of Lachish because of Hezekiah's tribute, and the account of his second campaign of 688 B.C. (?), when Lachish was conquered—an event so graphically depicted in the

[6]Nadav Naᵓaman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR*, no. 214 (1974), pp. 25-39.

[7]William H. Shea, "One Invasion or Two?" *Ministry* 53 (March 1980), pp. 26-28. This has been elaborated by Shea in his more extensive treatment, "Sennacherib's Second Palestinian Campaign," *JBL* 104 (1985): 401-418.

reliefs from Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh. The capture of
Lachish was followed by Sennacherib's attack on Libnah (19:8) and
then the notice of Tirhakah (19:9), who became pharaoh in 690 B.C.
and who came to Hezekiah's aid. The impression gained from
2 Kgs 19:36-37 that Sennacherib died soon after his return to
Nineveh would then be correct, for he died in 682 B.C.

This reconstruction makes sense out of the Assyrian data too:
It explains why the mention of Lachish is absent from Sennache-
rib's 701-B.C. annal even though it was *the* most celebrated victory
of his Palestinian campaign—according to the central positioning
of the reliefs in the palace. Lachish then served the function of a
consolation prize for Sennacherib's failure to capture Jerusalem
when "the angel of the Lord went forth and slew 185,000 in the
camp of the Assyrians" (2 Kgs 19:35). Furthermore, in Na²aman's
new inscription, Sennacherib addresses Anshar, the name of a
Babylonian god which, according to Shea, does not appear in
Sennacherib's other inscriptions until after his conquest of Babylon
in 689 B.C.

This reconstruction also makes sense out of the archaeological
data. Dating the destruction in Lachish Level III to ca. 688 B.C. has
the advantage of a compromise between the greater-than-a-century
extremes of 701 B.C. and 597 B.C. from a ceramic typology point of
view. It encompasses most of the positive arguments of both posi-
tions mentioned earlier (Starkey's and Tufnell's), while avoiding
their negative arguments. Furthermore, it easily adopts Na²aman's
more recent insights with regard to the necessity of dating all the
royal *lmlk* seal impressions from those areas of Judah that were
annexed by Philistia to a time either prior to their annexation in
Hezekiah's reign or afterwards in Josiah's reign.[8] Na²aman, of
course, suggested 701 B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for the manufac-
ture of the *lmlk* jars; for the above reasons I would propose 688 B.C.

2. *An Overview of Ussishkin's Publication*

Obviously, one cannot be dogmatic about the solution to any
of the three "problems" discussed above, for the issues are complex
and all of the data are not yet in. Ussishkin's publication, however,
marshals most of the pertinent available information. Actually,

[8]Nadav Na²aman, "Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah and the Date of the
LMLK Stamps," *VT* 29 (1979): 61-86.

what he had available for his task is every archaeologist's dream;
and he makes the most of three lines of well-documented, comple-
mentary evidence pertinent to Lachish, devoting a section of his
Conquest of Lachish to each one and finally weaving together the
strands to make a cohesive and compelling composition. (In the
following overview, in-text page references will be given for cita-
tions of his *Conquest of Lachish.*)

Historical Evidence for Lachish

The first section of Ussishkin's book deals with the historical
evidence for Lachish, by which he means the literary texts, namely
the Bible, the Assyrian annals, and Herodotus. It is both the short-
est (six pages) and weakest section.

Perhaps Ussishkin thought that so many books and articles
have traversed the same ground that it was pointless for him to
attempt another "rehash." But as I have tried to show above, the
discovery by Naᵓaman of a new text by Sennacherib does allow us
to suggest an interpretation that makes good sense out of *all* the
literary data, rather than considering, as Ussishkin does, that the
biblical account is "confused and contradictory" (p. 15).

Archaeological Data Pertaining to Lachish

The second (forty-page) section of Ussishkin's *Conquest of
Lachish* considers the archaeological data at Lachish. Here Ussish-
kin really comes into his own. After all, who better than he knows
his own excavation site! He first gives a general introduction to the
excavations by the British and Aharoni, before coming to his own
results achieved in annual seasons since 1973.

Often a contemporary archaeologist must reinterpret and cor-
rect the interpretations of a site's previous excavator(s), but Ussish-
kin notes that in most cases Starkey and his staff understood well
and interpreted correctly the excavated data and the history of the
mound. As a result, subsequent work has merely refined and supple-
mented the published conclusions of Olga Tufnell who, after
Starkey's death, worked for twenty years on the excavated material,
producing a comprehensive and detailed excavation report which
Ussishkin calls a model of its kind (p. 23).

In summary, Ussishkin's argument for dating Level III at
Lachish to 701 B.C. goes like this (cf. p. 27): On the basis of the
historical information from literary texts as well as the Lachish

reliefs of Sennacherib, we must assume that Lachish in 701 B.C. was
a strongly fortified city that was conquered and burned. Hence
there must be a conspicuous and strongly fortified burnt level that
represents this destroyed city. At Tell ed-Duweir (presumed to be
Lachish), Level VI was a Canaanite city destroyed in the twelfth
century B.C., and Level II was the Judean city razed by Nebu-
chadnezzar in 588/6 B.C. That leaves three possible "candidates" for
the city conquered by Sennacherib—Levels V, IV, and III. The
settlement of Level V, possibly unwalled, was hardly a large fortified
city; furthermore, it was characterized by tenth-century-B.C. pottery.
Although Level IV came to an abrupt end, it seems clear that no
fire was involved; moreover, the city walls and gate and certain
other structures were not destroyed but continued to function in
Level III, so that life seems to have resumed without a break. Thus
Level III is the only suitable "candidate" for the city destroyed by
Sennacherib. Not only do the absence of literary/relief evidence for
the destruction of Lachish by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C. and its
occurrence for Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (I would say 688 B.C.) argue
for the earlier date, but so also does the ceramic evidence discovered
by Ussishkin. Particularly noteworthy are two storerooms, one
destroyed at the end of Level III and the other at the end of
Level II. The repertoire of the crushed pottery assemblage in each
storeroom is different enough from the other to require more than
a decade to account for the typological changes.

Among the archaeological discoveries of greatest general inter-
est at Lachish was the city's three-acre governmental and royal
center. Referred to as the "palace-fort" by Ussishkin (p. 37), it is
the largest and most impressive building of the Iron Age yet dis-
covered in Israel. Although only its substructure has been pre-
served, it still dominates its surroundings from its central location
on the mound. Another remarkable and unparalleled find for a
biblical site was the discovery in the Level-III gatehouse of the
bronze fittings or reinforcements of the gate's acacia wood doors
(pp. 33-34).

Ussishkin's careful work, sparked by a suggestion from Yigal
Yadin, also rewarded him with an exciting discovery that had been
misinterpreted by Starkey: dramatic evidence of the only Assyrian
siege ramp so far found anywhere. In fact, it is the best preserved
siege ramp from *any* period so far discovered in the Near East
(pp. 51-54). Of course, in the 1930s the British had already un-

covered gruesome evidence of the siege—namely, the mass grave of some 1500 individuals. Three of the skulls had been trepanned, meaning that these individuals had undergone operations in which a segment of bone had been removed surgically from the skulls. Amazingly, one man had survived long enough after the operation for the skull to heal (pp. 56-58).

Mention should also be made of the royal Judean storage jars found at Lachish, since the excavations there have produced more than at any other site. As with jars discovered elsewhere, many of these storage jars bear seal impressions with either a four-winged scarab or a double-winged sun disc. Above the emblems is the word *lmlk*, "belonging to the king," while below them appears the name of one of the following towns: Hebron, Sochoh, Ziph, or *mmšt*. Through the years many scholars have debated their purpose and date. Because of their clear stratigraphic context at Lachish, Ussishkin has concluded that no distinction in date can be made among types; all types were being used at one and the same time during the last years of Hezekiah, just before the Assyrian conquest. In fact, these storage jars were probably associated with the king's preparations to meet the anticipated Assyrian siege of the Judean cities under his control (pp. 45-48).

The Assyrian Reliefs

In the third section of Ussishkin's book, and the longest section (sixty-seven pages), Ussishkin deals with the Assyrian reliefs. After an account of how and where they were found in the excavation of Sennacherib's palace in Nineveh undertaken by Layard in the last century, together with some of his plans and drawings, Ussishkin describes the Lachish reliefs in helpful detail. His description is considerably aided and enhanced by brand-new photographs of the reliefs taken at the British Museum by Avraham Hay, as well as by new interpretive drawings of the reliefs by Judith Dekel.

Ussishkin is struck by the balanced composition that dominates the entire series of reliefs and that turns them into one coherent panorama carved on a long frieze of slabs (p. 118). The city of Lachish itself is shown in the center, opposite the monumental entrance to the room which was the focal point of a self-contained unit within the huge palace complex. The people in the central scene are rendered in diminished proportions, as if the city

is located farther in the distance. Coming from the left is the attack on the city, with its multitudinous military details, while on the right is an after-the-battle scene along with the cuneiform inscription which identifies what is happening: "Sennacherib, king of all, king of Assyria, sitting on his *nimedu*-throne while the spoil from the city of Lachish passed before him." Thus, the city in the center is associated with both the attack and post-battle scenes, which "overlap" at that point. In this way, the centrally positioned city becomes the element that cleverly integrates the two separate scenes into one harmonious whole.

These reliefs are of particular interest to Bible students, because they form our sole depiction of the people of Judah during the biblical period. They give us an idea of the appearance, attire, and possessions of these people, and they also include a depiction of the only documented Judean chariot.

While R. D. Barnett was the first to make a comparison between the Lachish reliefs and the city of Lachish on the basis of the archaeological data recovered in the British excavations, Ussishkin, with his new data, has further elaborated and refined Barnett's thesis. Ussishkin argues that the reliefs portray the city not only from the southwest but from one particular vantage point on the slope of the neighboring hillock. From a spot now occupied by Moshav Lachish, both Sennacherib and his artist must have watched the progress of the siege and its aftermath now so vividly depicted on the reliefs (p. 119). Based on this insight and taking full account of the archaeological findings and the details in the reliefs, Gert le Grange has painstakingly provided the reader of Ussishkin's book with artistic reconstructions of the Assyrian siege, successfully conveying the heat and the confusion of the battle (pp. 122-124).

Epilogue Summary of the Data

In a brief epilogue, Ussishkin summarizes what happens to the cardinal participants and elements in the drama after this Assyrian siege: to the Assyrian king, to the site of the desolate city, and to its exiled inhabitants. He makes a convincing case for finding some of the exiles, based on their distinctive dress, in the reliefs depicting the building of Sennacherib's palace back in Nineveh.

Random Observations Concerning Ussishkin's Book

Ussishkin's *Conquest of Lachish* closes with a useful selected bibliography on Lachish and the notes which are limited to references to quotations incorporated in the text—though, unfortunately, one does not know from the text that they are there. Dates for the Judean kings differ by a few years from the most widely-used chronologies, but are based on Tadmor's work published in Hebrew.

For a book that is remarkably error-free, it may be worth mentioning the consistent misspelling of eunuch (especially p. 115), a serious haplography in the text at the end of p. 43, and the reference on p. 15 to figure 3, which as a matter of fact contains the Israel Museum copy of Sennacherib's annals (others are at the British Museum and the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute) and not the fragmentary British Museum tablet whose importance Naʾaman has shown.

With the help of excellent photographs, drawings, maps, plans, and charts, as well as a lucid text, Ussishkin has more than succeeded in his goal "to produce a volume which is of scientific value, comprehensible to the layman and attractive to the eye" (p. 9). It is not only a worthy testimony to a unique chapter in the history of ancient Israel, it is a model of publication for every archaeologist to emulate.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SABBATH
IN JOHN'S APOCALYPSE:
A RECONSIDERATION*

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In the period centering around the first century c.e., the Sabbath rest (meaning principally the seventh day of the week) came in for a great deal of spiritualization and metaphorization.[1] This tendency was often conflated with reflection upon the cosmic meaning of the seventh year and the Jubilee year.

1. The Main Directions in Sabbath Speculation

The speculation took various directions. One of these was the transcendental Sabbath of Philo—the notion of an endless archetypical Sabbath, the perfect rest of God in heaven, a rest without toil but not without activity.[2] This conception partly informs Heb 3:7-4:13,[3] and possibly to some extent John 5:17.[4]

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*Adapted from a paper presented on Feb. 11, 1986, at Berrien Springs, Michigan, to the annual meeting of the Midwest Section of the Society of Biblical Literature.

[1] This development obviously did not contradict observance of the literal weekly Sabbath in the case of the Jewish sources, though it was utilized by some early Christian writers, such as Pseudo-Barnabas and Justin, to explain why the observance of the weekly Sabbath rest had been, in their view, superseded. Cf. Willy Rordorf, *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 47, 89.

[2] See, e.g., Philo *De Cherubim* 87-90; *Legum Allegoria* 1.5-6. Already in Jubilees 2:18 one finds the idea that the Sabbath is kept in heaven, but that is not said to be a perpetual Sabbath.

[3] See the able discussion by Harold W. Attridge, "'Let Us Strive to Enter That Rest': The Logic of Hebrews 4:1-11," *HTR* 73 (1980): 279-288. Another branch in the genealogy of this passage was traced by Gerhard von Rad, "Es ist noch eine Ruhe vorhanden dem Volke Gottes," *Zwischen den Zeiten* 11 (1933): 104-111 (Eng. trans. by E. W. Trueman Dicken, "There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God: An Investigation of a Biblical Conception," in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* [New York, 1966], pp. 94-102).

[4] A similarity between John 5:17 and the Hebrews passage is also seen by A. T. Lincoln, "Sabbath, Rest, and Eschatology in the New Testament," in *From Sabbath*

Another direction taken was the existential Sabbath-rest idea
found in Matt 11:28-30, "I will give you rest . . . and you will find
rest for your souls,"[5] which prefaces the pericope of the Sabbath
controversies in chap. 12 and does for the Sabbath commandment
what chap. 5 does for the commandments against murder
and adultery. This conception regarded the essence of the Sabbath as
a spiritual state, status, or consciousness. It was developed in a
Gnostic direction in such literature as the Gospel of Thomas,[6] the
Gospel of Truth,[7] the Gospel of Philip,[8] and the Second Apocalypse
of James.[9]

Both of those conceptions were in part secondary developments
of what was by far the most common speculative interpretation of
the Sabbath idea, namely, the concept associated with the notion of
the Cosmic Week, according to which six millennia of human
history will be followed by a millennium corresponding to the day
of rest or the sabbatical year, or both. This cosmic Sabbath at the end
of time was variously conceived either as being itself timeless or as
being the prelude to timeless eternity.[10] Aspects of this ancient idea
have endured into modern times, as seen in such diverse manifesta-
tions as Abraham Heschel's vision of the Sabbath as an island of
eternity set within time[11] and the old gospel hymn which begins,
"When the trumpet of the Lord shall sound and time shall be no
more. . . ."[12]

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to Lord's Day: A Biblical, Historical, and Theological Investigation, ed. D. A. Carson
(Grand Rapids, MI, 1983), p. 204; but Lincoln does not connect this conception with
Alexandrian Judaism, rather finding its roots in Palestinian apocalyptic thought
(pp. 205-214).

[5]The literary background of this passage, of course, is Sirach 51:23-30, but the
interpretation of the "rest" in the Matthaean passage is clearly not the scribe's life of
comparative ease. The latter is the result of the wisdom to be acquired by enrolling in
the scribal school, for which the Sirach passage appears to be an advertisement.

[6]See logia 27, 50, 60, 90; cf. POxy. 1, 654.

[7]24:20; 32:18-34.

[8]71:3-15.

[9]56:4; cf. Ernst Bammel, "Rest and Rule," *Vigiliae Christianae* 23 (1969): 88-90.

[10]See further discussion below.

[11]Abraham Joshua Heschel, *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man,* expanded
ed. (New York, 1966), p. 19, 23, 73-76, 90-91.

[12]The impression that this idea has made upon Christian hymnody is extensive.
One example out of many is the John Newton hymn, "Safely Through Another

2. *Origin and Development of the Eschatological Sabbath Idea*

It has been maintained that the apocalyptic system of six aeons followed by a sabbatical aeon is to be traced to Iranian influences,[13] but our sources display no direct support for such a hypothesis. Rather, all visible roots for this sometimes-contradictory complex of ideas are interpretations of OT themes and passages.

The basic text which, when coupled with the Genesis reference to God's rest after the six days of creation, provided the starting point for the various schemata was Ps 90:4, "For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past."[14] This text became useful for resolving various problems. One of these was the question of how Adam could live 930 years (Gen 5:5) when God had said concerning the tree of knowledge, "In the day that you eat of it you shall die" (Gen 2:17). Jubilees 4:30 supplied a solution: "In the testimony of the heavens a thousand years are one day, and this explains why it was written about the tree of knowledge, On the day that you eat from it, you will die. So he [Adam] did not complete the years of this day, but died during it."[15] Jubilees thus becomes our earliest witness to this utilization of Ps 90:4.[16] The fact that this explanation is associated with the early part of Genesis suggests how such an interpretation could become connected with the days of the creation week.[17]

Another scriptural peculiarity which attracted attention was the fact that though the account of each of the first six days of the creation week ends with the formula, "there was evening and there

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Week" (ca. 1774), the first stanza of which concludes with the words, "Day of all the week the best, / Emblem of eternal rest."

[13]See Jean Daniélou, "La typologie millanariste de la semaine dans le christianisme primitif," *Vigiliae Christianae* 2 (1948); 2,4.

[14]Unless otherwise noted, the biblical quotations are from the RSV.

[15]Quotations from pseudepigraphical works are taken from the translations in H. F. D. Sparks, ed., *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford, 1984), and James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY, 1983-85).

[16]The same device is used to solve a different problem in 2 Pet 3:8. Cf. Sirach 18:10.

[17]Cf. Daniélou, p. 2.

was morning," no such cloture is provided for the seventh day. This peculiarity suggested endlessness.[18]

Still another element is important for explaining the variations in our phenomenon—namely, the pattern provided by the sabbatical year followed by the Jubilee year (Lev 25:1-25, et al.). Already in the OT these years developed eschatological overtones.[19] What is important for this study is that a typological interpretation of the seventh and Jubilee years would result in a model in which the cosmic Sabbath would be followed by something more and greater. If the final millennium were identified with the seventh year more than with the seventh day, it would be a time of fallowness and desolation. Just as the captivity of Israel was intended to provide rest for the land in compensation for neglect of the sabbatical-year laws and the humanitarian commandments associated with them (Lev 26:34-35; 2 Chron 36:20-21), even so would the earth rest in the Messianic Age, during a sabbatical millennium, in compensation for all the ravages the wicked have inflicted upon it. Then, just as the seventh year precedes the jubilee year, the seventh millennium becomes the prelude for a paradisiacal eternity.

It is the interplay and tension between these two models—the weekly Sabbath, and the septennate followed by the Jubilee—which produced the variations in Sabbath eschatology. The second model results in a further problem: namely, the state or location of the righteous during the Messianic Age, if that age is identified with the sabbatical year.

Willy Rordorf distinguishes between three types of schemata: (1) the eschatological Sabbath identified with the paradise restored, the World to Come; (2) the eschatological Sabbath conceived as an

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[18]The earliness of this idea is difficult to determine. Our unequivocal references are all Christian and Rabbinic. The more striking Patristic references are given by R. H. Charles in *APOT* 2:451, note. One of the more striking Rabbinic references is Pirqê de R. Eliezer 19: "He created the seventh day, (but) not for work, because it is not said in connection therewith, 'And it was evening and it was morning.' Why? For it is reserved for the generations (to come), as it is said, 'And there shall be one day which is known unto the Lord; not *day*, and not *night* [Zech. 14:7]" (translation from Gerald Friedlander, *Pirqê de Rabbi Eliezer* [reprint ed.; New York, 1971], p. 137).

[19]This is well traced by George Wesley Buchanan, "Sabbatical Eschatology," *Christian News From Israel* 18 (December 1967): 49-55. This article is a summary of parts of the author's provocative book, *The Consequences of the Covenant* (Leiden, 1970).

empty time following the days of the Messiah and preceding the World to Come; and (3) "hybrid forms" in which an interim Messianic period anticipates the eternal World to Come.[20] This classification, though plausible and heuristically helpful, is probably tidier and more analytical than what the thinking actually was, at least in first-century apocalyptic thought. If such categories are admitted, it is immediately necessary to recognize that the boundaries between them are fluid and permeable.[21]

Among the sources from the first century or soon after which seem to use or assume some variation of the idea of the eschatological Sabbath are 4 Ezra,[22] 2 Baruch (Syriac Baruch),[23] the Testament of Dan,[24] the Apocalypse of Moses,[25] the Life of Adam and Eve,[26] Papias,[27] and Pseudo-Barnabas.[28] In Rabbinic circles perhaps the *locus classicus* for the varieties of millennial expectation is the well-known passage in b. Sanhedrin 97a-b. The ideas expressed

[20]Rordorf, pp. 49-50. Rordorf also notes two other variations: the Rabbinic doctrine in which the sabbath rest signifies the place of departed souls (p. 50, n. 2) and the Gnostic view of the eschatological Sabbath "not as the *time* but as the *place* of consummation" (p. 95). Daniélou, pp. 2-3, sees the idea of a visible reign of the Messiah before the end of the world as a result of the combination of two Jewish conceptions of eschatology: "terrestrial" and "transcendental."

[21]Cf. Daniélou, p. 3. The ambiguity was continued in the Patristic sources. Irenaeus, e.g., equates the "seventh day," "the true Sabbath of the just," with the paradisiacal World to Come (*Against Heresies* 3.33.2); but for Augustine the seventh millennium of the reign of Christ on earth precedes the life of eternity (*City of God* 22.30.5, et passim). Rordorf, pp. 91-97, surveys the Patristic materials, noting quite correctly (p. 91) that it is difficult to make the distinction between "chiliastic" and "non-chiliastic" texts.

[22]Note the "rest" in 8:52. In 7:43[114] it is stated that "the day of judgment will be the end of this age and the beginning of the immortal age to come. . . ." But 7:28 in the Latin version seems to allot only 400 years to the time of the Messiah, though the Arabic version has 1000 years.

[23]Chap. 68.

[24]5:12.

[25]43:3.

[26]51:1,2. This reference is especially poignant: "When they had been mourning four days the archangel Michael appeared and said to Seth, Man of God, never mourn for your dead more than six days, because the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come, for on the seventh day God rested from all his works."

[27]Cited in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.

[28]Chap. 15.

there surely go back to the time before the catastrophes of C.E. 70 and 135 caused such apocalyptic speculations, partly based on the book of Daniel, to be put on ice. Besides various schemata based on the septennates, we read of R. Kattina's dictum, "Six thousand years shall the world exist, the one [thousand, the seventh], it shall be desolate." which is countered by Abaye: "It will be desolate two [thousand]."[29] The next comment begins with a formula customarily used to introduce Tannaitic sayings: "It has been taught in accordance with R. Kattina: Just as the seventh year is one year of release in seven, so is the world: one thousand years out of seven shall be fallow"; this is supported with the familiar proof texts from Ps 92 and Ps 90:4, as well as Isa 2:11. Finally, citing the Tanna debe Eliyyahu, comes the famous statement:

> The world is to exist six thousand years. In the first two thousand there was desolation [no written Torah]; two thousand years the Torah flourished; and the next two thousand years is the Messianic era, but through our many iniquities all these years have been lost.

It is clear that in these schemata the tension between seventh-day and seventh-year models is acute, but the seventh-year model prevails.

3. The Timelessness of the Millennium and/or Eternity

We are especially concerned with that aspect of sabbatical eschatology which attributes timelessness to the end of time. As an illustration of this concept, the long recension of 2 Enoch (Slavonic Enoch) 33:1-2 has God telling Enoch:

> On the 8th day I likewise appointed, so that the 8th day might be the 1st, the first-created of my week, and that it should revolve in the revolution of 7000; so that the 8000 might be in the beginning of a time not reckoned and unending, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours. . . .[30]

[29]Translations of the Babylonian Talmud are from Isidore Epstein, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud*, 35 vols. (London, 1935).

[30]There is a correction to this text which seems clearly Christian: "like the first day of the week, so also that the eighth day of the week might return continually." See Charlesworth, 1:33. The addition of these words brings this passage in 2 Enoch into a close relationship with Pseudo-Barnabas 15, a chapter in which the two models we have delineated are mingled in hopeless confusion.

The provenance and dating of 2 Enoch remains a vexed question, however, and it is therefore desirable to turn to sources unequivocally Jewish. The basic Jewish reference is m. Tamid 7:4, a section that reports which Psalms were sung in the Temple on each day of the week. It concludes: "On the Sabbath they sang *A Psalm: a Song for the Sabbath Day* [the superscription of Psalm 92]; a Psalm, a song for the time that is to come, for the day that shall be all Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting."[31] It is not clear why this thought should be attached to Ps 92,[32] but this concept attached to this psalm became a commonplace throughout the Rabbinic corpus.[33]

The Midrash on Ps 92, in a series of sayings about sevens, declares: "I created seven Ages, and out of them I chose for my own only the seventh Age—for six Ages are to come and go—and the seventh Age, being all Sabbath and rest, will endure through eternity."[34] (Then follow similar sayings about the seventh day and the seventh year.) Pirqê de R. Eliezer 19 couples the concept with Zech 14:7 ("And there shall be continuous day [it is known to the Lord], not day and not night, for at evening time there shall be light").

It seems safe to conclude that in the first century there was probably associated with both models of sabbatic eschatology the idea of timelessness, whether conceived of as endless Sabbath or conceived of as timeless eternity following the sabbatic millennium. There would be no differences between Jewish writings and Jewish-Christian thought, for there is a virtually seamless continuity of millennial conceptions which runs from intertestamental times

[31]The translation is that of Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford, 1938), p. 589.

[32]It is possible that the content of this psalm lent itself to apocalyptic expectations. Vss. 5-9 point to ultimate victory over evildoers, and vss. 12-15 suggest a paradise for the righteous.

[33]The references are numerous indeed, and Strack/Billerbeck supply a great many. See Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich, 1922-   ), 3:687; 4/2:839-840. One place may be mentioned here: Mekilta *Shabbata* 1 (on Exod 31:13) prefaces the Mishnaic dictum by speaking of "the World to Come, which is characterized by the kind of holiness possessed by the Sabbath of this world. We thus learn that the Sabbath possesses a holiness like that of the World to Come" (translation modified from that of Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, 3 (Philadelphia, 1935): 199.

[34]Translation modified from that of William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, 2 (New Haven, CT, 1959): 110-111.

through to Augustine (in spite of the opposition of Origen and the Origenists).

4. *The Cosmic Sabbath in John's Apocalypse*

It now remains to examine the situation in the Revelation of John. It is convenient first to note the passages where we find the words *anapausis* and *anapauein*.

Anapauein and its derivatives, as well as its synonym *kata-pauein* and its derivatives, are commonly employed in the LXX to translate *shabat* and its derivatives, as well as *nwch* and its derivatives, both of which terms are used primarily in Sabbath-language.[35] Of particular eschatological interest is Dan 12:13 (Syro-Hexaplaric recension), where *anapauein* is used twice in association with the "end of days" (*sunteleia hemerōn*) in reference to the destiny of the righteous dead.

Anapauein/anapausis is found frequently in Sirach, but mostly in a non-theological connection. It is, however, a number of times predicated of the dead.[36]

In the NT both sets of synonyms are frequent, but *katapauein/katapausis* are restricted to exclusive use in Acts and Hebrews,[37] while *anapauein/anapausis* are consistently used in the rest of the NT. Outside of the Apocalypse and Matt 11:28-29 the words are apparently used in non-theological contexts, though sometimes with religious overtones.[38]

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[35]Both Hebrew roots are used in the Sabbath commandment, in Exod 20:11, which is the foundational text. The numerous places where these roots are translated with *anapauein/anapausis* and *katapauein/katapausis* can be learned from Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1897).

[36]22:11; 38:23; 47:23.

[37]The author of Hebrews uses *katapauein/katapausis* because that is what he finds in the particular OT texts which he is expounding.

[38]Religious, if not indeed theological, significance is surely implied in 1 Pet 4:14, if not also in Matt 12:43 = Luke 11:24. Among the subapostolic fathers, only Ignatius and 1 Clement use *anapauein*, and Clement just once (59:3), in an allusion to Isa 57:15. It is a favorite word of Ignatius in stereotyped expressions of commendation, where it is used in a nontechnical way in the sense of "refresh" or relieve." There is perhaps some approach to a religious meaning in Trallians 12:1 (*hoi kata panta me anepausan sarki te kai pneumati*).

In John's Apocalypse the noun and the verb are each used twice. In 4:8 there seems to be no theological freight.[39] The other three places, however, are of interest. In 6:11 the souls of the martyrs under the altar, which cry out for vengeance, are told to "rest a little longer," though their evident disquietude seems dissonant with the exhortation. The usage here seems intermediate between that of Sirach and that of those Rabbinic places where the location or condition of the righteous dead is called a Sabbath rest.[40] More to the point is 14:11, 13, where the worshippers, of the beast and its image "have no rest, day or night," but the dead who die in the Lord are blessed because they "rest from their labors." The Sabbath-language is unmistakable.

Of course, the classic locus of NT millennialism is Rev 20. Satan is bound for a thousand years, after which he is to be "loosed for a little while" (vss. 1-3). Apparently at the beginning of this aeon the righteous dead are raised in what is called "the first resurrection," and they reign with Christ for the thousand years (vss. 4-6). At the end of the thousand years Satan is temporarily loosed, comes out and deceives the nations (Gog and Magog), and leads them in attacking the holy city, whereupon fire descends and consumes them all (vss. 7-10). In juxtaposition with this narrative is placed a picture of the final judgment, at which all evil is cast into the lake of fire, called "the second death" (vss. 11-15).

Two things are striking about this scenario. First, especially in view of the following chapter, this chapter conforms to the sabbatical-year and jubilee pattern: the paradisiacal new heaven and new earth follow the millennium. In that pattern, the final millennium is a time of emptiness and fallowness, like the seventh year. In the compensatory rest of the land spoken of by Jeremiah and the Chronicler, God's people were in exile. All this creates some ambiguity about the whereabouts of those who come up in the "first resurrection" and of the holy city during this aeon. It is a problem inherent in the seventh-year model. In revelation the solution, apparently, is to place the holy city (and therefore the saints) temporarily in heaven, for in the next chapter (21:2) we find that city descending from heaven at the beginning of the subsequent eternity.

[39]There is a linguistic parallel in Gen 8:22.

[40]The sentiment can be found earlier in Diaspora literature: Joseph and Aseneth 8:11.

The second thing to note about Rev 20 is its reticence about some details of the familar schema. Contrary to what we might expect, they are omitted. Specifically, we have a final millennium without any mention of six earlier ones. We find a Cosmic Sabbath without a Cosmic Week. One gains the impression that this Apocalypse utilizes themes from the common store selectively, without accepting the whole.

Sequentially, according to the seventh-year pattern, we would expect the final two chapters of Revelation to describe the post-sabbatical jubilee, the timeless eternity. That expectation is partly confirmed, but the matter is more complex. The crucial passage to notice is Rev 21:22-26. There is no temple in the New Jerusalem, for God himself and the Lamb dwell there, with the result that there is no need for the sun or moon to shine on the city.[41] The important detail is that the gates of the city "shall never be shut by day—and there shall be no night there" (vs. 25). The conjunction which the RSV translates as "and" is *gar*, which seems awkward. We should rather take the second clause as explaining the first.

Most commentators follow R. H. Charles[42] in seeing this passages as based on Isa 60:11. Charles's conclusion is surely correct, but it is incomplete. The fact is that scriptural allusions in the Apocalypse are seldom simple, and that is the case here. There is a simultaneous allusion to Zech 14:7 and Ezek 46:1. Michael Goulder has demonstrated that there are extended parallels between John's Apocalypse and Ezekiel.[43] and Rev 21 is structurally and symbolically parallel to Ezek 40-48.[44] Ezek 46:1 states: "The gate of the inner court that faces east shall be shut on the six working days; but on the sabbath day it shall be opened and on the day of the new moon it shall be opened." With Ezekiel in the background, the statement in Rev 21:25 that the gates of the city shall never be shut by day and that there will be no night is the same as to declare that there will be

[41]The picture does not deviate from Rabbinic eschatology (mitigated though it was after 135 C.E.). Rab said: "In the World to Come there is no eating nor drinking nor propagation nor business nor jealousy nor hatred nor competition, but the righteous sit with their crowns on their heards feasting on the brightness of the divine presence . . ." (b. Berakoth 17a).

[42]R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, ICC, 2 (Edinburgh, 1920): 172-173.

[43]M. D. Goulder, "The Apocalypse as an Annual Cycle of Prophecies," *NTS* 27 (1981): 342-367.

[44]Ibid., p. 347. Goulder lists some nine conceptual parallels of Ezekiel to Rev 21, but it is remarkable that he fails to mention the parallel to Rev. 21:25.

perpetual Sabbath. The thought is conceptually parallel to 2 Enoch 33:2 and m. Tamid 7:4.

This exegesis finds support in the Gospel of Truth 32.24-35, where we are told that the Shepherd labored for the Sheep even on the Sabbath and gave life to it, so that the Gnostic might know

> what is the Sabbath, on which it is not fitting for salvation to be idle, in order that you may speak from the day from above which has no night, and from the light which does not sink because it is perfect. Say, then, from the heart that you are the perfect day and in you dwells the light that does not fail.[45]

The sabbatic theology of Gnosticism, as we noted before, is a secondary development from that of Apocalyptic. Its imagery and argumentation are, accordingly, adaptations from the Apocalyptic thesaurus. It is therefore legitimate to see this Valentinian association of nightlessness and unfailing light with the Sabbath as constituting a mutation of what we have found in Rev 21:25.

What has been said of Rev 21:25 applies also to 22:5.[46] It remains now only to examine Rev 10:6, *"chronos ouketi estai."* Bede interpreted this declaration literally, in the mode of 2 Enoch and m. Tamid, as promising an era of timelessness. When he prepared his separate edition of 2 Enoch, R. H. Charles supported this interpretation, but he omitted it from the notes to his great *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, and he repudiated it in his commentary on Revelation with no further explanation than the peremptory dictum, "But this explanation is wrong."[47] He has been followed in this rejection by nearly all modern scholars, who understand the meaning to be "there shall be no more delay."[48] This interpretation is also followed by virtually all modern English versions.

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[45]The translation is that of George W. MacRae in James M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (San Fransisco, 1977), p. 44.

[46]There is a problem in 22:2, where we read that the tree of life, which is in the city, yields twelve kinds of fruit, a fruit each month. The city needs no light from sun or moon, and there is no night there, which would seem to eliminate all time divisions dependent upon those heavenly bodies, including the month. Either we must give more weight to the word "need" in 22:5 and 21:23, so that while their light is not *needed* they are still there to mark the passing of time; or we must ascribe the seeming dissonance to the compositeness of the imagery assembled in Revelation.

[47]Charles, p. 263, n. 1.

[48]Thus, e.g., E.-B. Allo, *Saint Jean: L'Apocalypse*, 4th ed. (Paris, 1933), pp. 140-141; Martin Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, Moffatt New Testament

The modern interpretation has much to commend it. Rev 10:6 very likely is in part an allusion to Dan 12:7, where the angel's solemn oath is in response to the question, "How long?" And Rev 10:6 might be seen as an answer to a similar question in Rev 6:10, though an answer was already given there and much material has intervened between question and answer. Goulder sees Rev 10:1-7 as parallel to Ezek 12:21-28,[49] and there the message is, "the days are at hand, and the fulfillment of every vision" (vs. 23).

In connection with Rev 10:6 it is important, again, to keep in mind that in the symbols and allusions of the Apocalypse several streams flow together and coalesce. Though it makes translation difficult, justice can be done to the book only if multiple levels of meaning are recognized. Finally, since sabbatic eternity is, as I have attempted to show, an underlying theme in the book, it would be rash to deny the possibility of its presence in 10:6, where it is the most natural way to understand *chronos*, as contrasted with *kairos*.

In conclusion, we may summarize the eschatological-rest concept in John's apocalypse by saying that that NT book participates selectively in a tradition which sees the destiny of the righteous as rest—a rest that is timeless. Where there is no night, there can be no clock.

Commentary (London, 1940), p. 172; Martin Rist, in *The Interpreter's Bible*, 12 (Nashville, 1957): 440-441; George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1972); Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation,* NICNT, vol. 17 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1977), pp. 210-211; and Pierre Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean,* Commentaire du Nouveau Testament 14 (Lausanne, 1981), pp. 153-154.

[49]Goulder, pp. 345-346.

THE AMMONITE ONOMASTICON:
SEMANTIC PROBLEMS

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The small corpus of epigraphic finds associated with the
Ammonites testifies to a South Canaanite dialect closely allied to the
dialects attested in Epigraphic Hebrew and Moabite finds and in the
Hebrew Bible.[1] The Ammonite inscribed remains also testify to a
characteristic South Canaanite onomasticon (see Excursus A at the
close of this article). Most of the Ammonite names are of well-
known Northwest Semitic types, involving common formants (for
some exceptions, see Excursus B at the close of this article). Certain
of the names, however, remain obscure, and I hope to clarify some of
these here by considering a variety of semantic factors.

1. *Single-Unit Names Referring*
to the Non-Human World

1.1. Plant Names

Two Ammonite names may refer to plants: *ʾlmg*[2] and *grgr*.[3] Personal
names from plants are not common, but they are attested: note simply
Ugaritic names in *gpn*, "vine"; *krm*, "vineyard"; and *yᶜhr*, "forest."[4] The

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[1]See K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* (Chico, CA, 1983)
(hereinafter *JAL*); W. E. Aufrecht, *A Bibliography of Ammonite Inscriptions*, News-
letter for Targumic and Cognate Studies, Supplement #1 (Toronto, 1982); and
D. Sivan, "On the Grammar and Orthography of the Ammonite Findings," *UF* 14
(1982): 219-234. Aufrecht will shortly publish a full study of the Ammonite texts.

K. P. Jackson and Philip Schmitz read an earlier draft of the present essay and
thanks are due Schmitz for several comments.

[2]*JAL*, no. 61 (p. 84); K. P. Jackson, "Ammonite Personal Names in the Context of
the West Semitic Onomasticon," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in
Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. C. L.
Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN, 1983), no. 15 (hereinafter *JAPN*). No
gloss is given, no cognates are cited.

[3]L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Semitic Seals* (Missoula, MT, 1978), no. 6
(p. 61) (hereinafter *HASS*) = *JAL*, no. 58 (p. 82); and *JAPN*, no. 39.

[4]F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Studia Pohl, 1 (Rome,
1967), pp. 29-30.

more certain of the two is ʾlmg, "almug"; *anglice*, "Juniper." Ammonite ʾlmg is apparently cognate to Biblical Hebrew ʾalmuggîm (so in 1 Kgs 10:11,12) / ʾalgûmmîm (2 Chr 9:10,11). The Akkadian cognate, the earliest attestation of which dates back to the Old Akkadian period, *ela/emmakku ~ elemmaqqu ~* Nuzi *ela/emmaḫḫu*, establishes some warrant for the Hebrew spelling in Chronicles (but is it a "correction" after the Akkadian or a "correction" at the textual level to Kings?). The drug use of the wood in the Mesopotamian sphere is probably not relevant to the onomastic use of the word.

Another plant name may be found in grgr. Among cognates previously noted are Biblical Hebrew gargar, "berry" (Isa. 17:6), and Arabic jirjir, "watercress," to which may be added Arabic jirjir, "beans," and Akkadian gurgurru, "(a plant)."[5] Whether these are relevant to the onomasticon is not clear.

1.2. Animal Names

Two animals are unquestionably implicated among Ammonite names.[6] The names ʿkbr[7] and ʿkbry[8] both reflect the mouse, and šʿl reflects the fox.[9] If the name bʿrʾ is not to be associated with the Midianite/Balaam Cycle complex of names tied to Luwian *paḫura*,[10] then it, too, may be an animal name; cf. Biblical Hebrew bêʿîr, "cattle, beasts of burden," whence bāʿar, "to be brutish," and Arabic baʿîr, "(beast of burden, ass, preeminently) camel."

1.3. Phenomena Names

The names of natural phenomena can yield personal names; and Ammonite brq, "lightning," is a splendid example.[11] Less obvious is ʿšn ʾl "Il is smoke,"[12] but the plethora of names in qṭr, "smoke," argues in favor

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[5]*AHW*, p. 299. Cf. nn. 21-22 below.

[6]For animal names, see, e.g., H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 151-152; I. J. Gelb, et al., *Computer-aided Analysis of Amorite*, Assyriological Studies, 21 (Chicago, 1980), p. 195; Gröndahl, pp. 27-28 (animal names constitute 20% of all one-word Northwest Semitic names at Ugarit); and F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Studia Pohl, 8 (Rome, 1972), p. 239.

[7]In the Nimrud Ostracon, J. Naveh, "The Ostracon from Nimrud: An Ammonite Name-List," *Maarav* 2 (1979-1980): 170; *JAPN*, no. 80.

[8]In the seal cited in Excursus A, no. 11.

[9]*HASS*, no. 15 (p. 64) = *JAL*, no. 46 (p. 76) and *JAPN*, no. 101. The gloss is beyond question and given in Naveh, p. 170; cf. Sivan, p. 225. Why Jackson registers no gloss is unexplained.

[10]See Excursus B.

[11]In a 6th-century ostracon, *JAL*, p. 54; cf. *JAPN*, no. 37.

[12]Probably Ammonite. *HASS*, no. 39 (p. 72) = *JAL*, no. 2 (p. 70), and *JAPN*, no. 87.

of the gloss. Amorite offers an early set, e.g., *ga-tar-a-bi*, *ga-ta-ar-DINGIR*,[13] and we may add the Murašu names *ᵐDINGIR.MEŠ-qa-ta-ri* and *ᵐᵈAG[nabû]-qa-ta*[14] *-ri*.[15]

2. *Single-Unit Names Referring to the Human World*

2.1. Occupation Names

The most exalted class of the West Semitic occupation names is represented in the Ammonite onomasticon by two shortened forms, *ᶜbd*[16] and *ᶜbdʾ*, "servant."[17] A more mundane occupational name is *prš*, "horseman."[18] The vexatious *grgr*[19] may be likened to supposed Akkadian *gurgurru*, "craftsman,"[20] though that form may be *qurqurru*[21] and so of no more relevance than the *kurkurru* bird.[22] The name *šwhr*[23] is so spelled as to make unlikely[24] reference to *šaḥar*, "dawn."[25] If the name is a participle, gloss "caravaneer" or the like; and compare Biblical Hebrew *šômēr*[26] and *ᶜobēd*[27] and Epigraphic Hebrew *ḥwrṣ*.[28] The text of the seal, *lšwhr hnss*,

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[13]Gelb, p. 342.

[14]*ta* sic, not *ṭa₂*, which is an earlier value.

[15]References in M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents* (Missoula, MT, 1976), pp. 14,30. For other *qt/ṭr* names in first-millennium cuneiform sources, see R. Zadok's review of Coogan, *BASOR*, no. 231 (1978), pp. 73-78 (at p. 76).

[16]Reading difficult. *HASS*, no. 37 (pp. 71-72) = *JAL*, no. 39 (p. 75), and *JAPN*, no. 74.

[17]Possibly Ammonite. *HASS*, no. 44 (p. 74) = *JAL*, no. 50 (p. 80), and *JAPN*, no. 75.

[18]Reading uncertain, as noted. *JAL*, p. 54; *JAPN*, no. 93. The Ugaritic name cited is not relevant; indeed much of the comparative data throughout *JAPN* cannot be relied on and needs to be checked.

[19]See above, 1.1 and n. 3.

[20]So *CAD*, G, 138.

[21]So *AHW*, p. 929.

[22]*AHW*, p. 511.

[23]*HASS*, no. 14 (p. 64) = *JAL*, no. 59 (p. 83), and JAPN, no. 97.

[24]For this name, if not for apparent congeners; e.g., Biblical Hebrew *šĕḥaryah* (1 Chron 8:26); Punic *šḥrᶜl* (Benz, p. 180); Ugaritic *ilšḥr*, *ᶜbdšḥr* (Gröndahl, p. 192).

[25]Whether as common noun or divine name; cf. J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1971), p. 113.

[26]1 Chron 7:32.

[27]Ruth 4:17.

[28]*HASS*, Hebrew Seal no. 90 (p. 122).

makes it impossible that *šḥr* is a *nomen occupationis*, but there is no oddity in a job title being used as a personal name.[29]

2.2. Quality Names

West Semitic names may refer to the qualities of a person or the birth itself. Thus Ammonite *gn* [30] may be associated with Arabic *jana* ʾ, "hump-backed,"[31] and Ammonite *ḥgy*[32] reveals that its bearer was "(born on a) festive (day)." The notion that the name is distinctively Jewish[33] is ground-less[34]; festive names are common.[35]

3. *Some Verbs in Verbal Theophoric Names and Related Hypocoristica*

The dominant form of Northwest Semitic name is the verbal-sentence theophoric name: e.g., Ammonite *ʾlʾmṣ*, "El is strong"; *zkrʾl*, "El remembers (*or*, has remembered)"; *šmʿl*, "El hears (*or*, has heard)."[36] In the paragraphs that follow I discuss nine verbal

[29]See, e.g., Gröndahl, pp. 28-29.

[30]In the Nimrud Ostracon, Naveh, p. 168. Naveh cites the root *gnn*, "to protect"; see further in n. 60.

[31]So G. L. Harding in glossing Safaitic *jnʾt*; see *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Near and Middle East Series 8 (Toronto, 1971), p. 168. For physical defect names, see, e.g., Gröndahl, p. 29, and Benz, p. 240. Note also Palmyrene *ʿrgn*, "Lame," and *ʿbny*, "Fat"; Stark, pp. 103, 107.

[32]In the Nimrud Ostracon, Naveh, p. 169.

[33]So Stark, p. 87, though the genealogies in the Palmyrene texts afford no support. Note also the discussion of *ḥgt*.

[34]So also Naveh, p. 169. See, too, the valuable remarks of Coogan, p. 123.

[35]See, in addition to the references in the previous note, J. T. Milik's treatment of names like *šmšḥdyt*, "*Šamš* is (the) joy(ful banquet)"; *Recherches d'épigrafie proche-orientale. I: Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'epoque romaine* (Paris, 1972), p. 381.

[36]For these names, see *JAPN*, nos. 9, 43, 99. There is no justification for the vocalization *šamaʿ<ʾ>il* (?); elision of the glottal stop is commonplace. Sivan refers to quiescence of ʾ, *and* elision, *and* scribal error in his garbled treatment of this name; see Sivan, pp. 222, 226-227. Benz is surely correct in treating the comparable phenomenon in Phoenician (!) and Punic names as a phonological fact, not a scribal one; see Benz, p. 203, and cf. F. V. Winnett and G. L. Harding, *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns*, Near and Middle East Series 9 (Toronto, 1978), p. 30. The god Lim is alleged to be attested in Amorite names like Zimrilim and Yaḫdunlim; see Huffmon, pp. 226-227, and Gelb, pp. 145-146; but C. R. Krahmalhov has suggested that *lim* is an aphærized form of *ʾilim*; see his "Studies in Amorite Grammar" (Harvard dissertation, 1965). On *ʾlšmʿ*, *JAPN*, no. 24; note that *JAL*, nos. 5 and 33 appear to be the same seal.

formants which may be discerned, with varying degrees of certainty, in Ammonite names. Two are found in full theophores, *ᵓlybr* and *dblbs*; one in a marked hypocoristicon, *bˤšˤ*; and the remainder in names which do not reflect their proposed status as shortened names, *bṭš, grgr, ytb, ytyr, nqr,* and *šql.*[37]

3.1. *bṭš,* "to be strong" (?)

The name *bṭš*[38] may be a hypocoristicon from a name involving a root *bṭš,* "to be strong." (Cf. Arabic *baṭš,* "strength, valor"; the sense of the corresponding verb is specialized in Arabic: "to attack with violence, bear down on.") Such a name would be semantically similar to names in *gbr* and *lᵓy,* and, more remotely, *ḏ/zmr, nṭ/ṣr, smk, ˤdr, ˤqb,* and *tmk,* and thus would not be out of line, though other Northwest Semitic onomastic uses of the root *bṭš* are lacking. If this explanation is correct, the sibilant would suggest that the name is Arabic rather than Canaanite.

3.2. *bˤš,* "to descend unawares" (?); "to call forth" (?)

The Ammonite name *bˤšᵓ* is attested not only in an ostracon from Ḥisbān but also in Shalmaneser III's account of those who opposed him at the Battle of Qarqar.[39] The mid-ninth-century Ammonite king Baasha shares the name of a slightly earlier Israelite king.[40] Taking the name as a hypocoristicon of a verbal theophoric name, we may see in *bˤš* a verb related to the birth process. One possibility is offered by Arabic *baˤaṯa,* "to call forth (scil., the child)."[41] A better prospect is provided by Arabic *baġaṯa,* "to surprise, descend unawares,"[42] used as a causative[43] in the sense "(the god) made (the child) descend unawares" or perhaps "(the god) made (the child) a surprise." Such a name would be analogous to causative names in *gyḥ,* "to burst forth," e.g., Amorite *ya-gi-iḥ-ᵈIM,* "Haddu made (the child) burst forth."[44]

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[37]The apparent favoring of a hypocoristic understanding of these names is justifiable in the larger picture of West Semitic onomastics. Only one, *bṭš,* is even arguably a single-unit name on the etymologies proposed, though not all of these, I must repeat, are equally grounded.

[38]*HASS,* no. 31 (p. 69) = *JAL,* no. 53 (p. 81). *JAPN,* no. 53, offers no comment.

[39]F. M. Cross's Ḥisbān Ostracon IV; "Ammonite Ostraca from Heshbon," *AUSS* 13 (1975): 1-20; see p. 6 for discussion of the name.

[40]1 Kgs 15:16.

[41]Note Safaitic *bˤṯ,* in Winnett and Harding, p. 559.

[42]Also used in Safaitic, *bġṯ*; see ibid.

[43]Presumably a *Piˤel.*

[44]See Huffmon, p. 180; Gelb, p. 299.

3.3. brr, "to purge, purify"

The name *ʾlybr*[45] is structurally ambiguous: It could be parsed *ʾly* + *br*, "my god is pure" (*br* an adjective);[46] *ʾly* + *br*, "my god purges" (*br* a suffixing verb-form); or *ʾl* + *ybr*, "El purges" (*ybr* a prefixing verb-form).[47] The cognate evidence[48] is not clear enough to permit certainty about the parsing,[49] or indeed about whether the root involved is the geminate *brr* or a metaplasm of it.

3.4. g(w)r, "to sojourn" (?)

The name *grgr*, mentioned earlier,[50] is clearly reduplicative, and reduplicating names are rare in the Semitic onomastica, as indeed are reduplicating word formations in general. The root *gwr* "to sojourn," yields two major classes of Northwest Semitic names, both involving the same term, *gēr*, in slightly different senses: *gr* + *DN*, e.g., Phoenician *grmlqrt*, "client of Melqart"; and *gr* + *GN*, e.g., Phoenician *grhkl*, "dweller of the temple."[51]

Forms in *grgr* are found in two Ugaritic poetic passages. The Keret epic uses a noun designating a military implement:[52]

46. apnk ġzr ilḫu	Then as for Gazru Ilhu—
47. [m]rḫh yiḫd byd	He grabs his lance in his left hand,
48. [g]ʾrgrh bm-ymn	his grgr in his right.

The verb-form in the Story of the Beautiful Gods may be germane here:[53]

65. šu ʿdbtk mdbr qdš	Lift your offering in the holy desert,
66. ṯm tgrgr lʾbnm wlʿṣm	sojourn there amid stone and trees,
67. šbʿ šnt tmt	for seven full years.
67. ṯmn nqpt	Eight (years) you shall go round.

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[45]*HASS*, no. 28 (p. 68), and its obverse *HASS*, no. 29 (p. 69) = *JAL*, no. 38 (p. 75).

[46]So *JAPN*, no. 11, with no references to the alternatives; cf. Sivan, p. 233.

[47]The statement in *JAPN* that the Ammonite onomastic "corpus includes only one . . . name containing [a] prefixing verb," viz., *ʾlydn*, is groundless. Even this supposed example is ambiguous, as *JAPN* duly notes; see *JAPN*, p. 517. Note also *ʾbyḥy*, *JAPN*, no. 1; more dubiously *ʾlyʿm*, *JAPN*, no. 13; and the *yšʿ* names; and *ytb* and *ytyr*, below.

[48]For Amorite, see the names s.v. *byr*, Gelb, p. 285. For Ugaritic, cf. *brrn*, though Gröndahl, p. 121, is hesitant. For Phoenician, see the names s.v. *brn?*, Benz, p. 292. For pre-Islamic Arabic, see the names s.v. *br* in Harding, p. 99.

[49]Neither is it obscure enough to warrant the complete omission of it in *JAPN*.

[50]See 1.1 and n. 3; also 2.1.

[51]Benz, p. 14.

[52]UT 125 = CTA 16.I, lines 46-48.

[53]UT 52 = CTA 23, lines 65-67.

The common rendering of *tgrgr* as "sojourn"[54] is difficult in context.[55] The rarity of reduplication in ancient West Semitic nonetheless warrants considering this difficult verse usage alongside the obscure Ammonite name.

3.5. *dbl*, "to shape"

The early sixth-century seal inscribed *l'nmwt 'mt dblbs* contains two difficult names, and the second, which contains the formant of interest, is the more difficult of the two. The name was originally read *rblbz*,[56] then *dblks*,[57] and finally *dblbs*.[58] It has, however, resisted understanding,[59] doubtless because both the divine name Bes[60] and the verb *dbl* are uncommon in the West Semitic onomasticon.

The Egyptian god Bes, a singing and dancing clown and dwarf god as well as a grotesque *Schutzgott*, is not literarily attested before the New Kingdom,[61] and his greatest popularity (and that of his female counterpart

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[54]So, e.g., M. Pope, "Ups and Downs in El's Amours," *UF* 11 (1979): 701-708 (at 708).

[55]Thus, Pope renders the beginning of the previous line, *šu 'db tk*, "Up, repair to . . . ," and translates *nqpt*, "cycles."

[56]A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals* (London, 1950), p. 43.

[57]W. F. Albright, "Notes on Ammonite History," *Miscellanea biblica B. Ubach*, ed. R. M. Carbonell (Barcelona, 1953), pp. 131-136 (at 134).

[58]N. Avigad, "Ammonite and Moabite Seals," *Near Eastern Archœology in the Twentieth Century: Essays . . . Glueck*, ed. J. A. Sanders (Garden City, NY, 1970). pp. 284-295 (at 285, n. 10). This reading is taken up in *HASS*, no. 13 (pp. 63-64); *JAL*, no. 57 (pp. 81-82); *JAPN*, no. 40. On the possibility that this name is royal, see F. M. Cross, apud L. G. Herr, "The Servant of Baalis," p. 171.

[59]G. Garbini has proposed that it is structurally comparable to names of the *m+k+'l* type, viz., *ḏ* (the relative pronoun) + *b* (the proposition) + *lbs* (an unknown deity). This analysis is far-fetched. See "La lingua degli ammoniti," *Le lingue semitiche. Studi di storia linguistica* (Naples, 1972), pp. 97-108 (at 99-100). *JAPN* has no comment on the name.

[60]Note the *bs* names in Stark, p. 11. On the lone Egyptian name in Ammonite, *psmy*, see Excursus B; on Egyptian names in first-millennium West Semitic social contexts, see R. Zadok, "Phoenicians, Philistines, and Moabites in Mesopotamia," *BASOR*, no. 230 (1978), pp. 57-65 (at 60). For the Egyptian deities in the Phoenician-Punic onomasticon, Bastet (*'bst*), Isis (*'s*) and Osiris (*'sr*), see Benz, pp. 258-259, 271-273. *Schutzgötter* such as the *Sibittu/i* and chthonic deities like Nergal, Bau, and Gula are well known in Akkadian onomastics.

A related deity may be attested in the name *gn'* (see 2.2 above and n. 30), if it is derived from a *jinn* or demon of birth. A variety of other derivations related to the root *gnn* ("to protect")/*janna* ("to be possessed") could be proposed, so rich is the entangled semantic field of covering (and thus gardens), darkness, madness, and possession.

[61]Note especially the Amarna popular graffiti; C. Aldred, "Egypt: The Amarna Period and the End of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *CAH*[3], 2.2. 49-97 (at 89).

Beset) is post-Pharaonic. Though there are early iconographic witnesses, the late date of his first literary appearances has been prominent among factors that led Egyptologists to suspect him of being of foreign origin; scholars at the end of the nineteenth century wrote of an Arabian source,[62] and current students prefer to speak of an inner-African origin, citing Nubia and Punt.[63] Bes's associations with Hathor, an Egyptian deity attested in southwestern Asia, and with Rešep, a Canaanite god known in Egypt, are relevant here, as is his special association with Harpocrates and with birth and children.[64] The Egyptian iconography[65] is modified but recognizable in the Megiddo ivory forms and at Karatepe.[66] The commanding Iron II Asiatic version of Bes is the one found at Kuntillet ʿAjrud, on the pithos with the Yahweh blessing.[67] There are Egyptian personal names in *bs*.[68]

The verbal element is *dbl*, cognate to Classical Arabic *dabala*, "to collect, shape (into lumps)," a root seen also in Biblical and later Hebrew *děbēlâ*, "lump of pressed figs." The few data I have found on the root in modern Arabic dialects are not coherent: Moroccan has *debla*, "gnat," "(portion of lamp) wick exposed (for burning)";[69] and Syrian has *dabal*, "to bore, torment," *dáble* (i.e., Form III?), "to be boring, demanding," and *díbel*, "to wilt, become languid," causative *dabbal*, and the adjective *dablān*, "wilted, languid."[70]

[62]K. Sethe, "Besas," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1899), vol. 3, cols. 324-326.

[63]H. Altenmüller, "Bes," *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden, 1975), vol. 1, cols. 720-724.

[64]V. Wilson, "The Iconography of Bes With Particular Reference to the Cypriot Evidence," *Levant* 7 (1975): 77-103; see pp. 94-95 for Rešep, and pp. 81-82 for Harpocrates.

[65]See Wilson and Altenmüller for plates.

[66]Megiddo: *ANEP*, no. 663; cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 268. Karatepe: *ANEP*, no. 664; cf. Frankfort, pp. 308, 310.

[67]The materials from this site still await serious publication, *pace* the hectoring of W. G. Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *BASOR*, no. 255 (1984), pp. 21-37, esp. 25-26. For the Bes figure, see Z. Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have A Consort?", *BARev* 5/2 (1979): 24-36 (at 31 and 36). On a Phoenician Bes, see J. W. Betlyon, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia: The Pre-Alexandrian Period* (Chico, CA, 1982), pp. 26-27, 107.

[68]See briefly Altenmüller, col. 720; and more fully H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), 1:98, nos. 14-18 and 1:xxi. Ranke qualifies most of the names as late, viz., roughly first millennium B.C.E.

[69]R. S. Harrell, et al., *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic* (Washington, DC, 1966), p. 19.

[70]M. elʾ-Massarani and B. C. Segal, *Arabsko-Russkij Slovar Sirijskogo Dialekta* (Moskva, 1978), p. 199. My thanks to E. McCarus and M. Hamlen.

The name belongs to the class of "DN made/formed [me?]" names, most commonly formed with *bny*[71] and perhaps also formed with *pḥr*, "to gather,"[72] and *šrb*, "to produce."[73] The metaphorical understanding of gestation would be related to the notion behind Jeremiah's remark, "Before I shaped you[74] in the womb, I knew you"[75]; the image is one of shaping and molding clay, whether potter's clay or humus.[76] This shaping metaphor is combined with one based in the root *qp*ʾ, which is similar to *dbl*, and some others in one of Job's complaints:[77]

10:9a.   Remember: you made me (*ʿśytny*) as from clay (*kḥmr*).
10:9b.   Will you return me to dust?
10:10a. Did you not pour me (*ttykny*) as from milk (*kḥlb*)?
10:10b. Did you not congeal me (*tqpyʾny*) as from rennet (*kagĕbinâ*)?
10:11a. You clothed me with skin and flesh.
10:11b. With bones and sinews you wove me.

The cosmological projection of these notions in Ps 139 uses some of the same vocabulary. The hapax *gĕbinâ*, if derived from a root for, say, curdling or the like, may suggest an etymology for the Murašu name ᵐ*ga-ban-na-a*.[78]

3.6. *ytb*, "to rest" (?)

One of the Ḥisbān ostraca records disbursements to, among others, *ytb*.[79] The root *ytb*, "to rest,"[80] is well paralleled semantically, and Phoenician and North Arabic cognates are known. The form could be either prefixing or suffixing.[81]

[71]See, e.g., Huffmon, p. 177; Benz, p. 288.

[72]Gelb, p. 28; Huffmon, p. 254.

[73]Coogan, pp. 85-86.

[74]MT Q ʾ*eṣṣārkā*, K ʾ*ṣwrk*.

[75]Jer 1:5a.

[76]Gen 2:7; contrast Ps 22:10.

[77]On the language of creation here, see F. I. Andersen, *Job* (Downers Grove, IL, 1976), pp. 154, 248, and more generally pp. 228, 274, 278.

[78]See Coogan, pp. 19, 70. On the hapax and apparent relatives, see H. R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Missoula, MT, 1978), p. 141.

[79]Cross, p. 7.

[80]Cognate to Arabic *wataba*; so Cross, in preference to (1) *tabba*, "to perish" (originally proposed by G. Ryckmans and hesitantly affirmed by Harding, p. 657), and (2) *tāba*, "to repent" (also noted by Harding, ad loc.). The first is inappropriate semantically, and the second is an Aramaic loan. Cross's discussion is clear and persuasive, but *JAPN*, no. 55, omits all reference to it and cites only Safaitic and Thamudic cognates, implicitly rejecting Cross's citation of *ytbʿl* (<*ytb* + *bʿl*), Benz, p. 129, and ʿ*śrtrty*[*t*]b, Benz, p. 328.

[81]*Pace* the warrantless anti-*yqtl Tendenz* in *JAPN*.

3.7. *ytr*, "to exceed" (?)

The name *ytyr*[82] is difficult,[83] but hardly beyond inquiry.[84] Is the relevant root *ytr*, "to exceed, be surpassing," as in Amorite (e.g., *ya-te-ir-na-zi*, *yatīr-naśi*, "The [divine] Prince is surpassing"),[85] Biblical Hebrew, Phoenician-Punic, and perhaps Ugaritic names?[86] If so, the name may be a prefixing finite verb form.[87]

3.8. *nqr*, "to pierce"

One of the Ḥisbān ostraca includes the name *nqr*.[88] It is possible that *nqr* is a name referring to a physical defect,[89] derived from a cognate of Biblical Hebrew *nqr*, "to bore, dig," used in four of its six biblical occurrences of boring out an eye and in another of the wearing down of bones.[90]

I would propose rather that we should see here a birth metaphor, yielding the sense that "(the god) has pierced (the womb and withdrawn the child)." The opening lines of Isa 51, which contain the remaining biblical occurrence of *nqr*, are relevant:

51:1a Listen to me, justice-chasers,
51:1b Yahweh-seekers.
51:1c Look to the rock you were hewn from (*ḥussabtem*),
51:1d To the pit-piercing (*maqqebet bôr*) you were dug from (*nuqqartem*).
51:2a Look to Abraham, your father,
51:2b To Sarah, who writhed with you.
51:2c It was as one that I called him.
51:2d I blessed him and multiplied him.

Line 1d is tied to 2b, and both refer to the female role in procreation; note in 1d the noun *maqqebet*, from the same root that yields *nĕqēbâ*, "(*perforandum*>) female," and in 2a the pleonasm of *ḥwl* (*Polel*) and *ḥll*, "to pierce." The imagery of the Book of Isaiah is here, as often, too convoluted for a brief reading, especially as the language here is to be reused

[82]*JAL*, no. 29 (p. 73).

[83]So ibid.

[84]But there is no gloss or commentary at *JAPN*, no. 56.

[85]Gelb, pp. 279-280; cf. Huffmon, pp. 217-218.

[86]See Zadok, "Phoenicians, Philistines," p. 57, for references.

[87]See also n. 81.

[88]*JAL*, p. 54; cf. *JAPN*, no. 71, which cites only a Safaitic cognate and proposes no gloss.

[89]For the type, see above, 2.2.

[90]Job 30:17.

in a description of the cosmological defeat of Rahab, in 51:9;[91] but notions of birthing are clearly involved in 51:1.

Analogous names are those involving the root *pth*, "to open (here, the womb)."[92] The recently published texts associated with the Nabatean queen Paṣa'el have drawn attention to her name, which may be rendered "God has opened (the womb)."[93]

3.9. *šql*, "to weigh out"

The name *šql*, used in a Ḥisbān ostracon,[94] is hardly to be glossed "Shekel,"[95] as if in anticipation of the medieval and modern Jewish custom of redeeming a first-born son with a coin paid to a hereditary priest. Render rather as a hypocoristicon for the name form *DN + šql*, "DN has weighed out." For cognates, note Amorite *ši-iq-li-im, ši-iq-la-nu(-um)/-nim, šu-gul-tum*, and *ša-ta-aq-lum*.[96] Note similar names in *spr*, "to- count" (Biblical Hebrew *mispār*,[97] *misperet*,[98] *sôperet*[99]), in *mny*, "to reckon" (in Akkadian,[100] and perhaps Amorite,[101] and Ugaritic[102]), and in *ḥšb*, "to reckon" (in Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Phoenician[103]).

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[91]Note *mḥṣbt* and *mḥwllt*, root *ḥll*!

[92]See the discussion of Huffmon, pp. 255-256, and Coogan, p. 82.

[93]So Stark, p. 109, contra J. T. Milik and J. Starcky, "Inscriptions récemment découvertes à Petra," *ADAJ*, 20 (1975): 111-130 (at 114), who render "God has delivered." On the queen, see J. Teixidor, *The Pagan God* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 156, 159; G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 63.

[94]*JAL*, p. 54.

[95]So *JAPN*, no. 102.

[96]Gelb, pp. 33, 363.

[97]Ezra 2:2.

[98]Neh 7:7.

[99]Neh 7:57.

[100]K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* (Helsinki, 1914), p. 294.

[101]Note the names s.v. *mn* in Huffmon, p. 231; cf. Gelb, p. 25.

[102]See Gröndahl, p. 159.

[103]See Zadok, "Phoenicians, Philistines," p. 60. The Phoenician name *mksp* probably does not belong here; see N. Avigad, "Gleanings from Unpublished Ancient Seals," *BASOR*, no. 230 (1978), pp. 67-69 (at 68). It should be noted, however, that the sense of a root relevant to the onomasticon is not always evident; Northwest Semitic names involving the root *ndb* are common, but is the sense "to be noble" (so, e.g., *JAPN*, no. 17, etc.), "to grant, donate" (Stark, p. 99; Gelb, p. 27; Sivan, p. 232); or "to incite and impell" (Zadok, in *BASOR*, no. 231, p. 76).

EXCURSUS A

L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* (Missoula, MT, 1978) (hereinafter *HASS*) includes most of the seal corpus, a primary source for the names. The onomasticon is preliminarily surveyed in K. P. Jackson, "Ammonite Personal Names in the Context of the West Semitic Onomasticon," *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake, IN, 1983), pp. 507-521 (hereinafter *JAPN*). Reference will also be made to K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* (Chico, CA, 1983) (hereinafter *JAL*).

A number of texts with names have been published since *JAPN* appeared; the following list is doubtless incomplete:

(1) *ʾbyḥy* on a 6th-century seal published by N. Avigad, "Some Decorated West Semitic Seals," *IEJ*, 35 (1985): 1-7 (at 1-3). This name is attested in a 7th-century seal; *HASS*, no. 4 (p. 60) = *JAL*, no. 40 (pp. 75-76); cf. *JAPN*, no. 1.

(2) *ʾmṣʾ* on a 7th-century seal published by Sabri Abbadi, "Ein neues ammonitisches Siegel," *ZDPV*, 95 (1979); 36-38. The name is a hypocoristicon comparable to the name *ʾlʾmṣ*, found in a 7th-century seal; *HASS*, no. 5 (pp. 60-61) = *JAL*, no. 44 (p. 76); cf. *JAPN*, no. 9.

(3) *bʿlyšʿ* on a seal from Tell el-ʿUmeiri published by L. T. Geraty, "The Andrews University Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell el-ʿUmeiri," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 85-110; see also W. H. Shea, "Mutilation of Foreign Names by Bible Writers: A Possible Example from Tell el-ʿUmeiri," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 111-115; L. G. Herr, "The Servant of Baalis," *BA* 48 (1985): 169-172; idem, "Is the Spelling of 'Baalis' in Jeremiah 40:14 a Mutilation?", *AUSS* 23 (1985): 187-191. The name is comparable to the well-attested *ʾlyšʿ*, found in: (a) a late 7th-century seal, *HASS*, no. 15 (p. 64) = *JAL*, no. 46 (p. 76); (b) another late 7th-century seal, *HASS*, no. 34 (p. 70) = *JAL*, no. 54 (p. 81); (c) an early 6th-century seal, *HASS*, no. 6 (p. 61) = *JAL*, no. 58 (p. 82); and (d) an 8th-century text, J. Naveh, "The Ostracon from Nimrud: An Ammonite Name-List," *MAARAV* 2 (1979–1980), pp. 163-171, in line 11 (see p. 169). Cf. on *ʾlyšʿ*, *JAPN*, no. 14.

(4) *ḥmyws* (sic!) (feminine) on a seal from Tell el-Mazar of uncertain date, published by Khair Yassine and Pierre Bordreuil, "Deux cachets ouest semitiques inscrits decouvertes à Tell Mazar," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan I*, ed. A. Hadidi (Amman, 1982), pp. 192-194. The name is unknown and difficult.

(5) *ḥml* on a 6th-century seal from Tell el-Mazar, published by Yassine and Bordreuil, pp. 192-194. The name is unknown and difficult.

(6) *mlkm* $^{\circ}$*wr*, the first name on the seal cited sub (3), above. This name is comparable to $^{\circ}l$ $^{\circ}wr$, found on an Ammonite ostracon from Ḥisbān, of which the editio princeps has not appeared (see *JAL*, p. 54), and on a seal (*JAL*, no. 34; cf. *JAPN*, no. 8).

(7) *mlkmgd* on a 6th-century seal published by N. Avigad, "Some Decorated West Semitic Seals," *IEJ* 35 (1985): 4-6. This is apparently the first Ammonite *gd* name.

(8) *smt*, the patronymic on the seal cited sub (4), above.

(9) ^{c}*zy* $^{\circ}$, the patronymic on the seal cited sub (1), above. This name is comparable to ^{c}z $^{\circ}$ on the Nimrud Ostracon, Naveh, p. 168; cf. *JAPN*, no. 77.

(10) ^{c}*kbry*, the main name on the seal cited sub (2), above. This name also has a cognate on the Nimrud Ostracon, ^{c}*kbr*, Naveh, p. 170; cf. *JAPN* no. 80.

(11) *štt*, the patronymic on the seal cited sub (5), above. The reading is difficult.

Of these eleven names, only one (no. 1) was previously attested. The names from Tell el-Mazar (nos. 4, 5, 8, 11) are all difficult, while the others are well paralleled. The Yassin-Bordreuil names are discussed further by E. A. Knauf, "Supplementa Ismaelitica," *Biblische Notizien* 25 (1984): 22-26.

EXCURSUS B

Almost all the names are plainly Northwest Semitic. There are a few exceptions: (1) **Egyptian**: *psmy*, a hypocoristicon of Egyptian *psmṯk*, found in a late-6th-century ostracon from Ḥisbān, the inscriptional first-fruits of that site, published by F. M. Cross, "An Ostracon from Heshbon," *AUSS* 7 . (1969): 223-229, and in *JAL* as Heshbon 5 (p. 55); on *psmy*, see *JAPN*, no. 92. On the Egyptian god *bs*, see the main article above, sub 3.5. (2) **Akkadian**: *mng* $^{\circ}$*nrt*, a mid-7th-century seal, *HASS*, no. 9 (p. 62) = *JAL*, no. 36 (p. 74); cf. *JAPN*, no. 62. (3) **Anatolian (?)**: $^{\circ}w$ $^{\circ}$, a late-7th-century seal, *HASS*, no. 16 (p. 64) = *JAL*, no. 47 (p. 77). Jackson (*JAPN*, no. 5) cites the Midianite name Ewi (Num 31:8, Josh 13:21) and offers a groundless gloss, "refuge." George Mendenhall has observed that the Midianite name may be Anatolian, as may be others in the list of Midianite chiefs, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore, 1973), pp. 167-169. It would be naive to suppose that attestations in other Iron-Age and later Semitic onomastica constitute discomfirming evidence. The name *b* ^{c}r $^{\circ}$, on a 7th-century seal (*JAL*, no. 27, [p. 73]), may also be Anatolian in background, related to Luwian *paḫura*; cf. Mendenhall, pp. 109, 169.

I hope to treat various syntactic and structural difficulties in the Ammonite onomasticon elsewhere. Several names remain quite resistant to discussion, notably ʾlʾ (*JAPN*, no. 7), *bnny* (related to *bn*?, a *qutayl* form?; *JAPN*, no. 32), *ḥṭš* (*JAPN*, no. 46), and *ṣhr* ("shield"?; *JAPN*, no. 94).

HEBREWS 6:19:
ANALYSIS OF SOME ASSUMPTIONS
CONCERNING *KATAPETASMA*

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Commentators on the book of Hebrews are practically unanimous regarding four assumptions upon which they base their interpretation of the term *katapetasma*, "veil," at 6:19 (and also elsewhere in the book). These are: (1) that *tou katapetasmatos* in the phrase *eis to esōteron tou katapetasmatos* at 6:19 is the second veil of the tabernacle structure, namely the veil that separates the Holy Place from the Most Holy Place; (2) that *to esōteron*, "the [place] within," in the same phrase refers to the inner shrine or Most Holy Place; (3) that God the Father's presence within the OT sanctuary was to be found only in the Most Holy Place; and (4) that *ta hagia* (lit., "the holies") in chap. 9 refers to the Most Holy Place.

In other words, it is assumed that the sanctuary language and imagery of the book of Hebrews reflects the second-apartment and Day-of-Atonement ritual. Space will not permit an examination here of all four of these assumptions, but only the first two—those regarding the meaning of the terms *katapetasma* and *esōteron* in Heb 6:19. If there is doubt as to the validity of these first two assumptions, then the third and fourth ones are also open to question and will demand new investigation.

1. *Katapetasma*

Otto Michel reflects the thinking of commentators in general on *katapetasma* in the book of Hebrews when he states that "when Hebrews speaks of 'veil,' . . . then the veil before the Most Holy Place is meant, in harmony with a broader usage of the language."[1]

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[1]Otto Michel, "Der Brief an die Hebräer," in *Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neuen Testament* (Göttingen, 1975), p. 254.

The commentators support this sort of position by appealing to Philo and/or to the LXX wording in Lev 16:2.[2]

Philo (*De Vit. Mes.* 3.5), Marcus Dods tells us, makes a distinction between the two veils of the sanctuary by identifying the first veil with the term *kalumma* and reserving *katapetasma* for the inner veil. Dods then suggests that this is the way *katapetasma* is to be understood in the NT.[3]

However, B. F. Westcott points out that Philo uses these terms "for a spiritual interpretation."[4] Philo may be free to make this clear distinction by the exclusive use of *kalumma* and *katapetasma* in his allegory, but does his allegory reflect what existed in reality? One wonders on the basis of Heb 9:3, where the inner veil of the earthly sanctuary is called the *deuteron katapetasma*, "second veil." If the numerical adjective *deuteron* is required to identify this veil, is it possible that the word *katapetasma* was *not* reserved for the inner veil as Philo and Dods suggest?

With regard to the LXX of Lev 16:2, its wording, *eis to hagion esōteron tou katapetasmatos*, and that of Heb 6:19, *eis to esōteron tou katapetasmatos*, are indeed close. This fact has led James Moffatt to conclude that Hebrews "uses language from the ritual of Lv 16²f," thus indicating that the veil of Heb 6:19 is the inner veil.[5]

However, the contexts of the two passages are entirely different. Lev 16 presents the Day of Atonement—a day of reckoning and judgment. Heb 6:13-20 deals with the Abrahamic covenant and the dispensing of its promises to Abraham's heirs. Are we to impose the context of the Day of Atonement of Lev 16 upon Heb 6 in an attempt to identify the veil of Heb 6:19? Is the fact that the earthly high priest passed within the inner veil during the ritual of the Day of Atonement sufficient reason to understand *katapetasma* at Heb 6:19 as being the inner veil? Or should we allow *eis to esōteron tou katapetasmatos* to stand within its own context, free from the baggage of Lev 16?

[2]Cf. George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews*, AB 36 (Garden City, NY, 1985), p. 116; Michel, pp. 253-254; James Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 89; Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1970), p. 163.

[3]Marcus Dods, "The Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (Grand Rapids, MI, 1970), p. 305.

[4]Westcott, p. 163.

[5]Moffatt, p. 89.

Appealing to Philo for the distinction between the inner veil (*katapetasma*) and the outer veil (*kalumma*) of the sanctuary, Westcott admits that this "distinction of the two is not strictly preserved in the LXX."[6] The problem with Westcott's observation is that he fails to inform his readers as to the degree to which that distinction is not preserved in the LXX.

Other commentators recognize a disparity between the use of *katapetasma* in the LXX and the generally accepted thesis that when this word is read we must understand the inner veil. Herbert Braun, for example, uses the term "meist" in this sense when commenting on *tou katapetasmatos* at Heb 6:19: In the LXX, he informs us, this term is used "mostly [meist] for the veil between the Holy and Most Holy."[7] If by "meist" Braun means that *katapetasma* is the word that is *almost always* chosen for the inner veil in opposition to any other word, there is no quarrel with his statement. But if he means that *katapetasma* is used for the inner veil and *almost never* used for the courtyard veil nor for the first veil of the sanctuary, then his statement comes into serious question. Unfortunately, Braun does not clarify his use of "meist."

R. C. H. Lenski, on the other hand, leaves no alternative when he declares: "The καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ is the inner curtain or veil that hangs between the Holy and the Holy of Holies, as the readers, being Hebrews, well knew. . . . But the regular term for the outer curtain was κάλυμμα and only occasionally was the other term used."[8]

Because the wilderness tabernacle forms the basis for the sanctuary discussion in the book of Hebrews, an examination of *katapetasma* and *kalumma* in the Pentateuch of the LXX will prove interesting. Looking at the references to these two words in Hatch and Redpath, one receives quite a surprise. Out of six references to the courtyard veil, *katapetasma* is used five times,[9] and

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[6]Westcott, p. 163.

[7]Herbert Braun, "An die Hebräer," in *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 14 (Tübingen, 1984): 191. The original German reads, "In LXX unübertragen, meist für den Vorhang zwischen dem Heiligen und dem Allerheiligsten."

[8]R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews and of the Epistle of James* (Columbus, OH, 1938), pp. 205-206. Lenski is here using the wording of the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45) in commenting on Heb 6:19.

[9]Exod 37:26; 39:19; Num 3:26; 4:32; 3 Kgs 6:36 (1 Kgs 6:36).

kalumma once.[10] In eleven references to the first veil of the sanctuary, *katapetasma* is used six times,[11] *kalumma katapetasma* once,[12] *katakalumma* twice,[13] *kalumma* once,[14] and *epispastron* once.[15] Of the twenty-five references to the inner veil, *katapetasma* is used twenty-three times,[16] *to katakalumma tou katapetasmatos* once,[17] and *katakalumma* once.[18]

Certainly, *katapetasma* is used *almost* exclusively for the inner veil (twenty-three out of twenty-five times). But the same can be said for the courtyard veil (five out of six times)! *Katapetasma* is also the majority choice for the first veil of the sanctuary as well (six out of eleven times).

In other words, out of the forty-two references in the Pentateuch to the three veils of the wilderness sanctuary, *katapetasma* is used thirty-four times. Or put another way: In only eight instances among these forty-two references to the sanctuary veils is *katapetasma* not used by itself. Furthermore, in two additional instances *katapetasma* is combined with *kalumma*, thus leaving only six instances out of forty-two where the word does not appear.

Thus, without a doubt, *katapetasma* is the hands-down favorite, not only for the inner veil, but for the first veil and the courtyard veil as well. And in view of this use of *katapetasma* in the LXX, we are forced to conclude that assumptions such as Lenski's must be reexamined. Certainly, Hebrew readers of the LXX were aware that *katapetasma* was thus used overwhelmingly for all three veils, and it is undoubtedly for this very reason that Heb 9:3 identifies which *katapetasma* is being addressed by using the numerical adjective *deuteron*.

[10]Exod 27:16.

[11]Exod 26:37; 37:5 (36:37); 39:19 (40); Lev 21:23; Num 3:10; 18:7.

[12]Exod 40:5.

[13]Num 3:25; 4:31.

[14]Num 4:25.

[15]Exod 26:36.

[16]Exod 26:31, 33 (three times), 34, 35; 27:21; 30:6; 35:12; 37:3 (36:35); 38:18 (36:36); 39:4 (38:27); 40:3, 22, 26; Lev 4:6, 17; 16:2, 12, 15; 24:3; Num 4:5; 2 Chron 3:14.

[17]Exod 40:21.

[18]Num 3:31.

2. *To Esōteron*

As we next analyze the assumption that on analogy with Lev 16:2 *to esōteron* at Heb 6:19 must refer to the inner shrine, it is important to note that omission of *to hagion* from the phrase contained in Hebrews creates a different syntax from what is found in Lev 16:2. In *eis to hagion esōteron tou katapetasmatos* in Lev 16:2, *to hagion* is a substantive adjective and object of the preposition *eis*. The word *esōteron* appears to be an improper preposition followed by the genitive of place, as is also true in Lev 16:12, 15. In *eis to esōteron tou katapetasmatos* at Heb 6:19, however, *to esōteron* becomes a substantive[19] and thus the object of the preposition *eis*; and the phrase *tou katapetasmatos* is, again, a genitive of place.

Paul Ellingworth and Eugene A. Nida say that "shrine (RSV)" or "sanctuary" must be understood with the substantive *esōteron*, thus giving "inner shrine" or "Most Holy Place."[20] But this is true only if one thinks *katapetasma* identifies the second veil. However, we have seen that *katapetasma* is used overwhelmingly for all three veils. Therefore, the *esōteron* behind the veil could just as well be the first apartment of the sanctuary as the "inner shrine," since there is nothing in the context of Heb 6 that directly identifies which veil is being addressed.

Neither should the comparative form of *esōteron* in Heb 6:19 be understood as identifying the "inner shrine." The comparative forms in Greek at this point in time were not strictly adhered to. This can be seen at Lev 16:2, where the context for the phrase *eis to hagion esōteron tou katapetasmatos* identifies *to hagion* as the room where the ark of the covenant stood, with *tou katapetasmatos* therefore being the second veil standing before the ark. *Esōteron* here is understood as the simple *esō* and is translated "within." The context prohibits any other understanding of the word *esōteron*. Likewise at Heb 6:19, *esōteron* may be understood as simply "within." The comparative form should not be pushed in an attempt to identify which apartment stood behind the veil.

[19]Cf. Braun, p. 191.

[20]Paul Ellingworth and Eugene A. Nida, *A Translator's Handbook on the Letter to the Hebrews* (New York, 1983), p. 131.

3. *The Context of Hebrews 6:19*

G. W. Buchanan makes the following statement that is some-
what difficult to understand:

> The LXX has *to hagion esōteron,* "the Holy innermost place."
> The author [of Hebrews] either used a different text or chose to
> omit this word, but the context requires that the place be under-
> stood as the holy of holies. The LXX passage refers to the conduct
> of Aaron on the Day of Atonement. The author's reason for
> quoting this passage was in continuation of his previous dis-
> cussion. The hope for which other generations had expected
> fulfillment since the promise was first made to Abraham might be
> fulfilled for the author's generation.[21]

Buchanan does not inform us how the Day of Atonement of
Lev 16 relates to the context of Heb 6 and the fulfillment of the
Abrahamic covenant. Nor does he point out how or why the
context of Heb 6 requires us to understand the Holy of Holies, the
place that is clearly indicated within the context of Lev 16. It
appears that Buchanan is claiming the context of Lev 16 as the
basis for our understanding of Heb 6:19. But Heb 6:19 has its own
context, and we must allow the term "veil" to stand on its own
merits within that specific context.

In Lev 16:2, the context identifies *katapetasma* as the second
veil and *to hagion* as the "inner shrine." Also, in Heb 9:3 the
general context and the use of the numerical adjective *deuteron*
identify *katapetasma* as the second veil. But the contexts of Lev 16
and Heb 9 do not exist in Heb 6. The fact that the term *katapetasma*
appears in Heb 6:19 does not allow us to assume that the second
veil is meant, for we have seen that this word is freely used for all
three sanctuary veils.

Does, then, the context of 6:19 give us any help in identifying
the word *katapetasma?* Heb 6:13-20 deals with dispensing the bless-
ings of the Abrahamic covenant to Abraham and his children: (1)
God swore by himself to fulfill his promises (vss. 13-16). (2) In
order to convince the heirs of the covenant that he would fulfill his
word, God interposed with an oath (vs. 17). (3) So by two unchange-
able things we have strong encouragement to seize the hope

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[21]Buchanan, p. 116.

(fulfillment of God's promises) set before us (vs. 18). (4) The hope enters "within the veil," where Jesus has gone on our behalf as priest after the order of Melchizedek (vss. 19-20).

This context does not deal with the sanctuary *per se*—i.e., its apartments, furniture, services, etc.—, nor does it contain any reference to the Day of Atonement, as do the contexts of Lev 16:2 and Heb 9:3. At 6:19, *katapetasma* is simply dropped into a discussion of the Abrahamic covenant and the dispensing of the blessings of that covenant. There is nothing here that would identify the veil with which we are dealing, but *katapetasma* is introduced simply to locate where Jesus is ministering—the place where the hope of the covenant people is centered and from whence the covenant blessings are dispensed. Within the broader context of the discussion in the entire book of Hebrews, it would seem that *katapetasma* is here used metaphorically for the sanctuary from which the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant are dispensed.

4. *Conclusion*

Although commentators are virtually unanimous in saying that *katapetasma* at Heb 6:19 is the "second veil" and that *esōteron* is the "inner shrine," these assumptions are called into question by the following facts: (1) In the Pentateuch, the word *katapetasma* is used in the LXX thirty-four out of forty-two times for all three sanctuary veils; (2) *esōteron*, although a substantive at Heb 6:19, cannot be translated as the "inner shrine" because *katapetasma* cannot be identified as the second veil; (3) the context of Heb 6:19 does not allow the identification of the second veil, as do the contexts of Lev 16:2 and Heb 9:3; (4) *katapetasma*, within the context of Heb 6:19 and the broader context of the entire book of Hebrews, may be understood metaphorically as the sanctuary in heaven, into which Jesus has entered as our forerunner, into which our hope has entered, and from which Jesus dispenses the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant.

Finally, because the validity of the assumptions regarding *katapetasma* and *esōteron* can be seriously challenged, the assumptions regarding God the Father's presence within the sanctuary and the meaning of *ta hagia* must also come into question.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EXODUS AND
ON CONSTRUCTION OF THE TABERNACLE:
GERSTER'S PROTOSINAITIC INSCRIPTION NO. 1

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An interesting Protosinaitic inscription discovered by Georg Gerster in the southern Sinai Peninsula early in the year 1960 has received fairly widespread attention, with a variety of suggestions being made as to its exact reading and its meaning. The present study undertakes a further analysis of the letters in this inscription, a new reading of the text based upon this analysis, and some suggestions as to the historical setting and significance of the inscription. In view of evidence set forth below, I suggest that this text, commonly designated as Gerster No. 1, sheds light on the Israelite Exodus and construction of the wilderness tabernacle. The text has four columns, as follows (in my own hand copy):
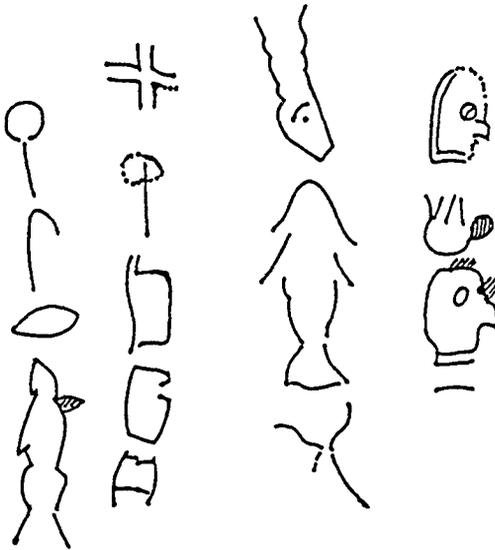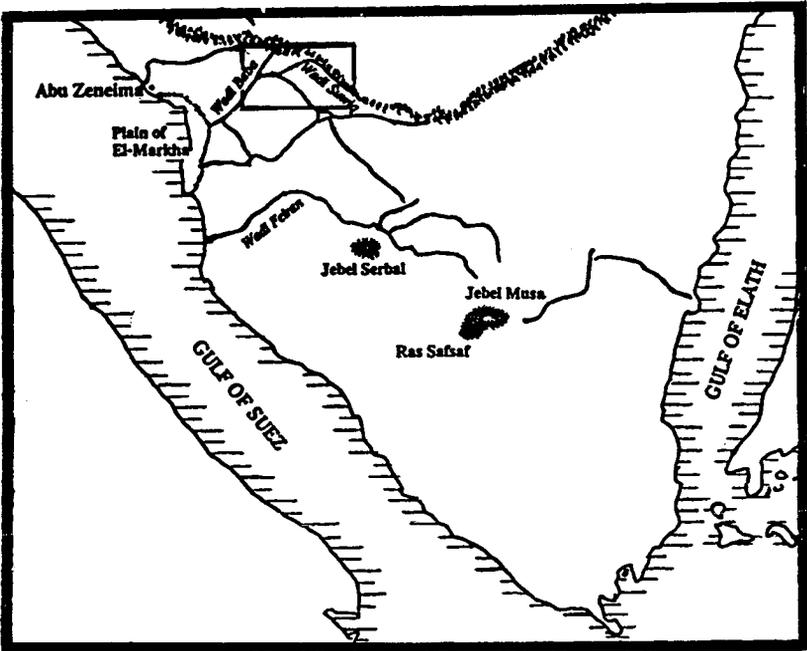
MAP A. THE SINAI PENINSULA
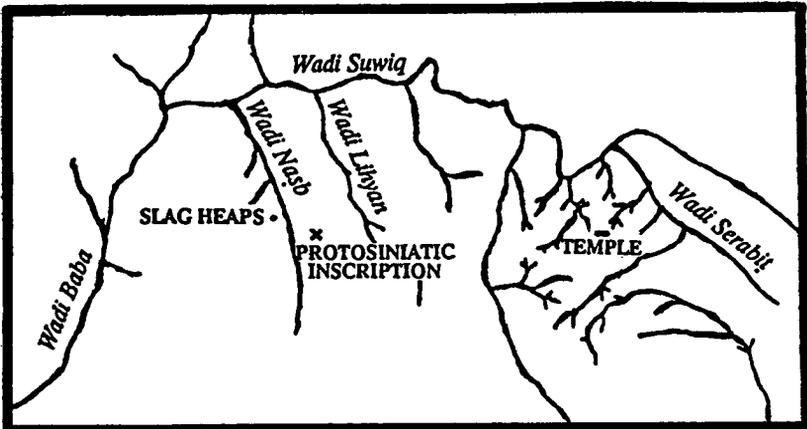
MAP B. THE LOCALE OF PROTOSINIATIC INSCRIPTION AND SLAG HEAPS
(Enlargement of Area Within Box on Map A)

1. *Location and Discovery of the Inscription*

The text which is the subject of this study was incised on the rock wall of a small pass which leads over the ridge that divides the Wadi Naṣb from the Wadi Lihyan in southern Sinai. These two valleys run north; and at their northern end they join the Wadi Suwiq, which runs east and west. Eastward travel in the Wadi Suwiq takes one to the heart of the region where the ancient Egyptians mined turquoise. This is also the region in which the great temple of Hathor was located at Serabiṭ el· Ⅹhadem. Westward travel in the Wadi Suwiq takes one to the place where it runs into the Wadi Baba. The Wadi Baba continues to the southwest and eventually joins the coastal plain of El Markha just south of Abu Zeneima.

Thus this inscription is located in a subsidary valley to the south, off of a main east-west route that extended through the ancient Egyptian mining region from the coastal plain to Serabiṭ el-Khadem. This valley system lies to the north of the Wadi Feiran, which leads east from the coast to the traditional locations for Mount Sinai at Jebel Serbal, Jebel Musa, or Ras Safsaf.

As noted earlier, this text was found by Georg Gerster during the course of his expedition to Sinai early in 1960.[1] Gerster had a clue as to the location of inscriptions in this area from the early work in the region by Sir Flinders Petrie. When Petrie came to this particular pass during the course of his expedition through Sinai in 1905, he noted that there was an Egyptian inscription here which was dated to the 20th year of Amenemhet III of the Twelfth Dynasty.[2] This inscription was finally published by J. Černý, A. H. Gardiner, and T. E. Peet in 1955.[3] When it was published the observation was made that there was a bull's head to the right of it and the suggestion was made that this could possibly have come from the Protosinaitic script.[4] When Gerster came to this spot in

[1]G. Gerster, *Sinai* (Darmstadt, 1961), p. 62, fig. 65. This work is not available to me. W. F. Albright was advised of the existence of this text in a personal communication written to him by Gerster on March 7, 1960; Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*, HTS 22 (Cambridge, MA, 1966), p. 28.

[2]W. M. F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (New York, 1906), p. 27.

[3]A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet, and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, Part II: *Translation and Commentary* (London, 1955), p. 76.

[4]Ibid.

1960 he also copied this three-letter inscription—consisting of an
ʾaleph, an ʿayin, and a mem—that is located just to the right of
the Egyptian inscription. This three-letter text has been identified as
Gerster No. 2,[5] but it is so brief that we are not concerned with
it here.

The main inscription with which we are concerned, Gerster
No. 1, is located two meters to the left of the Egyptian inscription
along the same rock face. In view of its proximity to the Egyptian
inscription, it is surprising that Petrie missed seeing it. He was in a
hurry, however, as he had a rigorous time schedule to meet, and for
this reason he noted that he did not visit the mines in this area.
Petrie did, however, have a direct indication of where to look for
this Egyptian inscription, for a mining prospector named Lintorn
Simmons told him exactly where it was.[6] Thus, it was this mining
prospector who made the first discovery in the area which even-
tually led to the discovery of the Protosinaitic inscription exam-
ined here.

2. *Study of the Text*

Gerster offered the publication rights to this text to W. F.
Albright, but Albright turned it over to J. Leibovitch.[7] Leibovitch
published the first hand-copy and identification of the letters of the
inscription in 1961,[8] but he did not provide a translation or inter-
pretation of the text with his study. Albright published his own
observations on this inscription in 1966, as a part of his treatment
of the entire corpus of Protosinaitic inscriptions.[9] He translated
and interpreted this text as a prayer from a Kenite named Heber.[10]
Palaeographically he dated the text to ca. 1525 B.C., making it the

[5]Albright, p. 29.

[6]Petrie, p. 27.

[7]Albright, p. 28.

[8]J. Leibovitch, "Deux nouvelles inscriptions protosinaïtiques," *Le Museon* 74
(1961): 461-466.

[9]Albright, op. cit. For Gerster No. 1, see pp. 28-29 and fig. 11.

[10]Ibid., p. 29.

earliest in the small corpus of these texts which he dated from 1525 down to 1475 B.C.[11]

In 1962 Gardiner published a note on the date of the Proto-sinaitic inscriptions in which he continued to hold to an earlier date for these texts, from the time of the Twelfth Dynasty.[12] Since this inscription was located near an Egyptian one from the Twelfth Dynasty, Gardiner held that this new find supported his view on this subject. Albright's lower date for these inscriptions has received a broader acceptance in scholarly circles, however, and additional support for Albright's lower date may be found in the interpretation of this text presented below. While Gardiner's study did not include a translation or interpretation of this text, it is accompanied by a hand-copy made by T. G. H. James from Gerster's photograph.[13]

In the same year that Gardiner published his comments on the date of this inscription, A. van den Branden published the second overall interpretation of it.[14] In the light of later studies, his results appear so exceptional that they have not been given detailed consideration here. In my opinion, van den Branden has identified only one letter in each column correctly.[15] His study is accompanied by another hand-copy of the text. F. M. Cross, a student of Albright, published his observations on this text the year after Albright did, in 1967.[16] He examined it as a part of his study on the origin and early evolution of the alphabet. In this study, Cross

[11]Ibid., p. 12. For further lines of support drawn upon for this date by Albright, see his study, "The Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from Sinai and Their Decipherment," *BASOR*, no. 110 (1948), pp. 6-22.

[12]A. H. Gardiner, "Once Again the Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions," *JEA* 48 (1962): 42-48.

[13]Ibid., p. 46, fig. 2.

[14]A. van den Branden, "Les inscriptions protosinaitiques," *OA* 1 (1962): 197-214. The line drawing of Gerster No. 1 is found on p. 199.

[15]The four letters which van den Branden identified correctly, in my opinion, are (1) the L in column 1, (2) the B at the bottom of column 2, (3) the ꜣA at the top of column 3, and (4) the R at the bottom of column 4.

[16]F. M. Cross, "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," *Eretz-Israel* 8 (1967): 8-24. See pp. 16-17 and fig. 2 for Gerster No. 1.

interpreted the text as consisting of a series of three names, and published still another hand-copy of it.

A. F. Rainey's study of this text, published in 1975, broke new ground because it resulted from a first-hand examination of the inscription *in situ*.[17] A new photograph and hand-copy of the text were published with this study.[18] Rainey held that the fourth column to the right should be included with the inscription, not deleted from it as had been done by Albright and Cross. Rainey sees the text as pronouncing blessings upon a certain ⁾Adda, whose title is also given here.[19]

At the time of the present writing, the most recent published examination of this inscription is that of M. Dijkstra in 1983.[20] This study, like Rainey's, has utilized a personal examination of the inscription *in situ* in Sinai. Dijkstra concurs with Rainey that the fourth column to the right should be included as a part of the inscription, and has treated the inscription as a memorial to two individuals named ⁾Adda and Heber.

Dijkstra's study brings us up to date as far as the main studies on this text are concerned. As can be seen from the literature reviewed above, this inscription is commonly interpreted as containing one or more personal names which have been set in the simple framework of a prayer (Albright), a blessing (Rainey), or a memorial (Dijkstra), or have been just left standing alone without such a setting (Cross).

The details of these studies can be summarized best by providing a table in which the readings of these scholars for the different letters in the various columns are identified. This synopsis will serve as a basis for comparison with my own analysis of these letters that follows. The columns have been numbered here from left to right because that is the way in which they are read in the interpretation of this text that I propose below.

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[17]A. F. Rainey, "Notes on Some Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions," *IEJ* 25 (1975): 106-116. See pp. 106-111 for Gerster No. 1.

[18]Ibid. See fig. 1 on p. 107 for the hand copy, and Pl. 11A for the new photograph (published upside-down).

[19]Ibid., p. 111.

[20]M. Dijkstra, "Notes on Some Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions Including an Unrecognized Inscription of Wadi Rod el ᶜAir," *UF* 15 (1983): 34-38.

	Leibovitch[21] (1961)	Albright[22] (1966)	Cross[23] (1967)	Rainey[24] (1975)	Dijkstra[25] (1983)
Col. I:	?	W	W	W	W
	L	L	Y	L	L
	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ
	Ḥ	Ḥ	Q	Ḥ	Ḥ/P
			B		Ḥ
Col. II:	T	T	T	T	Z
	W	L	W	W	W
	D	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ	Ḥ
	R	B	B	B	B
		[R]	R	R	⌈R⌉
Col. III:	ʾA	ʾA	ʾA	ʾA	ʾA
	S	D	D	D	D
	ʾA	ʾA	ʾA	ʾA	[ʾA]
Col. IV:	[B]	(not	[Ḏ]	T	Z
	ʾA	read)	K	K	K
	R		R	R	R
				[B?]	N

3. Further Refinement in Identification of the Letters in the Text

Starting from the readings in the foregoing summary chart, the individual signs or letters of this inscription may be examined again in an attempt to reach further refinement in their identification. This should not be as difficult as might first appear to be the case from the general difficulty of the script. There already is considerable agreement upon the identification of most of the letters

[21]Leibovitch, pp. 464-465.

[22]Albright, *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions*, p. 29.

[23]Cross, p. 17.

[24]Rainey, p. 111.

[25]Dijkstra, pp. 35-36.

in this inscription among those who have treated it, and the chart which Albright worked out for the identification of the characters in this alphabet serves as a convenient point of reference.[26]

Column I

The five investigators are in general agreement that the first three signs in Column I should be identified as the round-headed mace, the curved ox-goad, and the eye. These represent *waw, lamed,* and *ʿayin,* respectively. The only exception is the *yod* that Cross has proposed for the second sign. Since his reading is exceptional and does not fit well the traces present in the photographs, the *lamed* should be retained here.

The sign at the bottom of this column has generally been taken as the loop of twisted flax, which stands for *ḥeth,* but some difficulty is encountered in making that identification from the traces that are present. In both the Egyptian (Gardiner sign V 28)[27] and other Protosinaitic[28] representations of this sign, the loops of its coil always cross in the midline. None of the indentations of this sign cross. Thus, this sign is not an example of *ḥeth.* I take it as a variant form of the fish that is also found in Column III. It points upward as that fish does, but it is not as large nor does it have as prominent fins. The pointed nature of its fins or gills, however, has been minimized in the line drawings of this text. It is especially prominent in the left uppermost case. This letter should therefore be identified as the *dalet,* from the word *dag* for fish.

Column II

For the first four letters of Column II there is agreement among four out of five of the commentators upon their identification as a crossed *taw,* another example of the circular-headed *waw,* a fence in a vertical stance for *ḥeth,* and a square house for *beth.* While I would still retain the possibility that the second sign in

[26]See Albright's "Schematic Table of Proto-Sinaitic Characters," fig. 1 opposite p. 12 in his *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions.*

[27]A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar,* 3d ed. (Oxford, 1957), p. 525.

[28]For examples of this sign in other Protosinaitic inscriptions, see inscriptions nos. 353 in fig. 5 and 365b in fig. 10, following p. 12 in Albright's *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions.*

this column might be the *lamed*, with which Albright identified it, these four identifications may be taken as reasonably secure.

The sign at the bottom of Column II has, however, been difficult to identify. While it has commonly been taken as a damaged head representing *resh*, it is readily apparent that it looks nothing like the head which stands out in *Column IV*. This sign is not round like the human head sign; it is square like the house sign, which stands for *beth*. It is a little smaller than the house sign above it, it angles down slightly to the left, and it has separate lines incised for its walls, as this same sign does elsewhere among the Protosinaitic inscriptions.[29] The square nature of this character is especially evident from Leibovitch's original hand-copy,[30] and this is one of the few characters which van den Branden appears to have identified correctly—as indeed a *beth*.[31]

Column III

All the investigators except Leibovitch are agreed upon the identification of the first two signs in Column III as being the ox-head for *ʾaleph* and the fish-sign for *dalet*. Leibovitch took the second sign as representing a *samek*, overlooking its clearcut depiction of a fish.

The sign at the bottom of this column has been more difficult to identify. It has commonly been taken as an ox-head representing an *ʾaleph*, but there is no lower line on the left to represent the jaw of the animal as there is with the *ʾaleph* at the top of this column. Thus, this sign is not an *ʾaleph*.

For a time I took this sign to be an ingot-shaped *zayin*, but that identification fails for lack of a stroke in the position where one is also lacking for an *ʾaleph*. What we do find here is a depiction of two upper limbs that fork or extend upwards and

[29]For examples of the variation in the *beth* or house sign in the Protosinaitic script, see inscriptions nos. 346a (fig. 6), 359 (fig. 7), and 364 (fig. 10) with doors, and no. 361 (fig. 8) with interior walls, following p. 12 in Albright's *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions*.

[30]For the square nature of the sign at the bottom of Column II, compare Leibovitch's drawing of this sign from Gerster's photograph on p. 463 of "Deux nouvelles," with the first *beth* in inscription no. 360 in fig. 9, following p. 12 in Albright's *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions*.

[31]Van den Branden, p. 202. His drawing of this inscription is found on p. 199.

outwards. They are connected to a tail that angles down to the right. This character thus takes on the shape of a "Y" which angles down towards the right. While it is somewhat exceptional in form (as are some of the other alphabetic characters in this inscription), the character to which this letter comes closest is the *yod*, as one might expect from a Y-shaped letter.

Column IV

The letter at the top of Column IV has been very difficult to identify. Four commentators have suggested a value for it, and in each case the value suggested has been different: a questionable B for Leibovitch, a questionable D̲ for Cross, a T for Rainey, and a Z for Dijkstra. Thus, while it is clear that there are some incisions here which originally represented a letter, it is not clear which letter that was.

Gerster's photograph, which has been republished with several of the studies of this inscription, shows this particular part of the inscription better than does Rainey's more recent photograph. What appears here first in Gerster's photograph is a double line which extends horizontally across the bottom of the character. On the left-hand side this double line turns upwards, and as it extends upwards it also bends to the right in the upper half of its course. To the right of this double line, opposite the juncture between its middle and lower thirds, a small three-sided angular incision appears, with its open side pointed towards the double line. This incision parallels in shape the nose with the head that follows below in this column.

To the left of the upper stroke of this nose is a circular eye, which has a small stroke cut across it that extends from the upper right to the lower left. The strokes make up the nose, the eye, the back of the head, and the bottom of the neck of another human-headed shape, thus standing for a *resh*. Although this letter is smaller than the resh below and is damaged in part of its outline, enough is preserved to recognize it as representing a *resh*.

Cross was the first to identify the next letter in this column as a hand, representing a *kaph*. That identification has been supported clearly by later observers. The thumb is on the right, the little finger is on the left, a curved line extends downward between them, and some vertical strokes for fingers extend upwards.

Another human head for *resh* follows below the *kaph*. Although it is unusual in its shape and detail, it is one of the clearest representations of a character from the alphabet in the inscription. Since Leibovitch's first interpretation of this text, this letter has been recognized as a *resh*.

Below the second head in this column, and clearly separated from it, one horizontal stroke appears. No other incisions can be seen connected to it, and no other strokes or signs are visible below it. Rainey has reconstructed a *beth* in this space, and Dijkstra has suggested that a *nun* was originally present here. I cannot find any other strokes to make up either of these characters, or any other character. Thus, this solitary horizontal stroke appears to be the last stroke of the inscription. The problem is that one horizontal stroke does not make up any letter of the alphabet. For that reason I would suggest that this is not a letter. It appears rather to be simply a line which indicates that one has at this point read to the end of the inscription. This horizontal stroke thus appears to serve as a kind of ancient *soph pasuq* or period.

4. *Determination of the Wording of the Text*

With each of the individual letters in this inscription analyzed and identified above, the inscription as a whole can now be read and interpreted on the basis of the following text:

Column I	Column II	Column III	Column IV
W	T	ʾA	R
L	W	D	K
ꜥA	Ḥ	Y	R
D	B		
	B		

To enable us to read this text more easily, its columns need to be rotated 90° so that its lines read horizontally. In order to make this rotation two further decisions need to be made. First, since no word dividers were written with this text, its words have to be

divided off on the basis of the best sense which successive groups of letters make as words. Second, the order in which its columns are to be read needs to be established. These two decisions are inter-related, for dividing up its words helps to establish the direction in which the columns are to be read, and deciding upon the best direction in which to read the columns provides a key whereby the words can be divided most logically.

Throughout this study this text has been approached by read-ing its columns from left to right and each column from top to bottom. Up to this point this has been done arbitrarily, but now the rationale for this approach should be provided. No particular sense has been made out of reading the columns from right to left, but good sense can be made by reading in the opposite direction. Reading the text in this direction provides some explanations for letter positions: the *taw* at the top of Column II looks like an ending on the word in Column I, and the *resh* at the top of Column IV looks like the last consonant of the word present in Column III. Finally, the horizontal bar at the bottom of Column IV looks more like a marker which demarcates the end of the inscription than it does like another letter. There appear to be good reasons, therefore, why each column of this text should be read from top to bottom and as a group they should be read from left to right.

The columns of this text can now be turned, and its letters can be divided up into words. This has been done in two steps here: first, the text has been turned; and second, its words have been divided up. Since the latter step requires that a few letters be transposed to conclude the word of the preceding line, the letter distribution by line does not always follow that of the columns in the inscription. The letters by columns and by word division may be outlined as follows:

Column		*Word Division*	
Col. I:	W L ᶜA D	*Line 1:*	W-L-ᶜADT
Col. II:	T W Ḥ B B	*Line 2:*	W-ḤBB
Col. III:	ᵓA D Y	*Line 3:*	ᵓADYR
Col. IV:	R K R /	*Line 4:*	KR /

5. *Translation of the Text*

The letters of this text have now been analyzed and identified, those letters have been divided into their best sense units or words, and the direction in which the columns of the text should be read has been proposed. This completes the initial steps necessary to provide a text for translation, and the translation derived from them reads as follows:

Line 1 - "And for the congregation
Line 2 -   and Hobab,
Line 3 -   a mighty
Line 4 -   furnace."

Reading all of this in one statement, we thus have: "And for the congregation and for Hobab, a mighty furnace." For a smoother reading and in order to provide a basis for the interpretation discussed below, this statement can be turned around and some of the ideas understood in connection with these words can be filled in with parentheses: "A mighty furnace (i.e., a smelter) (was supplied) for the congregation (of Israel) and Hobab (the Kenite from Midian)."

Each of the four lines or columns of this text contains one main word, and each of these four words can now be analyzed and discussed in the order in which they occur:

Line 1: ʿADT, "Congregation"

A *waw* and a *lamed* appear first in this column prefixed to this noun. The *waw* fits well as a conjunction with which this statement begins. Parallels for such usage are common in Biblical Hebrew and other West Semitic languages. In this text, it might convey the somewhat severative sense of "now" in initiating this statement. The *lamed* which follows fits well as the common preposition "to, for." That a person or persons, individual or corporate, would follow this preposition could be anticipated from normal usage.

There are several words which the letters ʿADT could compose. They could be a form of the rare verb "to walk" (ʿadh I), or could be an uncommon feminine form of the word for "witness" (Gen 21:30; 31:52). Neither fits well with the rest of the inscriptions

and the context. Somewhat more frequent in Biblical Hebrew, but
not providing any better sense here, is the noun for "ornament" or
the related verb "to adorn" (ʿadh II). More common still is the
word ʿedût for "witness, testimony," commonly referring to the
Ten Commandments in the OT. If this were the word used here,
this statement still would have originated from Israelite circles in
all likelihood, but this word fits neither the syntax of the statement
nor the personal parallel that follows.

This process of elimination leaves us with the word ʿedah/
ʿadat, which is used 145 times in the OT with the meaning of
"assembly, gathering, congregation, company, band." More than
half of its biblical occurrences appear in the book of Numbers
(80 times), referring to the congregation of Israel during its period
of existence in the wilderness after the Exodus from Egypt. Exodus
adds 15 further occurrences of this word during this time, and
Leviticus adds 11 more. Thus, there are over 100 biblical references
to the "congregation of Israel" during the wilderness period.

As a personal reference of a corporate nature, this expression
also fits well as a parallel to the personal name which follows in
Column II. To find this word in a Semitic inscription from the
Late Bronze Age or Egyptian New-Kingdom period, a time during
which Israel spent its wilderness sojourn in Sinai, already points in
the presumptive direction of identifying the "congregation" men-
tioned in this inscription as Israel. The connection is made even
more specific by the use of the personal name in Column II.

By form—with a final taw—the word under consideration is
either an early form of the noun in the absolute state, before the
final taw was dropped, or is the noun in the construct state. The use
of a construct form here—to my mind, the more likely possibility—
would imply that some other word or name was understood as
joined to the word "congregation," but not written out. In biblical
usage, ʿadat, not ʿedah, is the common form in which this word is
used with Israel, so that ʿadat yiśrael is the standard form for the
phrase "the congregation of Israel." Hence, the use of ʿadat in this
inscription can reasonably be taken as pointing towards "the con-
gregation (of Israel)."

Line 2: ḤBB, "Hobab"

The *waw* which precedes *ḥbb* fits well as a conjunction which
links *ḥbb* to the "congregation" that has just been mentioned. If

this is a *lamed* instead, which is also possible, it would parallel the preposition used in the first column, and in this case the conjunction would be understood.

Ḥbb is the direct consonantal equivalent of the personal name Hobab. This name occurs twice in the Bible as a reference to Moses' brother-in-law. Num 10:29 refers to the time when Israel was preparing to depart from their year-long encampment at Mount Sinai. On this occasion Moses urged Hobab to accompany them because he knew the terrain and would be able to serve as a guide for them: "You know how we are to encamp in the wilderness, and you will serve as eyes for us." A reference to Hobab in Judg 4:11 comes from the time of the judges Deborah and Barak when Heber and Jael, Kenites who were descendants of Hobab, lived in northern Israel separated from their tribe and clan.

Some confusion exists in understanding the relations between Hobab (Num 10:29; Judg 4:11), Jethro (Exod 3:1; 4:18; 18:1ff.), and Reuel (Exod 2:18; Num 10:29). For our present purposes the distinction between or identification of Reuel and Jethro is unimportant. It is very important historically, however, to distinguish between Hobab and Jethro. The reason why confusion has arisen has to do with the vocalization of the word *ḥtn*. In Judg 4:11 and Num 10:29, the word has been vocalized as *ḥoten*, "father-in-law," when it should have been vocalized *ḥatan*, "brother-in-law."

The latter vocalization is preferred because it makes better sense out of these references. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, met Moses in the wilderness (Exod 18:1). He delivered to him his wife and sons (vss. 2-7). He then gave Moses some wise advice about how to manage tribal affairs (vss. 13-26). After what appears to have been a relatively brief stay, he departed for his homeland (vs. 27). Hobab, on the other hand, we find still encamped with the Israelites a year later, at the time when they were getting ready to break camp (Num 10:29). Thus Moses' father-in-law Jethro visited the Israelite camp only briefly and then returned to his homeland, while Moses' brother-in-law Hobab remained encamped with the Israelites through the year that they spent at Mount Sinai.

This distinction is important for the significance of the personal name *ḥbb* that is found in the Protosinaitic inscription we are considering. It was Hobab, who stayed on with the Israelites for a year at Sinai, who is mentioned by name in this inscription; it is not Jethro, who only visited them there briefly. The year that

Hobab spent in residence with the Israelites provided him with the opportunity to engage in the same type of activity in which they were engaged, and that type of activity is described in the remainder of the inscription. Its nature can be anticipated from the fact that Hobab is identified in Judg 4:11 as a Kenite. The name for this tribe means "metalsmith." That Hobab would engage in some type of activity relating to metalworking during his stay with the Israelites is to be anticipated as a normal outworking of his probable trade.

According to the decipherment of this inscription proposed here, the personal name of Hobab appears in southern Sinai in a Semitic inscription which dates to the New-Kingdom period of Egyptian history, the same general period in which the biblical Exodus took place. It is also the only period in which the personal name of Hobab is attested in the biblical onomasticon. When it does appear there, it is linked with this same general geographical region.

These unique features strongly suggest that we are dealing here with that very same biblical personage, Moses' brother-in-law. That link between this inscription and the biblical text is reinforced by the connection here of this name with the word for "congregation," the very same word commonly used in the Pentateuch for the congregation of Israel in this same place and time. A reciprocal relationship is involved here: Hobab makes the word for "congregation" specific for that of the "congregation of Israel"; and that particular congregation, in turn, makes this personal name of Hobab specific for that of the biblical personage by the same name.

In short, both of these references to persons—corporate and individual—are found, as we have seen, in the geographical context of Sinai and in the chronological context of the New-Kingdom period of Egyptian history, and these contexts link these two words or names in this inscription with the place and time of the biblical Exodus. We have here in this inscription, then, a contemporary text inscribed by someone from among the biblical people of Israel not long after they had left Egypt, while they were encamped in Sinai.

Line 3: ʾADYR, "A Mighty . . ."

The word *ʾaddîr* is used in Biblical Hebrew as either a noun or adjective meaning "mighty, splendid, glorious." It is derived from

the verb *ʾadar*, which means "to be glorious, to make glorious," and it is related to the nouns *ʾeder* and *ʾederet*, "splendor." *ʾAddîr* has three main uses in Hebrew: (1) as an occasional epithet for God as "the Mighty One"; (2) as a noun referring to leaders or chieftains as "nobles" (cf. Judg 5:12), generally in the plural; and (3) as a modifying adjective meaning "mighty, splendid, glorious." The last use is the most common (18 times), and it is the one that makes the best sense here. It is best connected with the word which follows it, *kr*, rather than with the preceding word Hobab. Its position in relation to *kr* suggests a possible predicate use of the adjective, but in the translation given above it has been utilized as a simply attributive adjective.

Line 4: KR, "Furnace"

The word *kûr* occurs nine times in the OT, always with the meaning of a "furnace" that was connected with the smelting of metals. The metals connected with the furnace vary. In three instances, that metal is iron (Deut 4:20, 1 Kgs 8:51, and Jer 11:4). Two parallel passages in Proverbs refer to both silver and gold (17:3 and 27:21), while a passage in Isaiah (48:10) refers to silver only. One passage in Ezekiel uses this word three times (22:18-22), twice in connection with a fivefold list of metals consisting of silver, bronze, tin, iron, and lead. These occurrences of this word *kûr* are in a figurative sense, referring to the "furnace of affliction"— past (Deut 4:10, 1 Kgs 8:51, Isa 48:10, and Jer 11:4), present (Prov 17:3 and 27:21), or future (Ezek 22:18, 20, 22). The furnace of affliction in the past was Egypt and the experience endured there. The present furnace of affliction is the way in which the Lord tries the hearts of men (Prov 17:3), and the future furnace was to be the way in which the Lord would melt down Judah and Jerusalem when his judgment would come upon them (Ezek 22:18, 20, 22).

However, whereas the past-time references to the furnace apply the term in the figurative sense only, the present and future applications of the term draw their figures out of descriptions of the function of the actual object. This is true of the passages in Proverbs, but it is especially vivid in the case of the passage in Ezekiel: "As men gather silver and bronze and iron and lead and tin into a furnace, to blow the fire upon it in order to melt it, *so* I will gather you in anger and in my wrath, and I will put you in and melt you" (22:20).

It should be noted, further, that the furnace mentioned in the Protosinaitic inscription here under review refers to a furnace that was used in smelting metals. It does not refer to any activities directly connected with the turquoise mining that the Egyptians carried on in this area. Thus, this metal smelting by Hobab and the congregation contrasts with that other type of industrial activity which was carried on in this region of Sinai—an activity that did not make use of the *kûr* or "furnace."

6. *Interpretation of the Text*

Two different parties were involved in the activity referred to by this Protosinaitic inscription. The first of these two parties was a congregation, and we have identified that congregation as the congregation of Israel after it took up residence in Sinai following the Exodus from Egypt. The other party involved in this activity was a man named Hobab, and that person we have identified as the brother-in-law of Moses who is mentioned twice in the Bible. The particular type of activity in which these two parties engaged had to do with the smelting of metal, for a furnace for metal (i.e., a smelter) is mentioned in the last two columns of this inscription in connection with these two parties mentioned in the first two columns of the text.

According to this interpretation, there should have been some sort of metal working activity carried on by these two parties in the vicinity of this inscription. An evident reason for the participation of Hobab in this type of work probably stems from his background and experience. Coming from the tribe of Kenites or "smiths," he undoubtedly was experienced in working with metals. That background would have been valuable to the Israelites in their need for refined metals and metal-working as they encamped at Mount Sinai. The scale upon which these two parties participated in that metal-working activity appears to have been extensive, according to the evidence of the inscription, for the inscription in its third line refers to that installation or operation as "mighty" (*ʾaddîr*).

Since there is an inscription here in the Wadi Naṣb which refers to the smelter for metals that was worked by the congregation (of Israel) in cooperation with Hobab, that naturally raises the question of whether or not there is any archaeological evidence present in the area which would indicate that smelting activity was carried out here. Archaeological evidence for just exactly that kind

of activity is present here in abundance. Petrie has referred to this evidence in his description of the massive pile of slag present in the Wadi Naṣb, and he has also demarcated the location of this deposit on his map of the region.[32] It is located at about the midpoint between the southern end of the valley and its northern juncture with the Wadi Suwiq. Because of its importance for the interpretation of this inscription and for the history of Israelite activity in this area, Petrie's description of this feature is quoted here at length:

> In the Wady Nasb is an enormous mass of slag from copper smelting, about 6 or 8 ft. high, and extending apparently over about 500 ft. along the valley, and 300 ft. wide, but Bauerman puts it at 250 yds. by 200 yds. It has been dug about in recent times, and the man here stated that there had been found four bars like gold, the size of his arm; he agreed, however, that they were copper. These were probably the leakings from one of the furnaces, of which the remains of several are to be seen amid the slag. Besides this mass of slag, which may amount to about 100,000 tons, I saw much scattered slag all the way up the path to the tablet, though it is as difficult to account for its being thus moved, as for the piling up of the slag on the hill at the mouth of the Wady Baba.[33]

It is possible, therefore, to correlate the interpretation of this Protosinaitic inscription advanced above with archaeological findings in the same area in which the inscription was found. Those findings occur on an extensive scale. A direct relationship can be proposed here—that the evidence for the metal smelting carried on by Hobab the smith and the congregation of Israel in the "mighty furnace," and ʾaddîr kûr, is directly represented by the mighty pile of slag found on the floor of the valley near this inscription. While I would not insist that all of the slag present here was deposited only during the one year that the Israelites were resident in the area, I would suggest that a sizable portion of it was, according to the evidence of the phrase used for it in this inscription. Thus, in at least a part of this pile we have the residue of the metal smelting carried out here by the Israelites in the time of Moses.

[32]For a discussion of this slag heap, see Petrie, p. 27, and for its location on his map of the area see the bottom section of Map 1 following p. 34. This finding is also discussed by Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, The Inscriptions, pp. 30-31.

[33]Petrie, p. 27.

7. *Implications of the Text*

The interpretation of this Protosinaitic inscription and its archaeological connections in the vicinity have implications that extend in several directions. They include the following:

1. *The Route of the Exodus*. The route that the Israelites followed after they left Egypt has been a matter of considerable debate over the last century. To simplify a complex matter, it can be said that there are three main theories about that route. One view holds that the Israelites left Egypt by way of the northern coastal road. Another view has seen the Israelites leaving Egypt by a route that went essentially due east or northeast from either Lake Timsah or from the vicinity of Suez. A third view has proposed that they traveled south from the vicinity of Suez into southern Sinai. These three views can be identified respectively as those of the northern route, the central route, and the southern route. If this inscription and the related archaeological evidence discussed thus far in this study have been dealt with accurately, this evidence is decisively in favor of a southern route after the crossing of the *yam suph* or Sea of Reeds, wherever that may have been.

2. *The Location of Mount Sinai*. While this evidence favors the southern route through Sinai for the route of the Exodus, it does not necessarily lend support to the traditional identifications of Rephidim in the Wadi Feiran or Mount Sinai at one of the traditional locations like Jebel Serbal, Jebel Musa, or Ras Safsaf. What this new evidence now indicates is that when the Israelites left the coastal plain of El Markha, they probably did so through the Wadi Baba, not the Wadi Feiran (which is two valley systems to the south of the Wadi Baba). That makes much better sense out of the story in Exod 17:1-7, which tells of the lack of water in the vicinity of Rephidim. Such an occurrence would have been much more likely in a valley like the Wadi Baba than in a relatively well-watered valley like the Wadi Feiran.

Since the Israelites appear to have turned into the interior of Sinai north of the Wadi Feiran, it is unlikely that Mount Sinai should be located among the major mountains at the eastern end of the Wadi Feiran. It should rather be located somewhere to the north, along the arc of the Wadi Baba and the Wadi Suwiq. This arc would appear to encompass the geographical range of sites from the entrance to the Wadi Baba at the El Markha plain in the west to Serabiṭ el-Khadem in the east. The great mountain massifs

of southern Sinai are magnificent, beautiful, and impressive, but they do not appear to have provided the location where the Israelites camped while they spent their year in this region.

3. *The Date of the Exodus.* For those who consider the biblical Exodus to have been a historical event there has been a long-standing discussion over the date when it was thought to have occurred. Two main dates have been proposed: one in the thirteenth century B.C., under the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty of the Ramessides, and the other in the fifteenth century, under the Eighteenth Dynasty of the Thutmosides. If the interpretation of this Protosinaitic inscription proposed above is correct, it is decisively in favor of the earlier date.

4. *The Time of Origination of the Protosinaitic Inscriptions.* There has also been a debate over the time in which the Protosinaitic inscriptions originated. This discussion has revolved around whether this script was developed in the nineteenth century B.C., in the time of the Twelfth Dynasty, or under the early Eighteenth Dynasty, in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C. The weight of evidence has favored the later date, and this interpretation of this inscription has lent further support to it. No one has proposed, however, that this script was still in use in Sinai as late as the thirteenth century B.C. As it has synchronized the date of the Protosinaitic inscriptions with the date of the biblical Exodus, this interpretation of this text has provided evidence against both the early date for the Protosinaitic inscriptions and the late date for the Exodus.

5. *Construction of the Tabernacle.* An important question here is what were the Israelites doing during the year that they encamped at Mount Sinai? The answer to this question is provided by the last half of the book of Exodus. The major task in which they engaged during that period was the building of the tabernacle. The first half of this section of the book gives the instructions for carrying out that construction, and the second half of the section tells how those instructions were carried out. This half of the book of Exodus also provides the largest single concentration of OT references to bronze. There are 130 references to bronze in the entire OT, and 35 of them occur here—more than in any other OT book. The references to bronze are so abundant here because it was one of the major elements which went into the construction of the tabernacle and its contents.

The pieces of evidence that we have considered fit together like three corners of a triangular puzzle. These three pieces are (1) the abundant literary references to bronze in the Exodus passages that deal with the construction of the tabernacle, (2) the extra-biblical literary reference in the Protosinaitic inscription to the mighty smelter that was worked by the congregation (of Israel) and Hobab, and (3) the massive slag heap found on the floor of the valley at the foot of the mountain ridge where the inscription is located. The bronze that came out of the ore represented by its residue in the slag heap can readily be seen as coming out of the smelter referred to in this extra-biblical text. In turn, this bronze provided one of the metals that was used in the construction project described in the biblical text. One estimate is that those biblical references to bronze would have required two and one-half tons of metal.[34] The size of the slag heap is such that the ore represented would appear adequate to have produced that amount of bronze, if indeed that much was necessary for the completion of the sanctuary.

Historical and literary critics have expressed considerable skepticism about the accuracy of the description of the tabernacle and its construction given in Exod 25-40.[35] They have attributed these narratives to a late (exilic or post-exilic) literary source (P) that developed a very inaccurate historical picture of the tabernacle by projecting a view of the Solomonic temple back into that pre-monarchic period. In view of the fact that we now appear to have in hand an extra-biblical literary source and artifactual evidence which relate to the bronze that was worked by the Israelites during the time they spent in Sinai, this skepticism about the wilderness tabernacle—or at least the presence of the bronze in that tabernacle—seems unwarranted.

8. *Summary*

A new interpretation of Gerster's Protosinaitic inscription No. 1 has been advanced here by combining most of the readings for its

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[34]This estimate is given by N. Sarna in his discussion of the tabernacle in his *Exploring Exodus* (New York, 1986), p. 196.

[35]For references to the sources containing a discussion of these literary critical matters, see F. M. Cross, "The Priestly Tabernacle in the Light of Recent Research," in *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times*, ed. A. Biran (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 169-170; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus*, New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI, 1980), p. 260; and B. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical Theological Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1974), pp. 529-538.

letters developed in the course of previous studies with new iden-
tifications proposed for four remaining letters at the bottom of the
first three columns and the top of the fourth column. These four
new proposals involve substituting a D for the Ḥ at the bottom of
Column I, a B for the R at the bottom of Column II, a Y for the
previous ʾA at the bottom of Column III, and an R for the pre-
viously unrecognizable letter at the top of Column IV.

When these substitutions and additions are made, the text that
emerges from the resulting transcription can be translated, "And
for the congregation and for Hobab, a mighty furnace." The con-
gregation referred to here has been taken in this study as being the
congregation of Israel at the time of the Exodus, and the Hobab
named here has been identified as Moses' brother-in-law. With his
experience as a Kenite metalworker, Hobab was able to lead the
Israelite workers in smelting the ore necessary as a part of the
tabernacle construction. The smelter involved in this process is
referred to in the last two columns of this text. Archaeological
evidence for the operation of that smelter has been found in the
extensive slag heap found in the Wadi Naṣb, not far from the
location where this text was inscribed.

Implications from this conclusion about the contents of this
inscription affect biblical history of the Exodus period at several
points. The location of this inscription lends strong support to the
idea that the Israelites passed through this part of southern Sinai as
a part of their route of travel from Egypt to Canaan. Since this
inscription and the activity associated with it are located some
distance north of the traditional southern locations for Mount
Sinai, that important mountain should probably be sought north
of those more traditional locations.

In terms of chronological effects, this interpretation of this
inscription supports the lower date for the development of the
Protosinaitic script, in the sixteenth or fifteenth century B.C., and it
supports a higher date for the Exodus, in the fifteenth century as
opposed to the thirteenth century. Since the contents of this in-
scription and the associated nearby archaeological evidence are
connected to the production of bronze in this area at that time, and
since the construction of the tabernacle was the prime reason why
the Israelites needed bronze here, this inscription and the nearby
slag heap provide evidence for the construction of that structure by
the Israelites, with Kenite assistance. Historical and literary recon-
structions which have denied such a course of events should now
be reevaluated by taking these new data into account.

Finally, a word should be said about the relationship of this inscription to the rest of the corpus of Protosinaitic inscriptions. Most of those other inscriptions cluster around Mines M and L and the temple of Hathor at Serabiṭ el-Khadem. They come in two basic categories: (1) short votive statements dedicated to Hathor, the goddess of the turquoise mining region; and (2) short statements about the personnel, procedures, or product of the turquoise mining process. In these respects the Protosinaitic inscriptions parallel the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions which are also found in the area.

This particular Protosinaitic inscription is unique, however. It stands apart from those other inscriptions in terms of geographic location, the variant type of script utilized for it, the nature of its contents, and the group from which the person who incised it came. These unique features of this inscription can be explained by relating the inscribing of it to someone from the congregation of Israel or to Hobab himself. It was not incised by someone from the group of Semitic miners who worked the turquoise mines to the east, where they inscribed their own Protosinaitic inscriptions of a different nature.

THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF PSALM 151

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The psalms scroll which later was to become known as 11QPs[a] was discovered in a cave a short distance to the north of Khirbet Qumrân and ended up in the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem in February of 1956. The scroll was not unrolled until November of 1961.[1] The early reports about this discovery also indicated the content of the scroll. Among the several psalms which were represented was the one numbered 151 in the LXX.

J. A. Sanders provides us with an insight into the prior knowledge of this psalm in Syriac, where it was one of five non-canonical psalms which were part of a Book of Discipline dated to the tenth century A.D. They were noted in a manuscript in the Vatican library in the middle of the eighteenth century and published by W. Wright in 1887.[2] The most interesting work relating to the text of these psalms appeared in 1930, when Martin Noth not only published a collated text of the psalms but also proceeded to translate three of the five back into Hebrew, which he considered to have been the original language. The first psalm—the 151st of the LXX and the topic of this brief study—was not one of the three translated.[3]

The 151st psalm of the LXX is essentially the same as the first of the five Syriac psalms, but there are significant differences between these and the 11QPs[a] 151st psalm that seem to indicate a different textual tradition. Since Noth thought that the *Vorlagen* of the five Syriac psalms were Hebrew and since the Syriac and the LXX are in basic agreement, it is only appropriate to ask a question about

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[1]The complete story of the discovery and unrolling of the scroll can be found in R. de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 573-574; and J. A. Sanders, "The Scroll of Psalms (11QPss) from Cave 11: A Preliminary Report," *BASOR*, no. 165 (1962), pp. 11-15.

[2]The earliest description by J. A. Sanders appears in "Ps. 151 in 11QPss," *ZAW* 75 (1963): 73-86. An almost identical account is found in J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, no. 4 (Oxford, 1965).

[3]M. Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," *ZAW* 48 (1930): 1-23.

the relationship between the LXX and the 11QPs^a. Sanders has pointed out that in the cases where the Qumrân psalms differ from the MT they also differ from the LXX. It is therefore quite clear that the LXX cannot be considered a translation of the 11QPs^a 151st psalm.[4]

There are a number of possibilities for exploring the poetic structure of this poem. Sanders chose to use only bicola, fourteen in all, in his ordering of the psalm.[5] He also saw possibilities of influences of Orphism in the poem. The introduction of the trees and the animals enjoying the music of David, but unable to express their appreciation, appear to have some similarities with the myth of Orpheus; and David's phrase, "I said in my soul," is seen to be especially intelligible to the Hellenistic ear.[6]

Isaac Rabinowitz early in the debate opposed this position, which was most strongly defended by André Dupont-Sommer. Rabinowitz does not see the phrase, "I said in my heart," to be a particularly Hellenistic construction. Instead, he draws a parallel with similar introductory formulas used in Eccl 2:1 and 3:17, where no Hellenistic influence is suggested. Frank Moore Cross has also dismissed any links to Orphism. He sees in the poem some fundamental biblical modes of expression and points out that in Ps 148 nature indeed praises the Lord and that this poem does not step outside the biblical tradition.[7]

Jean Magne has argued for influences of Orphism in the psalm but he cannot support the views of Dupont-Sommer regarding Pythagorean doctrines in, and an Essene origin of, the psalm.[8] Magne also notes a chiastic structure of the psalm, 2 2 3 3 2 3-3 2 3 3 2 2, where 2 stands for a bicolon and 3 for a tricolon. Pierre Auffret has questioned this chiasmus because of a lack of correspondence in the thematic order of the psalm.[9] It is in light of this

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[4]Sanders, "Ps. 151," pp. 78-80.

[5]Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, pp. 55-56.

[6]Sanders, "Ps. 151," p. 82.

[7]See André Dupont-Sommer, "Le Psaume CLI dans 11QPs^a et le problème de son origine essénienne," *Sem* 14 (1964): 25-62; Isaac Rabinowitz, "The Alleged Orphism of 11Q Pss 28:3-12," *ZAW* 76 (1964): 193-200; and Frank Moore Cross, "David, Orpheus, and Psalm 151:3-4," *BASOR*, no. 231 (1978), pp. 69-71.

[8]Jean Magne, "Orphisme, pythagorisme, essénisme dans le texte hébreu du Psaume 151?" *RevQ* 32 (1975): 545.

[9]Ibid., p. 520; and Pierre Auffret, "Structure littéraire et interprétation du Psaume 151 de la grotte 11 de Qumrân," *RevQ* 34 (1977): 172.

disagreement concerning the chiastic structure of the psalm that I have completed the present brief study.

1. *The Text and Its Translation*

The Hebrew text of 11QPs[a] consists of ten lines, with no attempt to divide the lines according to any kind of poetic or other structure. In the translation that follows (on the next page), the numbers on the left indicate my division of the psalm into cola, a division which is in basic agreement with the work of Magne. The three columns on the right indicate organization of content, number of syllables, and number of stress accents. The introductory line of the psalm, "A Hallelujah of David, the Son of Jesse," is only a lengthened form of the introductions found in Pss 146-150. As an introductory phrase, it is omitted from the poetic reconstruction of the psalm.

2. *Poetic Analysis*

The first two bicola, verse 1, make a clear conceptual unit. In both cola repetitive parallelism is used, yet the second bicolon is a progression of thought from the first. The relationship between the two bicola can best be described as synthetic parallelism.

The next unit, verse 2, is a tricolon. Sanders used only bicola in his arrangement. Rabinowitz, J. Carmignac, Magne, and P. W. Skehan all have a tricolon in this place.[10] The verb *w'symh*, an imperfect with a *wāw* consecutive, seems to tie the sentence to the preceding text rather than to begin a new bicolon. When given a past-tense translation, it also agrees with the verbs in the two first cola in this tricolon. On the other hand, if the last line of tricolon 2 together with the first line of tricolon 3 were to make up a bicolon, a future-tense translation would make the most sense. As a tricolon a thematic whole is allowed to exist: with flute and lyre the psalmist gave glory.

Tricolon 3 starts with the phrase, "I said in my soul." This line introduces what follows, rather than concluding what has

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[10]A number of poetic reconstructions of Ps 151 have appeared. For comparative purposes the following can be consulted: Sanders, "Ps. 151," p. 77; Rabinowitz, p. 196; Jean Carmignac, "Précisions sur la forme poétique du Psaume 151," *RevQ* 18 (1965): 250; Magne, p. 544; and Patrick Wm. Skehan, "The Apocryphal Psalm 151," *Bib* 25 (1963): 408-409.

PSALM 151 11QPs[a]

First Strophe	Cont	Syll	Acc
1. Smaller was I than my brothers	abc	8	3
And younger than the sons of my father	ac	8	2
Yet he appointed me shepherd for his sheep	abc	10	3
And ruler over his kids.	bc	8	2
2. My hands have made a flute	abc	6	3
And my fingers a lyre,	ac	7	2
And I have given glory to Yahweh.	xyz	8	3
3. I said in my soul,	xyz	8	3
O that the mountains would bear witness for me	abc	8	3
And O that the hills would tell.	ab	8	3
4. The trees have taken away my words	abc	8	3
And the sheep my works.	bc	7	2
5. For who can tell,	ab	4	3
And who can speak,	ab	5	2
And who can recount my works?	abc	9	3

Second Strophe			
6. The Lord of all saw,	abc	6	2
God of all, He heard,	abc	8	3
And He has heeded.	ac	5	2
7. He sent His prophet to anoint me;	abc	6	2
Samuel to make me great.	bc	8	2
8. My brothers went out to meet him;	xyz	8	3
Handsome of form,	ab	4	1
And handsome of appearance.	ab	6	1
9. Tall in their height;	ab	8	2
Handsome with their hair.	ab	7	2
Them did Yahweh God not choose.	xyz	9	4
10. But He sent and took me from behind the sheep,	abc	13	4
And anointed me with holy oil.	def	10	3
And He appointed me leader for His people,	abc	10	3
And ruler over the sons of His covenant.	bc	8	2

preceded. In the reading of $lw^{\jmath}$ I have followed Cross and taken this as an exclamatory particle rather than as a negative.[11] The alternative reading—"The mountains do not bear witness for me, And the hills do not tell"—does not, however, change the overall intent of this portion of the psalm. An argument could be made for retaining that reading since it leads naturally into bicolon 4. There I have taken the disputed word ʿlw and read it as the verb "to take away."[12] Bicolon 4 is then parallel in thought to tricolon 3. The first strophe ends with tricolon 5, which forms a conceptual unit.

The second half of the psalm is by structure a mirror image of the first half, the whole being a structural chiasmus. As I have already mentioned, Magne has seen this chiasmus, but his main concern was an investigation of the Hellenistic influences in the psalm. The whole second half of the psalm is a continuous narrative in poetic style with an internal chiasmus.

Tricolon 6 is a conceptual unit which flows into bicolon 7, constructed in synonymous parallelism. My reading of verse 6 differs considerably from the reading of Sanders, who combines verses 5 and 6 as follows:

> For who can proclaim and who can bespeak
>   and who can recount the deed of the Lord?
> Everything has God seen,
>   everything has he heard and he has heeded.[13]

Rabinowitz has a syntax which seems easier to support. He reads, "The Master of the universe was; the God of the universe. . . . "[14] In Sanders's sentence the direct object is definite, hkwl. The word occupies the same place in the bicolon and both times without the sign of the definite direct object. The particle $^{\jmath}\underline{t}$ occurs four times in this psalm and one would expect it preceding a definite direct object.

It is true that in verse 7 the word $nby^{\jmath}w$ seems to be the direct object of the verb šlḥ, and since it is definite it should have the sign of the definite direct object preceding it. If the second half of

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[11]Cross, p. 70.

[12]Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1958), p. 705.

[13]Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, p. 56.

[14]Rabinowitz, p. 196.

bicolon 7 were not there, one could easily make the word "prophet" the subject in the sentence and read: "His prophet stretched out to anoint me." But the next half of the bicolon will not allow this because here Samuel is seen as the direct object of some previous verb, and the context most easily makes that verb *šlḥ*. The structure of this verse is different from the structure of verse 6. The difference is that in the second colon of verse 7 the sign of the definite direct object is present. There is no main verb in this colon, but this second colon is strongly connected with the first half of the verse. The definite direct object of the whole sentence consisting of the bicolon is the second colon, and it is accompanied by the sign of the definite direct object.

Tricola 8 and 9 form an internal chiasmus. By emphasizing the chiastic structure, I can avoid calling the first line of tricolon 8 and the last line of tricolon 9 a split bicolon.

The last two bicola of the psalm show no technical difficulties. They are quite regular in their synthetic and repetitive parallelism, respectively.

The tabulation of the syllable count and the stress accents does not add significantly to a poetic analysis of the psalm. At least in this case, such means were not considered important in terms of the poetic outcome. It appears to have been more important to follow the classical poetic style of Hebrew literature, where parallelism in its varied applications predominates.

3. *Commentary*

This psalm is a concrete narrative-type poem in classical Hebrew poetic style. It sings about the election of David to the monarchy of Israel. The parallel biblical passage is the brief account found in 1 Sam 16:1-13.

Date of the Psalm

The question of interpretation is complicated by the difficulty of arriving at a certain date for the writing of the psalm. Robert Polzin has pointed out that the lack of agreement regarding the reading of the psalm should make us cautious when "using linguistic arguments based on controverted interpretations to establish a date for this composition."[15]

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[15]Robert Polzin, "Notes on the Dating of the Non-Massoretic Psalms of 11QPs^a," *HTR* 60 (1967): 475.

The questions of date and interpretation are closely connected in the case of this psalm. If one accepts the validity of Orphic influences in the psalm, it becomes difficult to accept the date suggested by W. F. Albright, the seventh-sixth century B.C.[16] The Psalm does not truly reflect the typical poetic style of Qumrân. Since the classical poetic style probably went out of use in the post-exilic period, the poem could be dated to the sixth century B.C. or earlier on stylistic grounds.[17] The argument of poetic style should be allowed its proper weight in the determination of a date for the psalm. Cross argues for a date in the Persian period, based on orthographic survivals,[18] and strong reasons for a later date have been advanced by Sanders.[19]

Sanders has pointed out "that at Qumrân David was considered the author of the psalter."[20] But it must also be pointed out that in spite of Polzin's caution, there are some phrases which make an early date difficult. These are *ʾdwn hkwl* and *bny bryt̲*. The first phrase has been demonstrated to be post-biblical. It is found in Syriac, Palmyrene, the Babylonian Talmud, the LXX (Job 5:8), and Ben Sira (36:1). The second phrase is one of the best known from the Qumrân literature. It is found in Rabbinic literature, the Odes of Solomon (17:15), and the NT (Acts 3:25).[21] The expressions would make it difficult to hold to an early date unless one sees such expressions as an attempt to establish legitimacy for the Qumrân community. If a late date is accepted, that does not have to mean that Hellenistic influences are operative. The language used is biblical, both in content and in expression, even though some idioms used are of post-biblical origin. I would allow poetic style to be the weightier argument in establishing a date for the psalm. A linguistic stratigraphy with a *terminus post quem* in the Hellenistic period would be very difficult to establish. The document in its present form dates to this period, but its date of authorship is probably sixth century.

[16]W. F. Albright in correspondence cited in Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, p. 54.

[17]For a thorough discussion of Hebrew poetic style, see Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, JSOT Supplement Series, no. 26 (Sheffield, Eng., 1984).

[18]Cross, p. 70.

[19]Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, pp. 62-63.

[20]Ibid., p. 64.

[21]See the discussion in Polzin, p. 475, n. 33.

Analysis of Thematic Chiasmus

In a psalm which has a chiastic structure one would expect also to find a thematic chiasmus. As has been mentioned above, Auffret argued against a structural chiasmus because of a lack of a thematic correspondence. On the other hand, when a structural chiasmus can be detected as in this psalm, that structure should be allowed to assist and shape the understanding of the thematic content of the poem. Thus, it is quite proper to look for the thematic correspondents which may not be evident at first. The chiastic structure becomes the mandate for understanding the corresponding components in the poem.

First an overview of the psalm: The narrative of the first strophe poses all of the questions which are then answered or contrasted in the second strophe. Verse 1 speaks about the size and age of David in comparison to his brothers and about his appointment to the work of shepherd. The counterpart is found in verse 10, which contrasts the facts that size and age are not criteria for being appointed to the position of leader over Israel. Of the two bicola in verse 1, the first one corresponds with the last one in verse 10. One could therefore argue for separating these verses into two verses each, thus giving the psalm a total of twelve verses.[22] But there is an inner cohesiveness in these two verses which ties them together into units. The second bicolon of verse 10 makes use of the same verb and nearly all the nouns of the second bicolon in verse 1.

Verse 2 continues the narrative of verse 1. It speaks about what David has done, and the continuation from the shepherd scene of verse 1 indicates that it is while doing the work of a shepherd that he has made the instruments which he used to give glory to Yahweh. It seems quite natural that one who works as a shepherd should find his joy in giving glory to someone other than himself. Contrasted with verse 2 is verse 9. The focus has changed to the brothers of David who, relying on their natural stature and handsome appearance, were not chosen by God. The fact that they were not chosen implies that they really expected to be. The other-centeredness of David is contrasted with the self-centeredness of his brothers.

The genius of the chiastic narrative poem is that it makes sense as a continuous account, while at the same time also making

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[22]Magne, p. 544, has divided the psalm in this way.

sense in its chiastic structure—unit with corresponding unit. Thus verse 3 continues the story of the first two verses. David is the shepherd whose virtues remain unknown, yet they have been observable; but in the mountains and the hills there was none who could testify in his behalf. The corresponding verse 8 continues the contrast of David with his brothers. While David longs for someone to testify on his account, his brothers rely on their physical appearance. Internal and external virtues are contrasted.

In verse 4 the wilderness isolation theme is continued and an element of despair is introduced. All of David's work has been in the presence of the trees or nature and the sheep that have taken away his words and his work. And at the same time that despair becomes evident in verse 4, the corresponding verse in the chiastic structure, verse 7, introduces hope. Again contrasting themes are used to intensify the answer to the problem posed in verse 4.

The climax of the psalm is reached in verses 5 and 6 and was already anticipated in the previous verse. The despair introduced in verse 4 is heightened in verse 5 with a series of three questions of "who." These three questions are answered in verse 6 with "The Lord, . . . God of all, . . . He. . . . " This is at the same time both the conclusion and the center of the poem.

Within the second strophe there is a smaller chiasmus in verses 8 and 9, where the first line in verse 8 corresponds to the last line in verse 9. It is not only a thematic chiasmus but also a structural one. Respectively, the two tricola have the first and the last lines as variants, as shown by the content indicators xyz,ab,ab : ab,ab,xyz.

The whole poem can be seen as a chiastic envelope which reads as five sets of corresponding verses. It can also be read as a continuous complete narrative.

4. *Conclusion*

Psalm 151 from 11QPs^a is basically the same as Ps 151 in the LXX, but there are distinct differences which preclude the latter's being a direct translation of 11QPs^a 151. Several possibilities have been explored in terms of structure and origin of the psalm. Orphic influences have been seen as possibilities by Sanders, and as direct influences by Dupont-Sommer, Magne, and others. Rabinowitz and Cross, to mention only two scholars with a different view, have argued against Orphic influences and for biblical modes of expression and thinking.

The question of date and authorship is not easily answered. Strong arguments can be found for a late date in the Hellenistic period, for a little earlier in the Persian period, or for as early a date as that of Albright in the seventh-sixth century B.C. I have chosen a date in the sixth century because of the poetic style used.

This essay has dealt with the chiastic structure of the psalm, a structure noted by Magne and disputed by Auffret. The chiasmus is not limited to the structural composition of the psalm, but includes the thematic elements also. The corresponding units in the psalm follow mostly a contrasting-of-ideas approach, but the climax of the poem is found in making God the answer to three desperate questions of "who." By using a chiastic structure which relies on stark contrasts, this narrative is in fact able to discuss and provide answers to some abstract philosophical questions. Those questions dealing with ideas and concepts are not removed from the concrete situation of personal experience, even the experience of herding sheep.

THE EIGHT BASIC VISIONS
IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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The book of Revelation is a remarkably well-constructed literary piece, containing a multiplicity of neatly intertwining patterns. Such patterns are more than simply demonstrations of aesthetic taste and compositional skill, and they also transcend the useful purpose of serving as mnemonic devices. Indeed, in a forthright and forceful way they highlight various aspects of the book's theological message.

In broadest scope, the entire Apocalypse is structured into an overall chiastic pattern in which prologue and epilogue are counterparts and in which the intervening major prophetic sequences or visions are also paired in a chiastic or inverse order. This broad chiastic structure and its significance I have treated on several previous occasions,[1] and they need no further elaboration for our purposes here, except to notice two specific features: (1) Aside from the prologue and epilogue, there are *eight* major prophetic sequences—four that precede and four that follow a line drawn between chaps. 14 and 15. (2) The visions preceding the chiastic dividing line have basically an historical perspective (that is, they relate to the Christian era), and the visions after the chiastic dividing line depict the eschatological-judgment era.

With respect to the first item above, it should be emphasized that there are indeed *eight* major prophetic sequences in the

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[1]E.g., editions of *The Open Gates of Heaven* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1969 and 1972) and of its successor, *Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Worthington, OH, 1976, and Naples, FL, 1979); also "Apocalyptic Prophecy and the Church," Part I, in *Ministry*, October 1983, pp. 22-23. See especially the discussion in *Interpreting*, pp. 43-51 and the diagram on p. 52. The exact divisions between blocs of text in the Apocalypse have in several instances been modified slightly in the present article from the way they have been given in earlier publications.
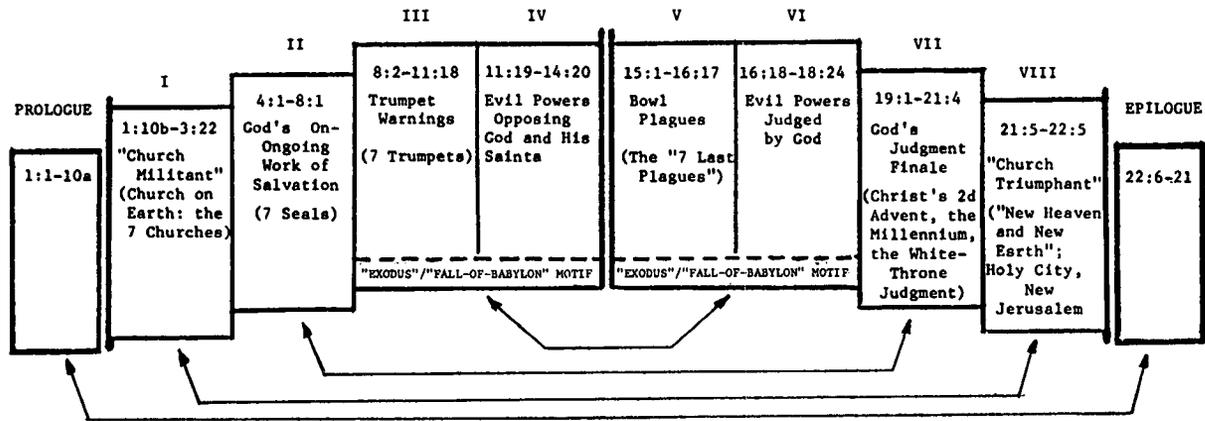
DIAGRAM 1.   THE CHIASTIC STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION

Apocalypse, not seven, as various interpreters have assumed.[2] Concerning the second item, several qualifications should be noted: In the second through fourth visions, each historical sequence concludes with a section that portrays the time of eschatological judgment; and in the subsequent visions, which in their essence furnish an enlargement on that eschatological-judgment era, there are two kinds of material that pertain to the historical era—explanations (which must obviously be made in terms of the prophet's own perspective in history); and exhortations or appeals (which have value only prior to the eschatological judgment and which would, of course, be meaningless at the time of the final eschatological judgment itself). These qualifications concerning "exceptions" to the main thrust or coverage of the visions on each side of the chiastic dividing line should not, however, be considered as "crossover" materials. These data are important parts of their own sequences, are in proper position as they stand, and speak significantly to the contexts in which they are found. Moreover, they are discrete and meaningful units as to nature, placement, and/or purpose, within their own specific visions.

For convenience, the comprehensive chiastic structure of Revelation into prologue, epilogue, and eight visions is set forth in outline form in Diagram 1, which includes also my suggestions as to the textual boundaries and general topics of the various visions. In this diagram and throughout the remainder of the discussion in this article, the term "visions" will refer to these eight complete prophetic sequences, not to individual visionary experiences of lesser extent. Also, Roman numerals will be used to identify the visions in sequence.

The present study has two main purposes, and the data pertaining to each of these will be presented in separate articles: First, the present essay analyzes. briefly some parallel patterns in the

[2]Such interpreters have apparently drawn the conclusion that because seven is a significant number symbol in Revelation—occurring, for instance, in four explicit septets: the churches, seals, trumpets, and bowls—there is also supposed to be a total of seven basic visions. For examples of the seven-vision approach, see Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen, 1926); John Wick Bowman, *The Drama of the Book of Revelation* (Philadelphia, 1955) and "Revelation" in *IDB* 4:64-65; and Thomas S. Kepler, *The Book of Revelation* (New York, 1957). Lohmeyer and Bowman find septets, as well, within all of their seven major visions, though they lack agreement even as to these seven visions themselves. Kepler, on the other hand, finds only a total of ten subsections (called "scenes") within his seven major visions (major visions whose textual boundaries vary only slightly from the seven major visions outlined by Bowman).

DIAGRAM 2. PARALLELING STRUCTURES IN REVELATION'S EIGHT MAJOR VISIONS

	I	II	III	IV		V	VI	VII	VIII	
A	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE		VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE	A
B	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION		BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION	B
C		INTERLUDE	INTERLUDE	INTERLUDE		INTERLUDE	INTERLUDE	INTERLUDE		C
D		ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION		ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION		D

eight major visions of the book of Revelation. Then a follow-up article[3] will focus a bit more intensively on the particular blocs of text that introduce these eight visions and which can be designated as "victorious-introduction scenes," inasmuch as they provide for each vision a setting which portrays in dramatic fashion God's present care for his people and gives assurance of ultimate victory for Christ's saints or "loyal ones." For purposes of identification in the present article, Roman numerals (I, II, etc.) will continue to be used, as in Diagram 1, for designating the eight visions. Each vision, however, has either two or four main sections or blocs of text, and capital letters (A, B, etc.) will serve as identifiers for these.

1. *An Analysis of Patterns Within the Eight Visions*

The first and the final visions (I and VIII) of the Apocalypse are composed of a "Victorious-Introduction Scene" (A), plus one further main bloc of text (B) that may be called the "Basic Prophetic Description." The other six visions (II-VII) have these same two blocs, but with the addition of two further blocs (C and D).

In this essay, the third blocs of text in the second through seventh visions are throughout given the basic caption of "Interlude"— a term quite regularly applied by the exegetes for these particular sections in visions II, III, and IV, but equally applicable to the corresponding (but much shorter) sections in visions V, VI, and VII. It should be noted, however, that although the term "interlude" frequently suggests an interruption to, or hiatus within, the flow of thought, what these third blocs of material do in visions II-VII of the Apocalypse is to enhance or intensify the thrust of the immediately preceding material.[4] The fourth bloc can be designated as the "Eschatological Culmination"; and in a certain sense, both it and the preceding "Interlude" are actually an extension of the "Basic Prophetic Description" begun in the second bloc.

Although it will be necessary later in this article to add certain further refinements to the foregoing basic analysis, at this point we may summarize in diagram form the results reached thus far. Such a summary is provided in Diagram 2.

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[3]This will hopefully be presented in the next issue of *AUSS*, or at least within the present annual volume.

[4]Paul S. Minear has spoken poignantly to this matter in connection with the "interlude" which occurs at 16:15. See below, n. 9 and the quoted material to which that note refers.

2. *Summary of Contents of the Visions*

At this juncture it is useful to take an overview of the content of each of the eight visions. The summaries given here follow the broad lines of structure indicated above. It should be emphasized that these are indeed *summaries*, and the reader can fill in details by consulting the texts indicated for each of the visions.

THE HISTORICAL VISIONS

Vision I, 1:10b-3:22

> *Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 1:10b-20*. Christ appears to John on Patmos as the ever-living and all-powerful One, who walks among the seven golden candlesticks that represent the seven churches.

> *Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, Chaps. 2 and 3*. Christ gives messages of praise, rebuke, warning, and exhortation to the individual churches as their varying conditions require.

Vision II, 4:1-8:1

> *Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, Chaps. 4 and 5*. John sees a throne set in heaven, with a sea of glass and seven lamps of fire before the throne, and with four living creatures and twenty-four elders surrounding the throne. In a dramatic and suspenseful scene the declaration is made that the slain Lamb alone is able to take from the hand of the one seated on the throne a seven-sealed scroll and to break the seals and open the scroll. The Lamb then takes the scroll, and anthems of praise ascend from the four living creatures, the twenty-four elders, and the entire universe.

> *Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, Chap. 6*. The first six seals of the scroll are broken, with the result that four horsemen go forth, souls under the altar utter a cry of "How long" until there is judgment and vindication for them, and signs are given on earth and in heaven of impending judgment.

> *Bloc C, Interlude, Chap. 7*. The sequence is "interrupted" to focus on the sealing of 144,000 during the end-time.

> *Bloc D, Eschatological Culmination, 8:1*. The seventh seal is opened, at which there is "silence in heaven" for the duration of half an hour.

Vision III, 8:2-11:18

Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 8:2-6. Seven angels with trumpets appear, and another angel goes to the golden altar and there offers incense whose smoke, mingled with the prayers of the saints, ascends to God. Next, the angel fills a censer with live coals from the altar and throws this upon the earth, resulting in the judgment symbols of voices, thunder, lightning, and earthquake.

Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, 8:7-9:21. The first six trumpets are blown, releasing forces of devastation that embrace the symbolisms of a storm of hail upon the earth, a great burning mountain thrown into the sea, etc. The first five of these trumpets draw imagery from the plagues on ancient Egypt, but the sixth trumpet shifts the background to Babylon by mention of the "great river Euphrates" in 9:14.[5]

Bloc C, Interlude, 10:1-11:13. An angel holding an open scroll announces (10:6) that "there should be time no longer" (KJV); or, as alternatively translated, "there should be no more delay" (RSV).[6] John is commanded to eat the scroll and does so, finding it sweet in his mouth but bitter in his stomach; the prophet is then instructed to measure the temple, altar, and people (a direct allusion, as I have shown elsewhere, to the year-end "Day-of-Atonement" ritual in the ancient Jewish cultus[7]); and the testimony and career of the two witnesses are described.

[5]The phenomenon encountered here may be termed the "Exodus-from-Egypt"/"Fall-of-Babylon" motif. It occurs twice, in each instance embracing two complete visions. The first occurrence is Rev 8:2-14:20 inclusive, and the second is Rev 15:1-18:24 inclusive. For further detail and a diagram, see K. A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," *AUSS* 19 (1981): 128-129.

[6]The difference in rendition is not really as significant as might at first appear. The passage is an obvious allusion to the book of Daniel that was to remain sealed until "the time of the end" (Dan 12:4; cf. Rev 10:2) and to the query by Daniel, "Until when . . . ?" (Dan 12:6). Either translation of this particular statement in Rev 10:6 fits well as a response to the question raised by Daniel, and indeed is an emphatic proclamation of the arrival of the end of the time period projected—"a time, two times, and half a time" (Dan 12:7). The Greek of this last clause of Rev 10:6 reads, *hoti kronos ouketi estai.* (Cf. the "until when" in Dan 8:13.)

[7]K. A. Strand, "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 317-325.

Bloc D, Eschatological Culmination, 11:14-18. The seventh trumpet is blown, resulting in the announcement that "the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ"[8]; then an anthem of praise arises, emphasizing, among other things, that the time has come for judgment of the dead, for rewarding the saints, and for destroying the "destroyers of the earth."

Vision IV, 11:19-14:20

Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 11:19. "God's temple in heaven was opened," making visible "the ark of his covenant"; then "flashes of lightning, voices, peals of thunder, an earthquake, and heavy hail" occur.

Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, Chaps. 12 and 13. The dragon, leopard-like sea beast, and two-horned earth beast persecute God's people.

Bloc C, Interlude, 14:1-13. John sees (1) the Lamb and the 144,000 victorious saints standing on Mt. Zion, and (2) three angels flying in heaven and proclaiming warning messages.

Bloc D, Eschatological Culmination, 14:14-20. Earth's twofold harvest is reaped—(1) the harvest of grain, and (2) the grapes that are thrown into the great winepress of God's wrath.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL-JUDGMENT VISIONS

Vision V, 15:1-16:17

Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 15:1-16:1. The victorious saints stand on the sea of glass and sing the Song of Moses and the Lamb; and when the "temple of the tent of witness in heaven" is opened, seven angels come forth and receive seven bowls "full of the wrath of God," smoke fills the temple so that no one can enter till the plagues of the seven angels have been completed, and finally instruction is given to the angels to go their ways and pour out the bowls.

Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, 16:2-14. The first six bowls of wrath are poured out, with devastating effects on earth, sea, rivers and fountains, etc. (Again, as in the trumpets septet, imagery for the first five bowls is patterned after the plagues on ancient Egypt, with the scene shifting to Babylon as the sixth bowl refers to the "great river Euphrates" in 16:12.)

[8]Hereinafter the RSV will be used for English renditions of the biblical text, with the possible exception of brief two- or three-word excerpts.

Bloc C, Interlude, 16:15. Into the description of the sixth bowl—the drying up of the Euphrates and the presence of demonic spirits that deceive the kings of the earth and lead them to the "battle of the great day of God the Almighty" (16:12-14)—is inserted a striking macarism in vs. 15: "Lo, I [Christ] am coming like a thief. Blessed is he who is awake. . . . " Then follows an added comment to the effect that the place of the battle is called "Armageddon" (vs. 16).

Since we have now moved into the section of the Apocalypse that provides visions of the eschatological judgment, rather than per- taining to the historical era, it is obvious that a new sort of "inter- lude" can be expected, as is indeed the case here. The earlier interludes were somewhat detailed *descriptions* of events or condi- tions during a final portion of the historical era. The interludes that occur in visions V-VII are rather of a crisp, hortatory nature.

The question may be asked, Why such interludes here? For this particular one in Rev 16:15, Paul S. Minear has aptly pointed out: "The saying reveals the terrible danger in which the unsuspecting Christian stands. If one asks with R. H. Charles, 'How could any one sleep through the cosmic earthquakes which were happening?,' one may answer, 'That is just the point.' There were Christians asleep, so John believed, quite undisturbed by din of doom, unaware that anything was happening that could threaten their treasure or leave them exposed and naked. To be asleep was to be unconscious of the urgent necessity of the time. (Compare the disciples in Geth- semane, Mk. 14:26-42.) The beatitude was designed for sentinels who had forgotten that a war was being fought."[9]

Bloc D, Eschatological Culmination, 16:17. The seventh bowl of wrath is poured out, and there issues from the throne in the temple in heaven the declaration, "It is done!"

Vision VI, 16:18-18:24

Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 16:18-17:3a. The traditional signs of judgment occur (voices, thunder, lightning, earthquake, and hail), and "great Babylon" comes into "judgmental remem- brance" before God. John is then taken into the wilderness to see this judgment upon Babylon.

Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, 17:3b-18:3. A description of Babylon as a harlot and also of the seven-headed and ten-horned scarlet-colored beast upon which she rides is introduced in the early verses of chap. 17 (vss. 3b-8). This descriptive scene is followed by

[9]Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, DC, 1968), p. 150.

considerable explanatory detail (vss. 9-18) that culminates in a
reference to the devastation of the harlot by the beast's ten horns
(vss. 16-17) and the identification of this harlot as the great city that
rules over earth's kings (vs. 18). In the first three verses of chap. 18, a
recital of various aspects of Babylon's corruption sets the stage for
the interlude appeal and the description of destruction that follow.

Bloc C, Interlude, 18:4-8, 20. Before the actual portrayal of Babylon's
devastation through fire, an appeal is made for God's people to
"come out" of Babylon, so that they do not become participants in
her sins and recipients of her plagues. In this connection there is
also a reiteration, in elaborated form, of God's decree of judgment
against Babylon.

Inasmuch as in the chiastic structure of the material in chap. 18,
vs. 20 is a chiastic counterpart to vss. 4-8,[10] both of these "inter-
ludes" within this particular chiasm should probably be considered
as the total "interlude" for the larger sequence from 17:3b-18:24.
Vs. 20 gives a call for rejoicing over the fact that God has pro-
claimed against Babylon herself the judgment which she had im-
posed upon God's people.[11]

Bloc D, Eschatological Culmination, 18:9-19, 21-24. The central sec-
tion of chap. 18 (vss. 9-19) portrays, through a threefold dirge,
Babylon's utter desolation by fire; and the final section of the
chapter (vss. 21-24) emphasizes Babylon's doom and her utterly
desolate condition after God's judgment upon her.

Vision VII, 19:1-21:4

Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 19:1-10. In a heavenly setting
that parallels the setting given in chap. 4, anthems arise in praise of
God for his having judged the great harlot Babylon and vindicated
God's people; then reference is made to the Lamb's bride being
ready for the wedding, and a blessing is pronounced upon those
who are "invited to the marriage supper of the Lamb." (It should be

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[10]See William H. Shea, "Chiasm by Theme and by Form in Revelation 18,"
AUSS 20 (1982): 249-256; and Kenneth A. Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's
Judgment Portrayed in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 53-60.

[11]See Strand, "Two Aspects of Babylon's Judgment," pp. 55-59; and for an
updated more-literal rendition of Rev 18:20b, see idem, "Some Modalities of Sym-
bolic Usage in Revelation 18," *AUSS* 24 (1986): 43-45. In the background of both
Rev 18:4-8 and vs. 20 is the law of malicious witness (cf. Deut 19:16-19; and also see
Esth 7:9-10).

noted that though the heavenly temple setting of chaps. 4-5 and chap. 19 is the same, there is difference with respect to activity and perspective—a fact also made clear by the content of the anthems in the two visions. The former vision pertains clearly to the historical era, and this one pertains just as clearly to the era of eschatological judgment.)

Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, 19:11-20:5. Christ's second advent is dramatically portrayed, and consequences of it are given. Among the negative results enumerated are the birds' feast consisting of the enemies of God (19:17-18), the lake-of-fire fate for the beast and false prophet (19:19-20), and the imprisonment of Satan in the "bottomless pit" or "abyss" for a thousand years (20:1-3). On the positive side is the first resurrection, in which the martyred saints arise. They then live and reign with Christ for a thousand years (20:4-5).

Bloc C, Interlude, 20:6. "Blessed and holy is he who shares in the first resurrection! Over such the second death has no power. . . . "

Bloc D, Eschatological Culmination, 20:7-21:4. The culminating events at the end of the thousand years are set forth. On the negative side are the loosing of Satan, the resurgence of his deceptive work, the vain effort of his evil confederacy to capture "the camp of the saints," and the final fiery destruction of this confederacy. On the positive side is John's vision of "a new heaven and a new earth," with the holy city New Jerusalem descending from heaven to earth, and God himself tabernacling with his people.

Vision VIII, 21:5-22:5

Bloc A, Victorious-Introduction Scene, 21:5-11a. The proclamation is made that Christ's victorious ones will inherit all things, and John sees the holy city New Jerusalem descend from heaven to earth. (As a backdrop, the final section of the preceding vision has already portrayed the condition on earth after the descent of the New Jerusalem [21:1-4].)

Bloc B, Basic Prophetic Description, 21:11b-22:5. The holy city New Jerusalem is described in detail.

3. *Further Analysis of Text-Blocs A, B, C, and D*

With the foregoing background, we may now proceed to some further generalizations concerning the nature of the respective sections (A, B, etc.) within the eight visions. Also, we can suggest additional notations for the captions to these blocs of text, beyond

what has already been indicated in the earlier sections of this article and in Diagram 2.

As we consider the "Victorious-Introduction Scene" for each of the eight visions, we find that there is always a basic temple setting and/or temple-imagery background of some sort.[12] Therefore, our caption of "Victorious-Introduction Scene" (bloc A) can now be supplemented with the phrase, "with Temple Setting."

As for the second through fourth blocs of text (blocs B, C, and D), a difference in perspective should be noted between the visions preceding the chiastic dividing line (visions I-IV) and the visions following it (visions V-VIII). With respect to the former, the "Basic Prophetic Description" is within the historical arena; with respect to the latter, the basic vision material in the B blocs pertains to the eschatological or final judgment. For visions I-IV, therefore, the "Basic Prophetic Description" needs the added qualification "in History"; and for visions V-VIII that qualification would be "in Final Judgment."

As for the third blocs of text (C), in visions II-IV the basic designation of "Interlude" may likewise be supplemented with an additional phrase—"Spotlight on Last Events" (meaning prior to Christ's second advent), inasmuch as the "Interlude" in each instance enlarges on the period of time just before the eschatological culmination. For visions V-VII the added phrase "Exhortation or Appeal" is appropriate, for the terrors of the final-judgment scenes are "interrupted" in order to give short blocs of text setting forth

[12]In some cases the temple in heaven is mentioned explicitly, as in the introductory scenes to visions IV and V; and in other cases, the allusion to temple furniture gives evidence of a temple setting, even though the word "temple" does not occur, as in the scenes for visions I, II, and III. The only introductory scenes that do not have so obvious a clue to temple imagery are those for visions VI and VIII. In the case of the former, there is, however, in the preceding verse (16:17, the final bowl plague, but also a "swing element" to what follows) the mention of a voice "out of the temple, from the throne." With respect to vision VIII, there is reference to the one who "sat upon the throne"—identified earlier as God in his temple (cf., e.g., 4:2-11, 19:1-5); and moreover, the immediately preceding bloc of text (again a sort of "swing element") refers to God as "tabernacling" in the "new earth"/"New Jerusalem" with his people (21:3). Additionally it should be noted that the following bloc of text, or "Basic Prophetic Description" for vision VIII, states that the temple in the holy city New Jerusalem "is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (21:22). My second article in this series will elaborate on the nature and theological significance of the temple imagery that appears in the introductory scenes to the eight major visions of the Apocalypse.

encouragement to faithfulness and/or appeals for repentance. (In two of these instances of exhortation or appeal, the interlude is cast, as we have already seen, basically in the form of a macarism — 16:15 and 20:4.)

The sections on "Eschatological Culmination" (the D blocs) all pertain to the final eschatological consummation, as noted earlier; but those concluding sections for visions II-IV provide a climactic conclusion to series that relate to the historical era, whereas those for visions V-VII deal specifically with the final or terminating portion of eschatological-judgment series already in progress in the earlier sections of those visions. Blocs D for visions II-IV may therefore be designated as "Eschatological Culmination: Climax to History," and the D blocs for visions V-VII may be termed "Eschatological Culmination: The Judgmental Finale." Diagram 3 (on the next page) incorporates the above-mentioned refinements to the data given in Diagram 2, and also includes my suggestions as to the textual boundaries for the blocs of material as set forth in the second section of the present article.

4. *Conclusion*

In this article, we have observed that there is a very consistent and balanced literary structure in the book of Revelation. This structure not only has aesthetic and mnemonic values or qualities, but also speaks significantly to the theological message of the book. Various aspects of the theology will be dealt with in a follow-up article that will explore in further detail the "victorious-introduction scenes" to the eight visions, but one significant theological focus may be mentioned here: The broad chiastic structure itself emphasizes a twofold theme that embraces and undergirds the various messages of the book—(1) that Christ is Alpha and Omega, and (2) that he will return at the end of the age to reward all persons according to their works (Rev 1:7-8 and 22:12-13). In other words, he is a consistent, trustworthy, and ever-present help and support to his faithful ones during this historical era of adversity for them (cf. Rev 1:17-18; Matt 28:20b; John 16:33; Heb 12:2a; 13:8); and he will personally return to usher in the series of events that destroy the "destroyers of the earth" and that provide to his loyal followers the inheritance of the "new earth" and the fulfillment of all the good promises made to them (see Rev 11:15-18; 21:1-4, 7,

DIAGRAM 3. OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE APOCALYPSE

	HISTORICAL-ERA VISIONS				ESCHATOLOGICAL-JUDGMENT-ERA VISIONS				
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
A	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (1:10b-20)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (Chaps. 4 & 5)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (8:2-6)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (11:19)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (15:1-16:1)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (16:18-17:3a)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (19:1-10)	VICTORIOUS-INTRODUCTION SCENE WITH TEMPLE SETTING (21:5-11a)	A
B	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (Chaps. 2 & 3)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (Chap. 6)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (8:7-9:21)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN HISTORY (Chaps. 12 & 13)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDGMENT (16:2-14,16)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDGMENT (17:3b-18:3)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDGMENT (19:11-20:5)	BASIC PROPHETIC DESCRIPTION IN FINAL JUDGMENT (21:11b-22:5)	B
C		INTERLUDE: SPOTLIGHT ON LAST EVENTS (Chap. 7)	INTERLUDE: SPOTLIGHT ON LAST EVENTS (10:1-11:13)	INTERLUDE: SPOTLIGHT ON LAST EVENTS (14:1-13)	INTERLUDE: EXHORTATION OR APPEAL (16:15)	INTERLUDE: EXHORTATION OR APPEAL (18:4-8,20)	INTERLUDE: EXHORTATION OR APPEAL (20:6)		C
D		ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: CLIMAX TO HISTORY (8:1)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: CLIMAX TO HISTORY (11:14-18)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: CLIMAX TO HISTORY (14:14-20)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: THE JUDGMENTAL FINALE (16:17)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: THE JUDGMENTAL FINALE (18:9-19,21-24)	ESCHATOLOGICAL CULMINATION: THE JUDGMENTAL FINALE (20:7-21:4)		D

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22-27; 22:1-5).[13] The four prophetic sequences preceding the chiastic dividing line deal primarily with the first aspect, and the four major visions subsequent to that dividing line are devoted mainly to the second aspect.

In closing, one further item may also be briefly introduced here: It is noteworthy that in the introductory scenes of the eight visions, the temple imagery reveals a pattern of first an earthly venue in vision I (candlesticks that represent churches on earth), followed by a heavenly venue in visions II-VII (either [a] an explicit mention of the "temple in heaven" or its furniture and/or [b] a background that indicates this heavenly setting[14]), and followed finally by a return again to an earthly venue in vision VIII (God tabernacling in the "new earth"/"New Jerusalem" [cf. 21:3, 22]). This is a striking phenomenon, whose theological significance and whose correlation with emphases in general NT theology will be set forth in the subsequent article in this series.

[13]It is noteworthy that the items of promise made to the "overcomers" or "conquerors" in the seven churches (2:7b, 11b, 17b, 26-28, and 3:5, 12, 21) are for the most part mentioned again specifically in 21:5-22:5 as fulfilled (e.g., 21:27, 22:2,4), as well as being alluded to in a general way in the statement that the conqueror will inherit "these things" (21:7).

[14]Concerning the apparent exception in the case of vision VI, see n. 12, above.

THE DOCTRINE OF SIN IN 1 JOHN

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The doctrine of sin in John's first epistle has been problematical to many generations of Bible students. The basic question is: How is 1 John 2:1 to be harmonized with 1 John 3:6 and 3:9? "My little children, I am writing this to you so that you may not sin; but if any one does sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous" (2:1).[1] "No one who abides in him sins; no one who sins has either seen him or known him. . . . No one born of God commits sin; for God's nature abides in him, and he cannot sin because he is born of God" (3:6-9).

A further question also arises: How is this apparent paradox to be related to 1 John 5:16-17? "If any one sees his brother committing what is not a mortal sin, he will ask, and God will give him life for those whose sin is not mortal. There is sin which is mortal; I do not say that one is to pray for that. All wrongdoing is sin, but there a sin which is not mortal." In short, why does John claim a sinless perfection for the Christian believer in 3:1-10 but not in 1:7-2:2 or 5:16-17?

Through the years there have been, of course, numerous suggestions for solutions to the problem, and numerous writers have catalogued and critiqued previously offered solutions while setting forth what they believe to be the correct answer.[2] In what is, no doubt, the most recent dissertation on the subject, "Impeccability in 1 John: An Evaluation," Leon Eloy Wade cites several sources in which this is done and then proceeds to develop a catalogue of his own.[3]

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[1]All Scripture passages in English translation in this article are from the RSV.

[2]See, e.g., Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John*, AB 30 (Garden City, NY, 1982), pp. 413-417; I. Howard Marshall, *The Epistles of John* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1978), pp. 178-186.

[3]Leon Eloy Wade, "Impeccability in 1 John: An Evaluation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1986).

The present article does not attempt an approach or catalog of Wade's kind,* but is perhaps best described as being certain variations on an old theme, for it endeavors to build on both older and newer research and concepts, with a special view to exegetical and contextual concerns. Hopefully, it will erect on these somewhat familiar building blocks a further and fresh perspective.[4]

1. *Radically Diverse Groups in 1 John 3*

It is important, at the outset, to observe that in 1 John 3, John is writing with two distinct and radically different groups of people in mind. This is clear from the first verse: "See what love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God [the first group]; and so we are. The reason why the world [the second group] does not know us is that it did not know him." In vs. 10 it is clarified that the term "the world" as used here means "the children of the devil."[5]

While in other portions of the epistle (e.g., chap. 2), John may have in mind some particular heresy or body of heretics, that is not the case in chap. 3. Here he has in mind all people on the face of the earth who may be identified as either "children of God" or "the world." The children of God are those whom he has previously referred to as "you" or "we" in chaps. 1 and 2—those who, according to his Gospel, have become such through faith in Jesus Christ ("But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God" [John 1:12]). All the rest are of "the world"; they are "children of the devil."

Editor's Note: The abstract for Wade's dissertation on "Impeccability in 1 John" will be published in *AUSS* later this year (currently planned for the autumn issue).

[4]Having given considerable thought to the problem of John's doctrine of sin in 1 John, I was inspired to write a paper several years ago dealing with the issue after reading two articles with conflicting solutions: Sakae Kubo, "1 John 3:9: Absolute or Habitual?" *AUSS* 7 (1969); 47-56; and David M. Scholer, "Sins Within and Sins Without: An Interpretation of 1 John 5:16-17," in *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation*, ed. Gerald F. Hawthorne (Grand Rapids, MI, 1975), pp. 230-246. That inspiration returned again after reading Wade's dissertation, and this time the paper, rewritten and revised, was submitted for publication.

[5]The term "world" is, of course, used in the biblical literature in a general geographical sense too, though this particular emphasis which carries negative spiritual overtones is quite dominant in the Johannine writings. A somewhat parallel expression, "earth" (*gē*), has a similar (and perhaps even broader) range of biblical usage. Cf., e.g., Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, DC, 1968), p. 264, for a discussion of the term *gē* in the Johannine literature.

This way of radically dividing the human race is typical of John.[6] One may notice the similar thrust in two passages from the Fourth Gospel, wherein Jesus is quoted as saying:

> If the world hates you, know that it has hated me before it hated you. If you were of the world, the world would love its own; but because you are not of the world, but I chose you out of the world, therefore the world hates you. (John 15:18-19)

> I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world; . . . I am praying for them; I am not praying for the world but for those whom thou hast given me, for they are thine; . . . I have given them thy word; and the world has hated them because they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world. I do not pray that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil one. (John 17:6-15)

Moreover, in his first epistle, John not only makes this distinction between world and children of God, but between world and God himself:

> Do not love the world or the things in the world. If any one loves the world, love for the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father but is of the world. (1 John 2:15-16)

The foregoing concepts have significance for an understanding of 1 John 3:4: "Every one who commits sin is guilty of lawlessness; sin is lawlessness." Two points in particular should be noted: (1) The term "every one" in this verse does not include the children of God—i.e., it is not universal in the sense of including both classes of people under consideration. It is clear that "every one who commits sin" does not apply to the children of God, for vs. 6 categorically states that "no one who abides in him sins," and vs. 9 adds that "no one born of God commits sin." The parallel construction in vs. 3, "And every one who thus hopes in him purifies himself as he is pure" (*Kai pas ho exōn tēn elpida tautēn ep autō*

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[6]See, e.g., Julian Price Love, *The First, Second, and Third Letters of John, the Letter of Jude, the Revelation of John* (Richmond, VA, 1960), pp. 20-21, for a good discussion of the absolute contrast between the children of God and the world. See also Matthew Vellanickal, *The Divine Sonship of Christians in the Johannine Writings* (Rome, 1977).

hagnizei heauton kathōs ekeinos hagnos estin), and that in vs. 4, "Every one who commits sin is guilty of lawlessness" (*pas ho poiōn tēn hamartian kai tēn anomian poiei*), refer to mutually exclusive classes of people. (2) In consequence of the above, "lawlessness" (*anomia*) as a definition for sin in this context applies only to the children of the devil. It is a *kind* of sin in the sense that it represents disobedience or rebellion colored or fostered by a *particular orientation* to sin.

2. "Lawlessness" (Anomia) as Reflecting the "World" Orientation to Sin

My thesis in this article is, therefore, that for John a particular attitude toward and relationship to Jesus/God issues forth in a particular orientation to sin which colors every act of disobedience, and that the term "lawlessness" in this context is a symbol or catchword for that orientation characteristic of the "world." That is why John can say so emphatically that the children of God do not sin—where the word *harmatia* can be read *hamartia/anomia* in the light of his definition.

This thesis can, in fact, be demonstrated in a reading of 1 John 3:5-10, the context immediately following the verse we have under consideration. These verses, which use *hamartia* in the sense set forth for *anomia* in vs. 4 (i.e., *hamartia/anomia*), repeatedly express the aspect of relation or lack of relation to Christ and God. The passage concludes, "By this it may be seen who are the children of God, and who are the children of the devil; whoever does not do right is not of God, nor he who does not love his brother" (vs. 10).

This thesis, that a particular attitude toward and relationship to Jesus/God issues forth in a particular orientation to sin, is not peculiar to John, of course. It is a basic Christian doctrine, repeatedly set forth by the NT writers. One may note, for instance, how in Rom 6 and 8 it underlies Paul's doctrine of sin and salvation. A few excerpts are here given (in each instance, the emphasis is supplied):

> Do you not know that all of us who have been *baptized into Christ Jesus* were baptized into his death? (6:3)

> For if we have been *united with him in a death like his*, we shall certainly be *united with him in a resurrection like his*. We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might *no longer be enslaved to sin*. For he who has died is *freed from sin*. (6:5-7)

Let not *sin* therefore *reign* in your mortal bodies, to make you obey their passions. Do not yield your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but *yield yourselves to God* as men who have been brought from death to life, and your members to God as instruments of righteousness. For *sin will have no dominion over you*, since you are not under law but under grace. (6:12-14)

For just as you once yielded your members to impurity and to greater and greater iniquity [*tę̄ anomią̄ eis tēn anomian*], so now yield your members to righteousness for sanctification. (6:19)

There is therefore now no condemnation for *those who are in Christ Jesus*. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has *set me free from the law of sin and death*. For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, he condemned sin in the flesh, *in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us*, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit. For those who live according to the flesh set their minds on the things of the flesh, but those who live according to the Spirit set their minds on the things of the Spirit. To set the mind on the flesh is death, but to set the mind on the Spirit is life and peace. For *the mind that is set on the flesh is hostile to God; it does not submit to God's law, indeed it cannot; and those who are in the flesh cannot please God*. (8:1-8)

In the light of the above, is there any wonder that John chose the word *anomia* ("lawlessness") as a symbol or catchword when referring to an orientation to sin on the part of the world—i.e., by the mind that is hostile to God, does not submit to the law of God, and indeed cannot?

A number of exegetes consider *anomia* to mean more than lawlessness. "Anomia may have the meaning of rejection and opposition to God's will and rule, in whatever way and form that exists."[7] Such a definition makes, of course, the use of the term all the more appropriate in 1 John 3:4.[8]

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[7]Wade, p. 231. My understanding of *anomia* is not very different from that of Wade except for his qualification, "with eschatological overtones." For me, the application is immediate, whatever it may be eschatologically.

[8]It may be of interest to notice John Calvin's perceptive interpretation of the term "sin" as it relates to 1 John 3: "To some the word sin seems light; but iniquity or transgression of the Law cannot be so easily overlooked. Yet the apostle does not make sins equal by accusing of iniquity all who sin; but he simply wants to teach us that sin comes from contempt of God and that by sinning the righteousness of the

3. *The "Sin" of God's Children*

But if *anomia* is the sin of the world—the children of the devil—what is the sin of the children of God? John does say that God's children do sin: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness [*adikias*]" (1 John 1:9).

Here the context clearly has reference to the sins of the children of God, and the key word is "unrighteousness." In 5:17, where again the context clearly has reference to the sins of the children of God, we find the following: "All wrongdoing [*adikia*] is sin." (While the RSV translation here is "wrongdoing" instead of "unrighteousness," the original Greek word is the same in both 1:9 and 5:17.)[9]

The definition provided in 1 John 5:17 provides an interesting parallel to what we find in 3:4. Thus, lawlessness (*anomia*) is sin (3:4), and unrighteousness (*adikia*) is sin (5:17). The first applies to the children of the devil; the second applies to the children of God. The first issues from alienation and estrangement from God in Christ Jesus; the second issues from a fallible and imperfect commitment in faith to God in Christ.

4. *Two Categories of Sin: "Mortal" and "Not Mortal"*

The picture is complicated, however, by John's statement, "If any one sees his brother committing what is not a mortal sin, he will ask, and God will give him life for those whose sin is not mortal. There is sin which is mortal; I do not say that one is to pray for that" (1 John 5:16). Attempts to explain just what this

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Law is violated. . . . Moreover, to sin does not here mean to offend in some action; nor is the word *sin* to be taken for every single fault. But he calls it sin when men whole-heartedly rush into evil. And he means that only those men sin who are devoted to sin. For believers, who still labour under the lusts of the flesh, are not to be regarded as unrighteous, although they are not pure or free from sin. . . . " John Calvin *The Gospel According to St. John 11-21 and the First Epistle of John*, trans. T. H. L. Parker (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 268-269. Both Calvin and Augustine (see n. 12, below) use the word "iniquity" in translating sin when defined as *anomia* in 1 John 3.

[9]It would seem of special significance that John uses *anomia* only once in the epistle, and that is when he defines the sin of the children of the devil, while he uses *adikia* only twice, once when defining the sin of the children of God and once when referring to the forgiveness of their sins.

means have run the full spectrum, all the way from a cataloguing of sins as to their degree of heinousness, to the unpardonable sin—the sin against the Holy Spirit (cf. Matt 12:31). There seems to be an answer, however, in the epistle itself.

It would not seem to be too much to assume that John's mind here goes back to the thought he expressed in 2:1-2: "My little children, I am writing this to you so that you may not sin; but if any one does sin, we have an advocate (*paraklēton*) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the expiation for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world." Thus, it is because the children of God have an "advocate" that their sin is not mortal.

On the other hand, in the absence of such an advocate, there is no hope. While Christ is the expiation (*hilasmos*) for the sins of the whole world, he is the advocate (*paraklētos*) only for those who call upon his name, who are born from above, who are raised to walk in newness of life. Because he is the expiation for the sins of the whole world, he can be an advocate for the children of God. But the children of the devil are without an advocate; therefore their sin is mortal.

We have here, then, a reference to the present priestly ministry of Christ, a ministry presented more fully in the book of Hebrews:

> Therefore he had to be made like his brethren in every respect, so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make expiation for the sins of the people. For *because he himself has suffered and been tempted, he is able to help those who are tempted.* (2:17-18, emphasis supplied)

> Consequently he is able for all time to save those who draw near to God through him, since he always lives to make intercession for them. (7:25)

> For Christ has entered, not into a sanctuary made with hands, a copy of the true one, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf. (9:24)

Perhaps the strongest objection that may be raised to the thesis that I have here set forth is that it seems to create a double standard—one for the children of God, and another for the children of the devil. At least a part of the answer to this is found in the fact that according to the NT a person's being a Christian certainly does make a difference, and that difference is more than just acts of

obedience versus acts of disobedience. It involves a whole orienta-
tion to life—an orientation to God and an orientation away from
the devil and the world. Naturally, then, the actions growing out of
that orientation must be seen and judged in the light of that
orientation.

Furthermore, this approach to the matter does not necessarily
diminish the concept of the seriousness of sin in the life of the
children of God.[10] To speak of a sin that is not mortal is not a
negation of Paul's statement that "the wages of sin is death" (Rom
6:23). The only way for a Christian's sin to be "not mortal" is for
the sin to be confessed and forgiven through the ministry of the
paraklētos or the "advocate," Christ Jesus. And in such instances,
when the child of God has sinned ignorantly or unwittingly, John
encourages intercessory prayer (see 1 John 5:16). On the other
hand, willful and unrepented sin on the part of the child of God is
not overlooked and excused, and for such sin there is no advocate:
"For if we sin deliberately after receiving the knowledge of the
truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins, but a fearful
prospect of judgment . . ." (Heb 10:26).

This perspective actually supports the argument that the child
of God does not *continue* in sin[11]—does not sin if *abiding* in
Christ[12]—but it does so without falling into the pit of trying to
support the argument by an appeal mainly in terms of gram-
matical considerations.[13]

5. Conclusion

If the thesis of this article were to be summarized by a con-
struct, it would look something like this:

World/children of the devil → sin/lawlessness = sin that is mortal (no advocate)
(*kosmos/tekna tou diabolou* → *harmatia/anomia* = *harmatia pros thanaton* [no
    paraklētos])

[10]For me, the context implies that the children of God can commit a sin unto
death, although to do so would seriously affect their status.

[11]See J. R. W. Stott, *The Epistles of John: An Introduction and Commentary*
(Grand Rapids, MI, 1964), pp. 135-136.

[12]See Augustine, *The Epistles of St. John* (NPNF, first series), 7:485; also
Edward Malatesta, *Interiority and Covenant* (Rome, 1978), pp. 245-247.

[13]Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Johannine Epistles* (London, Eng., 1953), pp. 78-79.

Children of God → unrighteousness/sin = sin that is not mortal (advocate—
  namely, Christ)
(*tekna theou* → *adikia/hamartia* = *hamartia mē pros thanaton* [*paraklētos*—
  namely, Christ])

In closing this brief article, we could probably do no better than to notice the climactic summation with which John closes his first epistle—a threefold "we know" (*oidamen*) that follows immediately one of the key references we have noticed above (5:17: "All wrongdoing [*adikia*] is sin, but there is sin which is not mortal"):

> We know that any one born of God does not sin, but He who was born of God keeps him, and the evil one does not touch him. We know that we are of God, and the whole world is in the power of the evil one. And we know that the Son of God has come and has given us understanding, to know him who is true; and we are in him who is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life. Little children, keep yourselves from idols. (5:18-21)

BOOK NOTICES

EAVON LEE MOBLEY AND KENNETH A. STRAND

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

Armstrong, Terry A.; Busby, Douglas L.; and Carr, Cyril F. *A Reader's Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Vol. III: *Isaiah-Malachi.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 220 pp. $14.95.

The third in a four-volume reference set, this latest volume covers Isaiah-Malachi. It is a tool to reduce the translation process for ministers and students desiring to study the OT in its original language, but not having the time or opportunity to master Hebrew. This resource tool meets the need for OT translation aids on the level of Sakae Kubo's *Reader's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.*—E.L.M.

Beach, Walter Raymond, and Beach, Bert Beverly. *Patterns for Progress: The Role and Function of Church Organization.* Preface by Neal C. Wilson. Washington, DC, and Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1985. 142 pp. Paperback, $4.95.

A father (W. R. Beach) and son (B. B. Beach), who have had extensive church administrative experience in the United States and abroad have collaborated in producing a popularly written—but nonetheless in-depth—treatment of the role and function of church organization and structure in the church body that each has served for three decades or more: the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church. They first explore the concepts of church and mission, and then present the rationales for church organizational structures, together with a description and explanation of how those structures exist and function in the SDA denomi-

nation. The preface, by SDA World General Conference President Neal C. Wilson, refers to this publication as "a sourcebook for all workers, church officers, and involved church members" (p. 10).—K.A.S.

Berlin, Adele. *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985. 192 pp. $27.50.

A further study in biblical poetic parallelism by a specialist. Utilizes insights from the field of linguistics in illustrating and broadening current understanding of a common phenomenon in the biblical literature.—K.A.S.

Blickle, Peter. *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective.* Translated by Thomas A. Brady, Jr., and H. C. Erik Midelfort. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. 272 pp. $28.50/$8.95.

A study of the various forces—social, economic, political, and theological (or ideological)—at play in the Peasants' War of 1525. The author revises at various points the traditional interpretations by Marxist and by non-Marxist interpreters.—K.A.S.

Boice, James Montgomery. *The Minor Prophets: An Expositional Commentary.* Vol. 2: *Micah-Malachi.* Ministry Resources Library. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 281 pp. $14.95.

The completion of a two-volume study of the main themes contained in the minor prophets—in particular, the

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character of God. (Vol. 1 covers Hosea through Jonah.) The author provides the necessary historical and linguistic background needed to understand the times and issues addressed by the minor prophets. Meaningful applications to contemporary Christian living are included. Subject and Scripture indices prove helpful to the reader.—E.L.M.

Borgen, Ole E.   *John Wesley on the Sacraments: A Definitive Study of John Wesley's Theology of Worship.*   Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986.   312 pp.   Paperback, $12.95.

A comprehensive overview of John Wesley's sacramental theology through information and insights gleaned from a wide array of Wesley's letters, sermons, and hymns. A standard work, now in soft cover.—K.A.S.

BRUCE, F. F., revising ed.   *The International Bible Commentary: With the New International Version.*   Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 1664 pp. $24.95.

A massive one-volume Bible commentary that is a revised form of The New Layman's Commentary. The forty-three contributors include such well-known specialists as Bruce himself, D. J. Wiseman, and Gerald F. Hawthorne. In addition to the commentary proper, the volume includes twenty-eight introductory articles and twenty-nine maps.—K.A.S.

Burgess, Edward.   *Christ, The Crown of the Torah.*   Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986.   226 pp.   Paperback, $7.95.

The author, who is extremely well-versed in Hebrew customs and practices, supports the Messiahship of Jesus within a strict Hebrew framework. Subjects

studied within this work include (1) what requirements God placed on his people in the Torah, (2) how those requirements were fulfilled in Christ's life, (3) how Christ related to his cultural setting, and (4) how today's Jewish customs are expressions of Israel's traditions.—E.L.M.

Ellis, Jane.   *The Russian Orthodox Church: A Contemporary History.*   Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986.   540 pp. $39.95.

Analyzes life, church structure, theological education, publications, and other significant matters pertaining to the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union since the mid-1960s. Also treats the dissent movement in the Russian Orthodox Church during the same period.—K.A.S.

Harder, Leland, ed.   *The Sources of Swiss Anabaptism.*   Classics of the Radical Reformation, vol. 4.   Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985.   816 pp. $69.00.

Provides in English translation 71 of Conrad Grebel's Latin and German letters, plus some 100 other documents pertaining to pre-Anabaptist history (from 1517) and developments subsequent to Grebel's death (up to 1540). Introductions and notes to the source materials are included.—K.A.S.

Harris, R. Laird; Quek, Swee-Hwa; and Vannoy, J. Robert, eds.   *Interpretation and History: Essays in Honor of Allan A. MacRae.*   Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1986.   300 pp. $10.95/$7.95.

As the title indicates, this is a volume of essays. They were written and presented to Dr. Allan A. MacRae by his former pupils on his eighty-fourth birthday. Issues affecting the interpretation of the Bible and the understanding of certain

historical problems are the two main themes of the essays contained within this volume.—E.L.M.

Hostetler, Michael J. *Introducing the Sermon: The Art of Compelling Beginnings.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 89 pp. $5.95.

This book is a gold mine of no-nonsense, practical tips on how to make contact with the congregation during the all-important beginning moments of the sermon.—E.L.M.

Langston, Douglas C. *God's Willing Knowledge: The Influence of Scotus' Analysis of Omniscience.* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986. 160 pp. $18.95.

Scotus' views about God's knowledge and human freedom are presented and clarified in this book. The connections among Scotus' views and the views of classical proponents of God's omniscience are analyzed. The acceptance or rejection of his claims in the conclusion of this book depends upon an evaluation of their moral implications.—E.L.M.

Louw, Johannes P., ed. *Sociolinguistics and Communication.* United Bible Society Monograph Series, No. 1. New York: United Bible Societies, 1986. ix + 146 pp. Paperback, $5.95. (Available through American Bible Society, 1865 Broadway, New York, NY, 10023.)

In this first volume in the United Bible Society Monograph Series (simultaneously the fifth in a series of monographs published by the Institute for Interlingual Communication of the South African Bible Society), a collection of six articles is presented on the various aspects of sociolinguistics and communication. The articles cover such topics as Bible translation and exegesis, recep-

tion, role of the sermon, and text analysis as they relate to this field. Bibliographies are included at the end of the articles, with the exception of one article which includes this information in the footnotes.—E.L.M.

Luecke, David S., and Southard, Samuel. *Pastoral Administration.* Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1986. 207 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

The authors of this book confront the division between ministerial and administrative duties and offer their viewpoints from personal experience and professional research in the field of Church Administration. Ministerial duties combined with administrative duties are seen as an intregal part of shepherding people. The key concept is *pastoral administration.*—E.L.M.

McDannell, Colleen. *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986. 224 pp. 32 black-and-white photographs. $25.00.

Through an analysis of such items as styles of household decoration, worship and funerary practices, parental roles, and others, the author contrasts Protestant and Catholic conceptions of the religious meaning and function of the home in America during the Victorian era. The volume presents interesting information and insights concerning this too-frequently neglected aspect of the cultural and religious situation during a transitional and formative period in American history.—K.A.S.

McSorley, Richard. *New Testament Basis of Peacemaking.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1985. 168 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

A publication that argues from NT data that the NT supports a message of peace, peacemaking, and justice. Inter-

acts with arguments of those who suggest that the NT supports war.—K.A.S.

Montgomery, John Warwick. *Human Rights and Human Dignity.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 319 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

The author takes a closer look at the foundations upon which major human rights codes and systems are based. Going to the heart of the problem, he exposes the flaws and weakness in human rights positions that are based upon naturalistic, humanistic, and relativistic philosophy.—E.L.M.

Morris, Leon. *New Testament Theology.* Academie Books. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 448 pp. $19.95.

An extensive description of major NT theological themes, written in somewhat more popular fashion than a number of the rather "heavy" volumes on the subject. In handling the material the author evidently kept carefully in mind the student as well as the mature scholar.—K.A.S.

Owen, David I, and Morrison, Martha, eds. *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians.* Vol. 2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987. x + 723 pp. $65.00.

In this publication some thirteen authors provide essays that further our knowledge and understanding of the ancient Hurrians—a people which have attained considerable interest on the part of Bible students as well as specialists in Near Eastern antiquity, when discoveries at Nuzi were found to parallel and illustrate a number of features in the patriarchal narratives of the book of Genesis. This volume also includes publication of some significant new texts.—K.A.S.

Pitard, Wayne T. *Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times Until Its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987. x + 230 pp. $20.00.

The first detailed and comprehensive analysis and synthesis of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence now available concerning ancient Damascus prior to 732 B.C.E. Both geographical aspects and historical developments are treated, including the contacts and relations of Damascus with the Israelite kingdoms and with Assyria.—K.A.S.

Rice, Eugene F., Jr. *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance.* The Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History, no. 13. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985. 304 pp. 52 halftones. $24.00.

A detailed study of the important church father Jerome from the perspective of ways in which he was perceived and venerated during the Renaissance— within both popular and elite circles, as well as from religious and non-religious points of view. The volume is enhanced by 52 halftones illuminating the artistic and iconographic depictions that illustrate the various perceptions of Jerome.— K.A.S.

Rochat, Joyce. *Survivor* [A Biography of Siegfried H. Horn]. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986. xii + 332 pp. + signature of photographs. Special Introductory Price, $9.95.

This volume is a biography covering approximately the first forty years of the life of world-renowned OT scholar and archaeologist Siegfried H. Horn (also founding editor of *AUSS*). With captivating style and richness of fascinating

detail, the author traces Horn's childhood in Germany, advanced education in England, pastoral work in the Netherlands, years of missionary service in Indonesia, and more than six years of concentration-camp imprisonment during World War II. A projected further volume is to cover Horn's professorial years in America, which have included participation in and/or directorship of numerous archaeological digs in the Middle East, plus an outstanding record of scholarly research and publication. Part of the charm of the present authoritative biography comes from the profuse glimpses it gives from Horn's massive diary (twenty-four large volumes)— glimpses through the eyes of a man thoroughly immersed not only in work and home but in every facet of his environment and the political situation in the world; and above all, glimpses of a man of the richest and most enduring faith—truly a "Survivor."—K.A.S.

Schwarz, Hans. *Responsible Faith: Christian Theology in the Light of 20th Century Questions.* Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. 448 pp. $23.95.

This comprehensive, one-volume summary illuminates the main themes of Christian faith in four parts. Part 1 is the prolegomena, presenting theology, revelation, and Scripture. Part 2, under the title "The God Who Acts," covers God, creation, humanity, and sin. Part 3 is devoted to Jesus of Nazareth and Jesus, the Christ. And the final part deals with the Holy Spirit, the Church, the means of grace, and the Christian hope. Name, biblical-reference, and subject indices are included.—E.L.M.

Steinmetz, David C. *Luther in Context.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986. 160 pp. $25.00/$7.95.

A refreshing new look at Luther from the perspective of a broad sampling of data concerning the sixteenth-century setting in which the Reformer found himself—on themes especially important to Luther, such as freedom and bondage of the will, justification by faith alone, the Eucharist, and others.— K.A.S.

Walton, Robert C. *Chronological and Background Charts of Church History.* Foreword by Earle E. Cairns. Academie Books. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1986. 124 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

In large format of 8½"-x-11" page size, this publication sets forth a wealth of historical detail in chart, table, and diagram form (there is no "running text" as such, nor are there explanatory notes). Seventy-six of these tabular or diagrammatic items deal with developments during specific periods of church history from the ancient church to the contemporary European and American church scene, and eight further ones are of a somewhat more general nature (e.g., a list of Popes as recognized by the Catholic Church, lists of prominent Protestant and Catholic missionaries, etc.) The volume includes a general bibliography (two pages) and a rather extensive index (seven pages). Unfortunately, there is no page numbering anywhere in the volume, though the tables, charts, and diagrams (some extending over two pages) are numbered sequentially from 1 through 84.—K.A.S.

Weiss, Herold. *Paul of Tarsus: His Gospel and Life.* Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986. xiv + 188 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

This publication seeks to fill a gap in Pauline studies by providing the non-specialist with an understanding of

Paul in terms of the issues which Paul faced. In doing so, it also provides a refreshingly new and helpful approach. After two biographical chapters and a chapter tracing main themes in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the major portion of the book (chaps. 5-8) has "singled out major theological words in the apostle's vocabulary" in an effort "to embody his thought in a way which . . . he would have recognized. These theological words have been paired [e.g., "The Law and Salvation," "The Body and the Mind," and "The Lord and the Slave," chaps. 5, 6, and 8] in order to reflect the apostle's own dynamic integration and complementation of separate elements that bring to his thought both a frightful daring and a basic balance" (p. xiii).—K.A.S.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ד	= *d*	י	= *y*	ס	= *s*	ר	= *r*
ב	= *b*	ה	= *h*	כ	= *k*	ע	= ʿ	שׂ	= *ś*
ב	= *ḇ*	ו	= *w*	כ	= *ḵ*	פ	= *p*	שׁ	= *š*
ג	= *g*	ז	= *z*	ל	= *l*	פ	= *ṗ*	ת	= *t*
ג	= *ḡ*	ח	= *ḥ*	מ	= *m*	צ	= *ṣ*	ת	= *ṯ*
ד	= *ḏ*	ט	= *ṭ*	נ	= *n*	ק	= *q*		

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ִ = *a*	ְי , ִ (vocal shewa) = *e*			ֹ = *ō*
ָ = *ā*	ֵי , ֶ - = *ê*			ֳ = *o*
ֲ = *a*	ִ = *i*			וֹ = *ô*
ֶ = *e*	ִי = *î*			ֻ = *u*
ֵ = *ē*	ָ = *o*			וּ = *û*

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

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Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR	Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.
JAC	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum
JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JB	Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.
JEOL	Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JMeH	Journal of Medieval History
JMES	Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
JMH	Journal of Modern History
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JRE	Journal of Religious Ethics
JRelS	Journal of Religious Studies
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JRT	Journal of Religious Thought
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	Journal for the Study of OT
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JSSR	Journ., Scient. Study of Religion
JTC	Journal for Theol. and Church
JTS	Journal of Theol. Studies
KJV	King James Version
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly
LTK	Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche
LW	Lutheran World
McCQ	McCormick Quarterly
MLB	Modern Language Bible
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
Neot	Neotestamentica
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary, NT
NICOT	New International Commentary, OT
NIV	New International Version
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT	Nouvelle revue théologique
NTA	New Testament Abstracts
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	NT Tools and Studies
ODCC	Oxford Dict. of Christian Church
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEFQS	Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PG	Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.
PJ	Palästina-Jahrbuch
PL	Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.
PW	Pauly-Wissowa. Real-Encycl.
QDAP	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.
RArch	Revue archéologique
RB	Revue biblique
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RechSR	Recherches de science religieuse
REg	Revue d'égyptologie
RelS	Religious Studies
RelSoc	Religion and Society
RelSRev	Religious Studies Review

RenQ	Renaissance Quarterly
RevExp	Review and Expositar
RevQ	Revue de Qumrân
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses
RevSém	Revue sémitique
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHPR	Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RL	Religion in Life
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RPTK	Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche
RR	Review of Religion
RRR	Review of Religious Research
RS	Religious Studies
RSPT	Revue des sc. phil. et théol.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RTP	Revue de théol. et de phil.
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
Sem	Semitica
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	Studia Theologica
TAPS	Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD	Theology Digest
TDNT	Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.
TDOT	Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.
TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
TGl	Theologie und Glaube
THAT	Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TP	Theologie und Philosophie
TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
Trad	Traditio
TRev	Theologische Revue
TRu	Theologische Rundschau
TS	Theological Studies
TT	Teologisk Tidsskrift
TToday	Theology Today
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
UBSGNT	United Bible Societies Greek NT
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	VT, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WTJ	Westminster Theol. Journal
WZKM	Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
ZAW	Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.
ZDMG	Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.
ZEE	Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
ZHT	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKT	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
ZMR	Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.
ZRGG	Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.
ZST	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
ZTK	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche
ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie