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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE  
ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN AND SUMERIAN  
FLOOD STORIES <sup>1</sup>

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The topic of the Flood has interested Assyriologists for almost a century. In fact, only a few years after the birth of Assyriology the first cuneiform text alluding to the Flood was deciphered. That discovery brought attention to the Biblical Flood story of Genesis and to the story of the Flood according to Berossus, who had written a history of Babylonia in Greek a generation after Alexander the Great.

In the sequence of archaeological discoveries in Mesopotamia the Assyro-Babylonian texts came to light first; later the Sumerian. The decipherment, study and analysis of texts mentioning the Flood awakened much interest because of their obvious relationship with the Bible records of the Flood. On the one hand, topical studies were of value, because they established points of agreement and differences among the texts as they became known. On the other hand, a study of the texts establishing their relative dates of origin, and their chronological order also proved helpful. These two aspects of the investigation are of importance in order to establish the priorities of composition with regard to texts and to ascertain the parentage of the Flood traditions as presented in the Assyro-Babylonian and Sumerian recensions.

*I. Characteristics of the Assyrian Flood Texts*

1. *The First Assyrian Tradition of the Flood.* The first discovered cuneiform text of the Flood in Accadian was identified by George Smith, a minor official of the Assyrian

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Spanish by Leona G. Running.

Department of the British Museum, when he encountered the fragment of a text containing the Assyrian story of the Flood among the tablets coming from the ruins of Nineveh. Smith gave an account of his discovery in a lecture which he delivered before a select audience of the Society of Biblical Archaeology on December 3, 1872.<sup>2</sup>

The mutilated text was part of Tablet XI of a composition known as the Gilgamesh Epic consisting of twelve tablets, of which the ancient title corresponded to the first three words of the text, *Ša nagba imura*, "He who saw everything." It is supposed that the tablets containing the Gilgamesh Epic, to which Tablet XI belonged, were discovered by Hormuzd Rassam in 1853 during the excavations at Kuyunjik, one of the ruin-hills of ancient Nineveh, carried out by Henry Layard and Rassam from 1848 to 1854. During those years some 25,000 cuneiform tablets, many of them in a fragmentary condition, were brought to light. The majority of them belonged to the library of King Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.).

In the first seven lines of Tablet XI<sup>3</sup> of the poem *Ša nagba imura*, Gilgamesh is presented asking Utnapishtim, whose name means "long of life,"<sup>4</sup> how he had attained to immortality. The answer of Utnapishtim extends from line 8 to line 196. He relates how the god Ea spoke to him while he was living in Shuruppak in a reed hut similar to the *mudhif* which is still used in lower Mesopotamia. According to the message received, he was to build a ship to save himself from the coming disaster. Having done this he gave a great banquet. Without letting his fellow countrymen in on the secret that had been

<sup>2</sup> George Smith, "The Chaldean Account of the Deluge," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, II (1873), 213-234.

<sup>3</sup> All references with regard to Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh Epic are from the translation of E. A. Speiser in *ANET*, pp. 93-97.

<sup>4</sup> Speiser (*ANET*, p. 90, n. 164) suggests that the Assyrian name Utnapishtim means, "I have found life," though he admits that the grammar is "somewhat anomalous," in contrast to the warning *balāṭam lā tuttā* (i. 8; iii. 2), "life thou shalt not find," with which Gilgamesh was confronted.

revealed to him by Ea, he loaded the ship with his wealth, his family, and domestic and wild animals. After closing the door and windows he entrusted the ship to the boatman Puzur-Amurri.

In the Assyrian Flood tablet, the tempest is described in eloquent terms from lines 96-130, after which lines 131-143 relate how the storm was calmed and the ship came to rest on Mount Nisir. Next Utnapishtim enumerates the birds that were set free, from lines 145-155. The description of the sacrifice that he offered on the mountain, which pleased the gods so much that they "crowded like flies about the sacrificer," occupies lines 156-161.

Lines 162-169 of the narrative say that the goddess Ishtar admonished the gods not to permit the god Enlil to meet Utnapishtim since he, Enlil, had been guilty of bringing on the Deluge. But Enlil came anyway, and after having listened to the reproaches of Ea, recorded in lines 178-188, went aboard the ship and blessed Utnapishtim and his wife. Their apotheosis was the result of Enlil's touching their foreheads, through which they became gods and received, according to lines 189-196, an eternal dwelling place at the mouth of the rivers.

2. *The Second Assyrian Tradition of the Flood.* A deluge tablet representing a second Assyrian tradition was found by George Smith at Kuyunjik. After having discovered the first fragmentary Flood tablet in the British Museum, public opinion was aroused to such an extent by his lecture on the subject that the owners of the "Daily Telegraph" of London sent him to Mesopotamia in order to find the missing parts of the text.

When Smith began his excavations at Kuyunjik in 1875, he almost immediately unearthed a fragment of a tablet that described the Flood.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, it was not one of the

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (New York, 1876), p. 7.

missing pieces of Tablet XI that he had translated in London, nor was it even a part of the same story or tradition. Nevertheless the new lines discovered were concerned with the Flood. But they differed from the Gilgamesh Epic. In the former text deciphered by Smith the hero Utnapishtim was the leading character in the Flood story, while in the new fragment the heroic figure was Atrahasis, or the "Exceeding Wise."

The new fragment discovered by Smith at Kuyunjik consists of about 17 lines of cuneiform text that deal with the subject of the Deluge. In spite of the brevity of the text, it was apparent that it was part of another poem concerning the Flood.<sup>6</sup> However, both texts, each representing a separate tradition of the Deluge, belonged to the library of Ashurbanipal.

The contrast between these two Assyrian epics was not limited to the differences in the names of the actors. Although André Parrot thinks that Utnapishtim and Atrahasis represented two different legendary cycles,<sup>7</sup> E. A. Speiser has expressed the opinion that the appearance of the name Atrahasis in line 187 of the first Assyrian tradition of the Deluge, *i.e.*, in Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh poem, is an epithet given by the god Enlil to Utnapishtim. He therefore believes that reference is being made to the same hero in two forms.<sup>8</sup> The fundamental contrast between the two Assyrian texts that meant so much for George Smith, resides in a singular detail: Utnapishtim of the Gilgamesh Epic appears as an experienced ship-builder, as lines 54 to 79 present him, referring in detail to the construction of the refuge-ship and to its builder. On the other hand, in the second Assyrian tradition Atrahasis declares emphatically, in lines 11 to 17,

<sup>6</sup> L. W. King, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum*, XV (London, 1902), 49; E. Ebeling, in *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, ed. H. Gressmann (2d ed.; Berlin, 1926), p. 200; A. Boisier, *RA*, XXVIII (1931), 92-95.

<sup>7</sup> André Parrot, *Déluge et arche de Noé* (Neuchâtel, 1955), pp. 24, 25.

<sup>8</sup> Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 95, n. 218.

that he never had built a ship, hence he begs the god Ea to make a design of the ship upon the ground so that he will be able to build it.<sup>9</sup>

3. *The Third Assyrian Tradition of the Flood.* The third Assyrian tradition of the Flood is represented by a somewhat mutilated tablet with four columns of text, three of them having 61 lines devoted to the catastrophe. This tablet likewise comes from the library of King Ashurbanipal. Its first translation was made by L. W. King. Later it was the object of the investigations of A. T. Clay and E. Ebeling.<sup>10</sup> This recension is characterized by a different focus. Human beings, in a state of depravity, appear punished first by famine. Then, after they repented, the famine ceased; but as they returned to sinful life a pestilence was sent upon them. On relapsing, they were punished with sterility of fields as well as of people and flocks. Finally, because of their disorderly lives, they were swept away by the Flood.<sup>11</sup>

## II. *Characteristics of the Babylonian Traditions* *Referring to the Flood*

1. *First Babylonian Tradition of the Flood.* The first tradition is represented by a tablet discovered in the ruins of Nippur, and published by H. V. Hilprecht.<sup>12</sup> The tablet was

<sup>9</sup> Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Fragment C; R. Largetment, "Le thème de l'arche dans les traditions suméro-sémitiques," *Mélanges bibliques redigées en l'honneur d'André Robert* (Paris, 1957), pp. 60-65.

<sup>10</sup> King, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-206.

<sup>11</sup> Sidney Smith, *RA*, XXII (1925), 63, 64; G. Contenau, *L'Épopée de Gilgamesh, poème babylonien* (Paris, 1939); Alexander Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and the Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 111-116; Speiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 106, Fragment D.

<sup>12</sup> H. V. Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and the Temple Library of Nippur*, "Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania; The Babylonian Expedition," Ser. D, Vol. V, Part 1 (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 1-65; Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Fragment X; A. Deimel, "Diluvium in traditione babylonica," *VD*, VII (1927), 186-191; Deimel, "Biblica diluvii traditio cum traditione babylonica comparata," *VD*, VII (1927), 248-251.

found in such a poor state of preservation that only 11 lines could be deciphered. They refer to the command to build the ark, into which the larger animals and birds to be saved were to be brought.

The antiquity of this tablet goes back to the First Dynasty of Babylon, which, according to the long chronology, would correspond to the period between the years 1844 and 1505 B.C.<sup>13</sup> One of the characteristics of this Babylonian version of the Flood is that the hero of the Flood is ordered to name the ship that would save him, "Preserver of Life."<sup>14</sup>

2. *Second Babylonian Tradition of the Flood.* The second Babylonian tradition of the Flood appears in a tablet discovered in the ruins of Sippar. It contains eight columns with a total of 46 lines of the 439 that were in the complete text.<sup>15</sup> A chronological detail given by this second tradition consists of the information contained in the colophon. There the copyist, Ellit-Aya, the junior scribe, declares that this was Tablet II of the series *Enūma ilu awēlum*.<sup>16</sup> Besides, he indicates that he copied it in the year when King Ammišaduqa rebuilt Dur-Ammi-šaduqa, near the lower Euphrates, in the 11th year of his reign. Modern chronologists differ with regard to the dates for Ammišaduqa. Those who follow the "long" chronology date his reign to 1702-1682,<sup>17</sup> while those adhering to the "short" chronology, date his reign to 1582-1562.<sup>18</sup>

The individual saved from the Deluge, according to this

<sup>13</sup> Parrot, *Sumer* (Madrid, 1960), p. 310.

<sup>14</sup> Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Fragment X, line 8; A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien* (Helsinki, 1939), p. 51, under *eleppu quwquwru*.

<sup>15</sup> A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library*, IV (New Haven, Conn., 1923), Pl. I; Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 110; Speiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 105, Fragments A and B.

<sup>16</sup> Speiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 105, Fragment A, col. viii.

<sup>17</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, "La chronologie de la première dynastie babylonienne," *Mémoires de l'Académie*, Tome 43, Part 2 (1942), pp. 229-258.

<sup>18</sup> W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 88 (Dec. 1942), p. 32.



story, is named Atramhasis and not Atrahasis.<sup>19</sup> Another dissimilarity of this tradition is the reference to the growing number of human beings and to their oppressive spirit, for which the gods decided to send the Flood. This is described in the form of a great flood-storm with many clouds accumulated by the wind. The god Enki accuses the god Enlil of having sent the Flood.

Probably belonging to the second Babylonian tradition is a fragment of a tablet with only 15 legible lines, not counting the colophon. The latter gives the following information: "... Total 1245 [lines] of three tablets. By the hand of Ellit-Aya, the junior scribe..."<sup>20</sup> That statement gives evidence that the tablet comes from the same hand as the previous one and that, consequently, it belongs to the same period.<sup>21</sup> The few lines remaining refer to the command to destroy the house of the main actor, probably Atramhasis—whose name does not appear in those few lines—in order to build a ship in which he could be saved, leaving behind his earthly possessions.<sup>22</sup>

### III. *Characteristics of the Sumerian Texts Referring to the Flood*

1. *First Sumerian Tradition of the Flood.* The first is a fragmentary tablet discovered by A. Poebel among the tablets of the University Museum, Philadelphia, which had been found in the ruins of Nippur. Its condition permits the reading of only about 90 lines, distributed over six columns, and it is

<sup>19</sup> Boisier, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-97. Obviously Atramhasis was simply the Old Babylonian form for the later Assyrian Atrahasis.

<sup>20</sup> Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 105, Fragment B.

<sup>21</sup> Boisier, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95.

<sup>22</sup> The Babylonian traditions of the Flood have some resemblance with the Gilgamesh Epic. But the tablets from Ashurbanipal's library originated at a much later date. E. A. Wallis Budge and C. J. Gadd, *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge and the Epic of Gilgamesh* (London, 1929); A. Schott and W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Stuttgart, 1958); cf. von Soden, *ZA*, LIII (1959), 228.

calculated that some 230 lines of cuneiform text have been lost.<sup>23</sup> This singular text has also engaged other Sumerologists.<sup>24</sup>

As 37 lines are missing from the beginning of the tablet, it is not known which god began the dialogue. Kramer says: "The name of the speaker (or speakers) is destroyed; probably it is either Enki or Anu and Enlil (perhaps better Anu Enlil, . . .)." <sup>25</sup>

This Flood tradition presents the king and priest Ziusudra ("Long of life"), in the moment when he is carving a god of wood to worship and consult as an oracle. The text claims that in this way Ziusudra was informed of the grave decision of the gods: "By our hand a Deluge . . . will be [sent]; to destroy the seed of mankind . . ." <sup>26</sup> The hero was saved in a ship during the cataclysm, which lasted seven days. When he opened the covering, the sun god Utu appeared. After sacrificing an ox and a sheep and bowing before Anu and Enlil, Ziusudra received the gift of immortality in the land of Dilmun.

The Sumerian text of the Flood, after mentioning the creation of the animals and man, refers to the founding of five antediluvian cities. Lacking are the lines that could have referred to the causes that determined the cataclysm of the Flood. The hero Ziusudra is presented as a pious king who was informed of the decision taken by the gods to destroy mankind. The section of the text that could have mentioned the building of the saving ship also is broken. On the other hand, the violence of the Flood during seven days and seven nights is described. After the disaster the

<sup>23</sup> Arno Poebel, *Historical Texts*, "The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section," Vol. IV, No. 1 (Philadelphia, 1914), pp. 9-70; S. N. Kramer, *ANET*, pp. 42-44; A. Pacios, "Diluvio," *Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, II (Barcelona, 1964), col. 930.

<sup>24</sup> Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 58, 59; Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 97, 98; Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-105.

<sup>25</sup> Kramer, *ANET*, p. 42, note 1, but see also note 4.

<sup>26</sup> Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

sun god Utu appears and "brought his rays into the giant boat." And Ziusudra, in order to live as the gods, is translated to the land of Dilmun, "the place where the sun rises."<sup>27</sup> Dilmun, according to the preamble of the myth of Enki and Ninḫursag, represented a pure, clean, and brilliant place where, probably, there was neither sickness nor death.

2. *Reference to the Flood in the Sumerian King List.* The Sumerian King List involves texts of a completely different character from all the preceding ones. These appear as poems or epics that recur in the common tradition of the Flood cataclysm, while the Sumerian King List constitutes documents of a historiographic character. Such documents containing a list of the kings of Sumer were published for chronological and historical purposes, and divided Sumer's history into two periods: *lam abubi*, "before the Flood," and *arki abubi*, "after the Flood."<sup>28</sup>

The texts of this kind are scarce. They consist, first of all, of two documents acquired by H. Weld-Blundell, and in addition, of a tablet published by V. Scheil,<sup>29</sup> furthermore of a list of the first kings of Mesopotamia. The critical examination of that material by Thorkild Jacobsen, studying textual, stylistic and historical problems, has shown that the original was written in the days when Utuhegal, king of Uruk, liberated Sumer from the Guti domination.<sup>30</sup> Scholars are still divided with regard to dates for the end of the Guti Dynasty and for Utuhegal of Uruk, which lie between *ca.* 2120 and *ca.* 2065 B.C.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Kramer, "Dilmun the Land of the Living," *BASOR*, No. 96 (Dec. 1944), pp. 18-28; Kramer, *L'histoire commence à Sumer* (Paris, 1957), pp. 206, 207.

<sup>28</sup> Contenau, *Le déluge babylonien* (Paris, 1952), p. 55.

<sup>29</sup> V. Scheil, "Liste susienne des dynasties de Sumer-Accad," in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, LXII (Cairo, 1934), (= *Mélanges Maspéro*, I), 393-400.

<sup>30</sup> Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 141.

<sup>31</sup> For the earlier date see Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *CAH*, 2d ed., Vol. I, Fasc. 19 (Cambridge, 1966), p. 56. For the late date see Albright, *loc. cit.*

The two documents obtained by Weld-Blundell are complementary to each other. The first consists of a prism that mentions five antediluvian cities and enumerates eight kings who reigned before the Flood.<sup>32</sup> The second document has only 18 lines, but is also of interest because it again mentions the names of the antediluvian kings and the Flood itself.<sup>33</sup>

The study of all Sumerian King Lists has been undertaken by Jacobsen in order to establish a "standard version," by a combination of different texts. The reference to the Flood appears after the mention of eight kings and five antediluvian cities (Eridu, Baddibira, Larak, Sippar and Shuruppak). The text alluding to the Flood is brief: "These are five cities, eight kings ruled them for 241,000 years. (Then) the Flood swept over (the earth). After the Flood had swept over (the earth) (and) when kingship was lowered (again) from heaven, kingship was (first) in Kish."<sup>34</sup>

3. *The Sumerian Tradition Reflected in the Flood Account of Berossus.* Berossus, priest of the cult of Marduk in the city of Babylon, a contemporary of the king Antiochus I Soter (281-260), wrote in Greek a history of his country entitled *Babyloniaca*. That work, written on the Aegean island of Cos about the year 275 B.C., has been lost. Nevertheless many of its principal paragraphs are known through quotations of the following historians: Apollodorus of Athens (ca. 144 B.C.), Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 88 B.C.), Abydenus (ca. 60 B.C.), King Juba of Mauretania (ca. 50 B.C.-ca. A.D. 23), Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37-103), Eusebius of Caesarea (A.D. 265-340), and Georgius Syncellus (ca. A.D. 792).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> W.B. 444 was published by S. Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, II (Oxford, 1923), 8-21, Pls. I-IV. See also Edouard Dhorme, "L'aurore de l'histoire babylonienne," *Recueil Edouard Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 3-79.

<sup>33</sup> For the document W.B. 62 see Langdon, *JRAS*, XC (1923), 251 ff.; Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 149.

<sup>34</sup> Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 265.

<sup>35</sup> Ebeling, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 201; Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-119; Paul Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*

The Flood story of Berossus was the only Mesopotamian tradition of that cataclysm that was known before the discovery of cuneiform texts containing Flood stories. The account of Berossus, which begins with the creation of the world, points out ten antediluvian kings of long life, indicating Xisuthros as the tenth, who appears as the hero of the Flood. According to Berossus, Xisuthros was warned by one of the gods of the imminence of the Flood, being ordered to prepare a ship to save his family and his friends, and also the animals. Saved in this manner, he disembarked on a mountain in Armenia. After having worshiped the gods, he and his wife, his daughter, and the pilot disappeared from among mortals to be with the gods.

It is interesting to note, as Parrot has pointed out, that the account of Berossus has great affinities with the Sumerian text of the Flood and with the Sumerian King Lists. It can be observed that in the tablet W.B. 62 the names of the kings of Shuruppak are indicated: Su-kur-lam, son of Ubar-Tutu, and Ziusudra, son of Su-kur-lam. Ziusudra appears both in the Sumerian tablet of the Flood and, with the name Xisuthros, in the account of Berossus, who must have selected the Sumerian text as the most ancient.<sup>36</sup>

#### IV. *Latest Discoveries of Fragments of the Gilgamesh Epic*

Since 1853, when Hormuzd Rassam discovered the tablets with the Ninevite text of the Gilgamesh Epic in Kuyunjik, translated by George Smith in 1872, other fragmentary copies have been discovered elsewhere. Such fragments come from the ruins of Asshur, Hattushash, Kish, Megiddo, Nippur, Sippar, Sultantepe, Ugarit, Ur and Uruk. Among these discoveries a notable one was made at Boghazköy, which exhibits a Hittite recension and a Hurrian translation that

(Leipzig, 1923), pp. 264 ff.; F. Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogéniques de Bérose* (Paris, 1872).

<sup>36</sup> Parrot, *Déluge et arche de Noé*, pp. 28-32.

presents evidence of the literary interest of the inhabitants of the ancient capital of the Hittite empire.<sup>37</sup>

The discoveries of the tablets with fragments of the Gilgamesh Epic published in recent years are of varied importance according to their length and content. The following texts have come to the author's notice and are listed here in the sequence of their publication, although the preserved fragments do not all refer to the Flood. However, it can be assumed that in their original state the Flood story was part of each composition.

1. *Two Fragments from Sultantepe*. The find made in 1951 at Sultantepe, Anatolia, consists of fragmentary tablets containing extracts of the Gilgamesh Epic. Contextual evidence shows that the two fragments, classified as S.U. 51, 129 A and 237, belong to the same tablet, while the tablet S.U. 51, 7 contains a different text. The study of the text of the two fragments from Sultantepe shows that it corresponds with the small fragments discovered in Nineveh (S.2132 obv. and Rm. ii 399).<sup>38</sup> These were published by R. Campbell Thompson as if they belonged to the beginning of Tablet IV of the great poem of Gilgamesh from the library of Ashurbanipal. But this opinion was considered erroneous by A. Schott, A. Heidel and Peter Jensen, who pointed out that the two fragments belonged to Tablet VII, with which idea O. R. Gurney agreed after studying the two fragments from Sultantepe.<sup>39</sup>

The comparative study of an almost complete tablet, Sultantepe S.U. 51.7, made it possible for Gurney to corro-

<sup>37</sup> An Accadian fragment (KUB IV 12) was translated by A. Ungnad, *Gilgamesch-Epos und Odyssee* (Breslau, 1923), p. 18; the Hittite fragments were collected and translated by J. Friedrich, *ZA*, XXXIX (1930), 1-82.

<sup>38</sup> O. R. Gurney, "Two Fragments of the Epic of Gilgamesh from Sultantepe," *JCS*, VIII (1954), 87-95; Gurney and J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets*, I (London, 1957), Nos. 14 and 15, Pls. XVII and XVIII.

<sup>39</sup> Gurney, *JCS*, VIII (1954), 87.

borate that it corresponds to columns I and II of Tablet VIII of the Gilgamesh Epic discovered in Nineveh; this conclusion has been accepted by Speiser.<sup>40</sup> One of the merits of Tablet S.U. 51, 7 from Sultantepe is that it permitted the restoration of the first line of the text of the Nineveh Tablet VIII. This Anatolian tablet presents the lament of Gilgamesh for the death of his friend Enkidu. Gurney called attention to the fact that on comparing this text with that of Nineveh (K 8564) it is found that the Sultantepe scribe omitted lines 11, 12, and 14 of column I of Tablet VIII and that, after writing lines 1 to 16 of column II, he introduced different verses and omitted line 23 of the Neo-Assyrian text from Nineveh. In addition, it is to be noted that below line 16 of the reverse appears the trace of a line that crosses the tablet from one border to the other, separating the preceding text from the subsequent lines 17 to 20. These final four lines contain Gilgamesh's call to artisans to erect a monument of precious stones and gold as a memorial to his deceased friend Enkidu.

The text of Sultantepe terminates abruptly and without colophon, but it is known that it is not continued on another tablet nor is it truncated, because it ends with the word *a-sak-[kiš]*, which means "collated," or "end of the text." This singular characteristic of Tablet S.U. 51, 7 from Sultantepe raises the possibility that the scribe, because he had not correctly calculated the available space, intentionally omitted the content of several verses of the text he was copying, in order to save the space needed for the last four lines that are climaxed by talking about the erection of a statue of precious stones and gold.

2. *Fragment from Megiddo.* In 1955, Moshe Karawani, a Palestinian shepherd, discovered a fragment of a tablet on the dump of discarded materials from the excavations carried out at *Tell el-Mutesellim* by the Oriental Institute of

<sup>40</sup> Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 136.

Chicago between 1925 and 1938. It was published by Albrecht Goetze and S. Levy.<sup>41</sup>

The fragment, 10.2 × 10.1 cm. in size, comes from a tablet which originally consisted of four columns of text of 60 lines each. Only 17 lines of the obverse and 20 lines of the reverse are preserved. The text can be compared with the Nineveh fragments K 3389 and K 3588, and belongs to Tablet VII of the Gilgamesh Epic from the library of Ashurbanipal. Paleographic evidence shows that the script is slightly earlier than the Amarna Letters, for which reason the fragment can be dated to the early 14th century B.C. Its ductus resembles most closely that of the Amarna Letters written in cities of Phoenicia.

3. *The Fragments from Ugarit.* With respect to the finds in Syria, they were made in the ruins of Ugarit which has provided so many valuable archaeological and epigraphical discoveries. The first news of the find was given by Jean Nougayrol in 1960.<sup>42</sup> It was a fragment with about 20 short and mutilated lines, beginning with the words indicating its contents: "When the gods counseled together, the Deluge came to the countries." The following sentences coincide with Tablet XI of the Neo-Assyrian version from Nineveh. On May 12, 1964, Nougayrol informed C. F.-A. Schaeffer by letter concerning the discovery of another fragmentary tablet which apparently refers to the youth of Gilgamesh, according to a communication of Schaeffer to M. E. L. Mallowan.<sup>43</sup> These tablets from Ugarit are to be published in *Ugarita V* respectively as No. 167 (= R.S. 22.421) and No. 268 (= R.S. 22.219 + 22.398).

<sup>41</sup> A. Goetze and S. Levy, "Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from Megiddo," *Atiqot*, II (1959), 121-128, Pl. XVIII; see also *IEJ*, V (1955), 274; G. Ernest Wright, *BA*, XVIII (1955), 44; Dhorme, *RA*, LV (1961), 153, 154.

<sup>42</sup> Jean Nougayrol, "Nouveaux textes accadiens de Ras Shamra," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1960, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>43</sup> M. E. L. Mallowan, "Noah's Flood Reconsidered," *Iraq*, XXVI (1964), 62, n. 3.



The study of all cuneiform texts which deal with the Flood has made possible comparisons concerning the contents and the antiquity of the texts. In some cases the lacunae due to breakage or to accidental or intentional omissions have been satisfactorily filled from the texts contained in fragments of other tablets. In certain cases the expressions which were obscure because of editing or omissions have been satisfactorily clarified. This is the case, for example, with Tablet XI of the library of Ashurbanipal. This tablet from the seventh century B.C. presents Utnapishtim listening from his house of rushes in Shuruppak to the announcement of the Flood as given by the god Ea. But in the Ugaritic fragment *Ugaritica V*, No. 167 (= R.S. 22,421), Utnapishtim is presented as dwelling in the temple of his god Ea. This god, who knew the secrets of all the gods, had been sworn by the others to secrecy, agreeing not to reveal divine decisions to mortals. But as Ea desired to save Utnapishtim from the Flood in order to offer him immortality, his ingenious method of not breaking his oath and yet accomplishing his wish was to tell to the rush walls of his great temple the gods' secret about the cataclysmic destruction of mortals. This subterfuge of the god Ea appears in the Ugarit text in the following words, which are similar to those of other texts of the Gilgamesh Epic: "Their words, to the hedge of rushes he repeated (saying): 'Wall, hear!' . . ."

Nougayrol, translator of the text from Ras Shamra, believes that it constitutes the geographic link that was missing between the tablets referring to the Flood, discovered in Boghazköy, and that which was found at Megiddo. Besides, with reference to the relation of the Flood text from Ugarit with the group of Accadian and Sumerian texts on the same subject, in a session of the Académie des Inscriptions held in Paris he stated: "I consider that the fragment from Ugarit is found at the confluence of the old traditions on the Flood (Sumerian Flood, Poem of the Very Wise Man) and the no less venerable traditions about Gilgamesh."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Nougayrol, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

4. *Four New Fragments in the British Museum.* In 1960 D. J. Wiseman published four new fragments of the Gilgamesh Epic from the British Museum. These fragments were classified as B 23, 24, 25, 26.<sup>45</sup> The scope of these individual fragments is of great similarity to the classic Tablet III from Nineveh, and to a tablet discovered at Ur, recently published and translated by Gadd.

5. *Tablet from Ur.* Digging at *Tell el-Muqaiyar* in Iraq began in 1922, carried on by the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania. Among the tablets discovered there is one that belongs to the Gilgamesh Epic, but it has no excavation number nor any special marks. It is characterized by the defective condition of its surface. Upon the tablet an overlay of fine clay had been spread with the purpose of obtaining greater clearness, but the unfortunate result was that the overlay became detached, carrying away many signs over irregular spaces, leaving defective lines.

This tablet from Ur has recently been published by Gadd.<sup>46</sup> The text of the tablet corresponds to Tablet VII of the Accadian Gilgamesh Epic from Nineveh.

Gadd presented a translation of the cuneiform text of Ur and a discussion of the internal evidences given by the text so as to obtain indications for the date of its composition. The following characteristics attracted his attention: the use of few Sumerograms; the use of prepositions that were common following the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I; the use of suffixes for pronouns that suggests the end of the Kassite period or the second Dynasty of Isin. Taking all this into account, Gadd supposes that it "be best assigned to the early 11th century B.C."<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> D. J. Wiseman, "Additional Neobabylonian Gilgamesh Fragments," in P. Garelli, ed., *Gilgameš et sa légende* (Paris, 1960), pp. 123-135; W. G. Lambert, *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, XLVI (London, 1965), Pl. XXXI.

<sup>46</sup> Gadd, "Some Contributions to the Gilgamesh Epic," *Iraq*, XXVIII (1966), 105-121.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

All these discoveries from Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian sections of Mesopotamia, and from Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine show the wide diffusion that the Gilgamesh Epic, including the traditions about the Flood, attained as a literary work.

### V. *General Conclusions*

A study of the available Flood texts considered in this paper leads to the following conclusions:

1. The Accadian—Assyrian and Babylonian—texts of the Flood have a similar theme, but show secondary differences with reference to the names of gods and in expressions due to regional coloring.

2. The names Utnaphistim, Atrahasis, Atramhasis, Ziusudra, Xisuthros, given to the hero of the Flood are different, because preferential epithets were adopted in different regions of Mesopotamia. However, this does not constitute sufficient reason to assume that more than one person was actually meant.

3. The Assyrian texts, coming from the library of Ashurbanipal, as the most recent compositions, are regarded by scholars to be dependent upon the Babylonian traditions, from which local adaptations of the Deluge theme were made.

4. The Babylonian texts of the Flood, although following the lines of two parallel recensions, point to a common origin, which chronologically goes back to the tradition that had circulated in Sumer.

5. It is evident that some of those who used the Accadian language were familiar with the classical Sumerian literature, by which they attained a direct acquaintance with the traditions of Sumer, as evidenced much later by Berossus.

6. The Mesopotamian texts of the Flood—Assyrian, Babylonian, and Sumerian—contain the same old tradition of a great cataclysm, and show that the Deluge was considered to mark a clear break between two periods: the prediluvian and the postdiluvian world.

# SABBATARIAN ANABAPTISTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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## PART II\*

### *V. Andreas Fischer*

Fischer was born about 1480 at Kremnitz in what is today Slovakia.<sup>1</sup> We may assume from his title *Magister* and the fact that he was a former priest that he had finished his training at a university.<sup>2</sup> Valentine Crautwald reports that Fischer had a good knowledge and command of Greek, Hebrew and Latin.<sup>3</sup> Fischer became a member of the Anabaptist congregation of Linz, Austria. He joined in missionary work and was known as overseer of the Anabaptist congregations at Passau, Obernberg, and Wels successively. He appeared in Nikolsburg, Moravia, probably in 1527/28, where he seems to have adopted the Sabbatarian beliefs of Glait and where he became his co-worker.<sup>4</sup>

\* The first part of this article was published in *AUSS*, V (1967), 101-121.

<sup>1</sup> Petr Ratkoš gives the fullest treatment available on Fischer in "Die Anfänge des Wiedertäuferturns in der Slowakei," *Aus 500 Jahren deutsch-tschechoslowakischer Geschichte*, K. Obermann and Joseph Polisenky, eds. (Berlin, 1958), pp. 41-59. Ratkoš utilizes a long-forgotten primary source: the *Diarium* of Konrad Sperfogel of Constance. Sperfogel settled in Leutschau, Slovakia, where he held the office of town-councilor from 1517-1537 and also that of town-judge for some years. Sperfogel hated Fischer but still gives important information about him, especially from 1529 until Fischer's martyrdom. In our discussion we rely heavily on Ratkoš' treatment.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Valentine Crautwald, *Bericht vnd anzeigen / wie gar one Kunst vnd guotten verstandt / andreas Fischer. vom Sabbat geschrieben / auch Das er Inen wider alles rechten sucht / noch als nötig Im Christenthum zuhalten Hab mögen schützen* (1532), pp. 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> S. D. Hartranft and E. E. Johnson, eds., *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (Norristown, Penna., 1907-), IV, 450 (hereafter cited as

The two Sabbatarian Anabaptist apostles, Fischer and Glait, actively promulgated their beliefs in the area of Liegnitz, Silesia, in the year 1528. They met Valentine Crautwald and Caspar Schwenckfeld, who were active in the same area. At Liegnitz Glait debated with Schwenckfeld on the Sabbath.<sup>5</sup>

For some reason Fischer left Silesia, for we find him on March 3, 1529, at Leutschau, Slovakia, where he taught Anabaptist doctrines in secret meetings. By Easter of the same year he was expelled along with his wife. Briefly he stopped at Neudorf but settled at Schwedler, Slovakia, which was then under the rulership of the Lord of Thurso. Fischer's preaching in Schwedler was highly successful; among the miners of the town he won a great number of enthusiastic followers. On May 9, however, he appeared again in Leutschau; five days later he and his wife were imprisoned and taken to the Castle of Tschitschwa. At their trial on July 2 Fischer was sentenced to die on the gallows and his wife to die by drowning. Both were charged with heretical doctrines and inciting to rebellion against the authorities. Fischer's wife also confessed belief in community of goods. According to Sperfogel the sentences were immediately executed. The wife was drowned, but Fischer himself fell from the gallows and thus escaped death.<sup>6</sup>

After this test Fischer returned to Leutschau to strengthen the Anabaptist congregation there, but after some days, he went again to Schwedler, where at the beginning of November he baptized 70 to 80 adults. On November 10, he married the young daughter of the widow of Johann Maler of Leutschau. Six days later a unit of some 100 soldiers with cavalry moved out of the castle of Zips and the town of Leutschau with

CS); William Klassen, "Sabbatarian Anabaptists," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottsdale, Penna., 1959), IV, 396.

<sup>5</sup> CS, IV, 450-454; cf. R. F. Loserth, "Glait, Oswald," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, 523; George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 410.

<sup>6</sup> Ratkoš, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 ff., 57.

orders to imprison the leading Anabaptists of Schwedler. The fact that the inhabitants of Schwedler rendered only passive resistance indicates that it was a "peaceful" Anabaptist community. Fischer had been warned shortly before and withdrew with many Anabaptists into the mountains. During the winter of 1529-30 he left the group, fleeing with some of his faithful followers to Zeben in Poland. His disciple Johann, who was imprisoned and executed on the gallows on February 21, 1530, says that Fischer intended to go to Moravia to attend a planned congress of the "brethren," and that he intended then to return to Hungary.<sup>7</sup>

It is likely that Fischer returned to Moravia<sup>8</sup> that same winter. Glait published his book *Buchlenn vom Sabbath* around 1530. Crautwald was urged by Duke Friedrich II and probably also by Schwenckfeld, to compose a criticism of Glait's book,<sup>9</sup> which is not extant. Glait asked Fischer to reply to Crautwald, but his reply is not extant either. Crautwald's second treatise, however, is preserved.<sup>10</sup> It is the only work available that gives important information on Fischer's Sabbatarian teachings.

Fischer returned to Slovakia sometime in the year 1532 and preached again in Leutschau, from which city he was expelled once more in December of the same year. He is next found again as a minister in Schwedler, which he left in the summer of 1534 to minister briefly in Wallendorf.<sup>11</sup>

When during the same year one of Fischer's old enemies, Anton Philadelphus, the Catholic priest of Neusohl, attacked him from the pulpit and charged him with the heresy of

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53. Ratkoš takes this view which is likely to be correct, because a messenger who was sent to Germany in August, 1530, and asked to spy on Fischer's activity in Moravia, returned bringing the report to the city council of Leutschau that Fischer was much appreciated there.

<sup>9</sup> CS, IV, 450; W. Wiswedel, "Oswald Glait von Jamnitz," ZKG, LVI (1937), 562.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra*, n. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ratkoš, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

Anabaptism, he found safety in the village of Wisternitz near Nikolsburg, Moravia, under the protection of Lord Leonhard von Lichtenstein, whom he considered his friend. From there he challenged Philadelphus to come to the territory of that noble to dispute freely about religious doctrines.

For about two years Fischer remained in Moravia. But in the year 1536 he returned to Slovakia, where he accepted the pulpit of the congregation of the small town of Bierbrunn. Again alone, and after an unsuccessful attempt to marry the Anabaptist widow of Peter Sator (Schneider) from Leutschau, who had three children, he was married to a young lady from Neusohl by the Lutheran pastor Georg Leudischer in a public ceremony in Käsmark on July 26, 1536.

Fischer continued to preach among the Anabaptist congregations of Zips. On one of his preaching journeys in the years 1539-40 he was taken prisoner by the soldiers of the robber knight Franz Bebek. Later, by order of Bebek, he was thrown down from the wall of the Castle of Horka. Thus ended the fruitful life of the second Sabbatarian Anabaptist apostle.

#### *VI. Fischer's Sabbatarian Teaching*

We learn about Fischer's Sabbatarian teaching only through Crautwald's second critique,<sup>12</sup> which was an answer to Fischer's reply (written upon Glait's request) in which Fischer criticized the former's work about the Sabbatarianism of Glait. Unfortunately Fischer's own work is not extant.

For a proper interpretation two matters should be kept in mind: (1) The following sixteen points of Fischer's teaching are taken from a polemical book, a refutation against the Sabbatarian teaching of an Anabaptist leader by a non-Sabbatarian Anabaptist. In reading Crautwald's critique, however, one is strongly impressed with his attempt to be fair in listing his opponent's teachings and to give an honest presentation. As is the case with most sixteenth-century

<sup>12</sup> *Supra*, n. 3.



controversial writings, Crautwald's reply is a point by point rebuttal,<sup>13</sup> apparently taking each point in the original order of his opponent's work. Crautwald himself states: "We want to hear the arguments of Fischer, which I have gathered together and collected from his book and how they sound in condensed form."<sup>14</sup> (2) It must also be kept in mind that these points are taken from a book which is a rebuttal of an earlier refutation of Sabbatarian teachings.

Crautwald presents sixteen points in the following order.

1. The Ten Commandments of God are ten covenant words in which the external Sabbath is instituted and included. Where the Sabbath is not kept, one trespasses the commandments of God and there remain only eight (*sic.*) covenant words.<sup>15</sup>

Fischer's main argument for keeping the Sabbath seems to rest upon the completeness of the Decalogue and the recognition that the Ten Commandments are covenant words of God which must stand as a whole. Disobeying the Sabbath commandment is sin; even worse, it is destruction of the ten divine covenant words.

2. Moses, the prophets, including the apostles, who are teachers in the New Testament, all teach the Ten Commandments to which also the Sabbath belongs; therefore one should keep it.<sup>16</sup>

Here the Biblical evidence of the leading charismatic teachers of the Old and New Testaments is marshalled to show the validity of the Decalogue for both dispensations. Since the Decalogue was taught by them, man is obligated to keep it, including the Fourth Commandment.

3. In the New Testament it is commanded that the Ten Commandments are to be kept, therefore also the Sabbath.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> For example, see the point by point rebuttal in Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*; cf. Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies* (London, 1963), p. 273.

<sup>14</sup> Crautwald, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

Fischer's logic leads him to conclude that since the New Testament commands the keeping of the Ten (not nine or eight) Commandments the Sabbath is automatically included.

4. Christ works the commandments of God, which is the will of his Father, into believing hearts. He makes known his work, law, and commandment, to which belongs also the Sabbath of Moses, which one should keep.<sup>18</sup>

It is stated here that it is through Christ that the will of the Father, *i.e.*, the Decalogue, is put into our hearts. Thus the centrality of Christ as the motivating force for the keeping of the Sabbath for the New Testament Christian is emphasized. The Sabbath is kept because Christ is working in the believer's heart.

5. The Sabbath [commandment] is one of the big commandments; therefore one should keep it.<sup>19</sup>

This is an interesting argument based apparently on the length of the Sabbath commandment in comparison with the other nine. It indicates the sincere concern with which Fischer looks upon the Sabbath of the Decalogue.<sup>20</sup>

6. Through faith we establish the law, Romans 3; therefore also the Sabbath.<sup>21</sup>

This seems to be a condensation of a much longer exposition of the relationship of "faith" and "works" by Fischer in which he concluded with Paul's thought that true faith does not destroy, but rather establishes the law (Rom 3: 31).

7. The first and oldest fathers [patriarchs] have kept the commandments of God, before Moses. Therefore, they had also to keep the external Sabbath, otherwise they would not have kept the Ten Commandments of God. . . . For this reason one should keep the Sabbath visibly [*eusserlich*] in Christendom according to the law.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> It is probable that this argument was the answer to a challenge of Crautwald's first treatise in rebuttal of Glait's book, *Buchlenn vom Sabbath*.

<sup>21</sup> Crautwald, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 41.

This argument expresses the Old Testament thought that the Sabbath was kept even before Moses by the patriarchs, *i.e.*, it was kept before Sinai, before Yahweh made his covenant with his people. It appears that Fischer is showing that the Sabbath, and for that matter the Decalogue, is not a Mosaic institution, and that, inasmuch as it was kept before Moses, it must likewise be kept after Moses, *i.e.*, in the Christian era.

8. James declares, "If someone says he keeps the whole law but fails in one point he has become guilty of breaking all of it; he has become a transgressor of the law." Pray tell, can or may the Sabbath be an exception? <sup>23</sup>

Fischer's argument here turns on the selection of that part of the "law" which is convenient, only to ignore the claims of the rest. He again and again points to the unity of the Decalogue and the obligation to keep the whole law. The basic question of complete loyalty to God's will depends upon the believer's keeping the "whole law." How then, Fischer asks, can the Sabbath commandment as one of the Ten Commandments be an "exception"?

9. Paul repeats the law, but the law includes the Sabbath, which is generally understood; and when the other apostles refer to one or two of the commandments they refer to the tables, the covenant of God. <sup>24</sup>

Paul and the other apostles in their reference to some commandments endorse the tablets of stone upon which God wrote his covenant with his own finger. Again the argument turns on the idea that the law was not abolished by the apostles, but rather sanctioned. <sup>25</sup>

10. Paul and the apostles held meetings on the Sabbath. <sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Fischer may have sought to point out that as the founders of the Jewish economy, the patriarchs, already kept the law, so the builders of New Testament Christianity, the apostles, moved on the same ground, namely the tables of God's covenant.

<sup>26</sup> Crautwald, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

This meager summary of a presumably much longer argument seems to be a reference to the narratives of Acts which report many instances of such meetings on the Sabbath. <sup>27</sup>

11. The Scriptures speak so often about the Sabbath; if I would have as many texts and passages about Sunday as there are about Sabbath, I would keep Sunday instead of Sabbath. <sup>28</sup>

The abundance of Scriptural evidence for Sabbath is brought to the forefront while at the same time a lack of texts supporting Sunday worship is stressed. <sup>29</sup>

12. We believe with the Jews that there is but one God [Dt 6: 4], and salvation has come to us from them, and yet we are not Jews, why should we not keep the Sabbath with them? <sup>30</sup>

Here Fischer appears to be refuting a charge of relapse into Judaism <sup>31</sup> by stressing that although Christians do have other beliefs in common with Jews, they are not Jews. Therefore, what is hindering Christians from keeping the Sabbath on the same day as the Jews?

13. Christ, the apostles, and all early fathers [of the church] have kept holy the Sabbath day. <sup>32</sup>

This is the beginning of a series of arguments from the history of the Christian church. It manifests an acquaintance with church history which Fischer's university training would have afforded him.

14. Pope Victor and Emperor Constantine are the first ones who ordered that Sunday should be kept, it is also issued in the Decretal; but God instituted and ordered the [keeping of the] Sabbath. <sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Acts 13: 14, 42, 44; 16: 13; 17: 2; 18: 4.

<sup>28</sup> Crautwald, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> In the rebuttals of Schwenckfeld and of Crautwald no support for Sunday worship is sought from such texts as Acts 20: 7; 1 Cor 16: 2; Rev 1: 10 which traditionally have been used for proof of Sunday worship in the New Testament.

<sup>30</sup> Crautwald, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>31</sup> This is not an uncommon charge. See *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar ed.), XLII, 520; Desiderius Erasmus, "Amabili ecclesiae concordia," *Opera omnia*, V, cols. 505, 506.

<sup>32</sup> Crautwald, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

Man and God are put on opposite sides: men, like Victor and Constantine, commanded Sunday as the day of worship, while God has commanded worship on the Sabbath. This point of proof depends on the vital and decisive question of man's allegiance to God or to men.

15. All assemblies of Christians were held on Sabbath for many years after Christ's time. <sup>34</sup>

Again an acquaintance with the history of the early church is reflected here, although the assertion cannot be documented.

The final point enumerated by Crautwald is more an exhortation and accentuation of the everlasting character of the Decalogue:

16. The commandments of God stand and remain forever, Ecclesiastes 12; Baruch 4. Even if all letters would burn up, as the Jews lost the tables long ago, the Ten Commandments remain until the end of the world, because they are the everlasting commandments. <sup>35</sup>

Crautwald's reply furnishes the following important information regarding Fischer's Sabbatarian teaching: (1) The Sabbath must be kept because it is one of the Ten Commandments. (2) The patriarchs before Moses, Moses himself, the prophets, and the apostles kept the Sabbath. (3) The New Testament teaches the Decalogue, and thus the Sabbath, and stresses the importance of keeping it. (4) Christ, the apostles, and the early fathers of the church kept the Sabbath holy. (5) Paul and the apostles held meetings on the Sabbath. (6) The Christians after Christ's time assembled for many years on the Sabbath. (7) Men, Pope Victor and Emperor Constantine, ordered the keeping of Sunday, but God instituted and commanded the keeping of the Sabbath. (8) Those who do not keep the Sabbath of the Ten Commandments are transgressors of the law. (9) On grounds of faith the Christian upholds the law, including the Sabbath. (10)

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

The Decalogue will remain until the end of the world; it is eternal and binding.

Because of the nature of the sources a comparison of the Sabbatarian teachings of Glait and Fischer is most difficult. It is certain, however, that both leaders of Sabbatarian Anabaptism based their teachings on the *sola scriptura* principle of the Reformers. It is, therefore, not surprising that this Reformation approach provided them with a powerful basis of argumentation and that their proclamation of Sabbatarianism met with considerable success. Both men regarded the Old and New Testaments as inseparable and indivisible. In this view they were far in advance of their time. Biblical scholars have in recent decades more and more recognized this inherent unity. There is close proximity of thought and presentation in the teachings of Glait and Fischer. This may be expected of propagators who associated together, uniting their efforts in common missionary activity, and who through circumstances were forced to defend together their Sabbatarianism.

## WHERE AND WHEN WAS THE ARAMAIC SAQQARA PAPYRUS WRITTEN?

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In 1942 an Aramaic papyrus was found in a jar during excavations at Saqqara by Zaki Saad Effendi. He made the first brief announcement of this find in a report in 1945.<sup>1</sup> The document, in this paper called the Saqqara Papyrus, was published by the French Aramaist, A. Dupont-Sommer, in 1948.<sup>2</sup> He furnished a linguistic and historical commentary to the text and also dealt with its paleography. Aside from some short reviews dealing with this document,<sup>3</sup> several articles on the new papyrus were published during the following six years.<sup>4</sup> They dealt in part with the linguistic problems, but were mainly concerned with the historical implications.

In 1956 cuneiform texts containing Babylonian Chronicles were published by D. J. Wiseman which covered the first

<sup>1</sup> Zaki Saad Effendi, "Saqqarah: Fouilles royales," *CdE*, XX (1945), 80-82. The papyrus is now in the Cairo Museum, where it bears the number 86.984.

<sup>2</sup> A. Dupont-Sommer, "Un papyrus araméen d'époque saïte découvert à Saqqarah," *Semitica*, I (1948), 43-68 and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> A. Pohl, *Orientalia*, XVIII (1949), 512; R. Dussaud, *Syria*, XXVI (1949), 152, 153.

<sup>4</sup> H. L. Ginsberg, "An Aramaic Contemporary of the Lachish Letters," *BASOR*, No. 111 (Oct. 1948), 24-27; A. Bea, "Epistula aramaica saeculo VII exeunte ad Pharaonem scripta," *Biblica*, XXX (1949), 514-516; J. Bright, "A New Letter in Aramaic, Written to a Pharaoh in Egypt," *BA*, XII (1949), 46-52; A. Malamat, "The New Aramaic Saqqârah Papyrus from the Time of Jeremiah," *BJES*, XV (1949), 34-39 (Hebrew), pp. II-III (English résumé) not seen by the writer of this article; D. Winton Thomas, "The Age of Jeremiah in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discovery," *PEQ*, LXXXII (1950), 8-13; Malamat, "The Last Wars of the Kingdom of Judah," *JNES*, IX (1950), 222, 223; Rudolph Meyer, "Ein aramäischer Papyrus aus den ersten Jahren Nebukadnezars II," *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1954), pp. 251-262; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Letter of King Adon to the Egyptian Pharaoh," *Biblica*, XLVI (1965), 41-55.

eleven years of Nebuchadnezzar II.<sup>5</sup> Since the information provided in the Chronicles has an important bearing on the dating of the Saqqara Papyrus and its problems, it is surprising that hardly any notice has been taken of this historical source material for an elucidation of the papyrus.<sup>6</sup> For this reason a new historical discussion of this papyrus is presented here. This is necessary, because the document is mentioned in recent textbooks as if it hardly poses any historical problems, and dates are given as if they were fully established.<sup>7</sup>

Although the papyrus contains only 9 lines of text, it is an extremely valuable historical document for several reasons: It is one of the earliest Aramaic papyri now known, and presents a sample of the Aramaic language of the 7th-6th century when Aramaic was well on its way to replacing Accadian as the tongue of international affairs. It also demonstrates how often Syro-Palestinian rulers trusted in the help of Egypt, although such trust was usually misplaced, beginning with the Amarna period down to the era of Jeremiah.

Unfortunately only a fragment of the original document is preserved. The left half of the papyrus is missing, with only

<sup>5</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956). Wiseman refers to the Saqqara Papyrus and dates it to the year 604 in connection with Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Ashkelon, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> The only works, known to me, in which the Saqqara Papyrus is discussed in the light of the Babylonian Chronicles are E. Vogt's "Die neubabylonische Chronik über die Schlacht bei Karkemisch und die Einnahme von Jerusalem," *Supplement to VT*, IV (1957), 85-89; and Fitzmyer's article, referred to in n. 4. The following work presents only a brief linguistic and historical commentary, without taking sides: H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-1964), I, 51 (text); II, 312-315 (commentary).

<sup>7</sup> I. M. Price, O. R. Sellers, and E. L. Carlson, *The Monuments and the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 378, say that "the letter was from Adon, king of a south Palestinian town, probably Ashkelon." In the recent book, *Adam to Daniel*, ed. G. Cornfeld (New York, 1961), p. 460, it is also said that the letter came "probably" from Ashkelon, and was written "about 604." The authors of *Views of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem, 1960), III, 135, are more cautious.



about half of every line preserved. However, the extant part, although leaving several important questions unanswered, gives a fairly good picture of the general contents. We present here a translation in which an attempt is made to emend the broken text, although the reader should be aware of the conjectural nature of the emendations.

1. To the Lord of kings, <sup>8</sup> Pharaoh, your servant, Adon, king of  
[ . . . ? . . . May Astarte, <sup>9</sup> the queen of]
2. heaven and earth, and Baalshamain, the [great] god [make the  
throne of the Lord of kings,]
3. Pharaoh, as the days of heaven. <sup>10</sup> That [I have written to my  
Lord is to inform him that the forces of]
4. the king of Babylon have reached Aphek and have be[gun to lay  
siege to . . . and that]
5. ? . . . they have taken . . . <sup>11</sup>
6. For the Lord of kings, Pharaoh, knows that [your] servant  
[cannot stand alone against the king of Babylon. May he  
therefore]
7. send a force to deliver me. Let him not forsake m[e. For your  
servant has always been loyal to his lord]
8. and your servant remembers his kindness. And this land <sup>12</sup> [is  
my Lord's possession. But if the king of Babylon takes it,  
he will set up]
9. a governor in the land, <sup>13</sup> and will change the border <sup>14</sup> [and the  
Lord of kings will suffer harm.]

<sup>8</sup> Following Dupont-Sommer's (*op. cit.*, pp. 45, 46) translation of **מרא מלכן** and rejecting Ginsberg's rendering (*op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 5) "Lord of Kingdoms," for reasons stated by Donner and Röllig, *op. cit.*, p. 313. The term is encountered here for the first time in Aramaic, though it occurs in Phoenician and Ptolemaic inscriptions.

<sup>9</sup> On this emendation see Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> The expression "as the days of heaven" has exact parallels in Dt 11: 21; Ps 89: 29 (Hebr v. 30) and Eccles 45: 15.

<sup>11</sup> Aside from the word **אחוזו** so little is preserved in this line that it is impossible even to conjecture as to what it originally may have contained.

<sup>12</sup> Following Ginsberg (*op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 4c) who reads **נגוא**, "territory, island, coastland," against Dupont-Sommer's reading (*op. cit.*, p. 52) of **נגדא**, "commander, chief, prince."

<sup>13</sup> **במתא** is translated, "in death," or "through death" in the sense of "punished" by Dupont-Sommer (*op. cit.*, p. 53), but "in the land" by Ginsberg (*op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 10), taking it as a loan word from Accadian *mātu*.

<sup>14</sup> The incompletely preserved word **ספ[ר]** is rendered "secretary" by Dupont-Sommer (*op. cit.*, p. 45), but left undiscussed by Ginsberg.

The linguistic problems of the Aramaic text have been studied by Dupont-Sommer, Ginsberg, Fitzmyer and others, and it is questionable whether more can be extracted in this respect from the document than has already been done. Dupont-Sommer has also studied the paleography of the script of the papyrus and on good evidence dates it to about 600 B.C.<sup>15</sup> He has shown that the script is closely related to that of the Aramaic ostrakon from Asshur which comes from the 7th century. His paleographical conclusions have generally been accepted.

The general theme of the first seven lines of the document is clear. It is a letter written by a king who bears the Semitic name Adon, a hypocoristicon of some fuller name such as Adonijah, Adoniram, Adonizedek, etc.<sup>16</sup> The letter is addressed to a king of Egypt, Adon's overlord, whose name is not given. He is simply addressed as Pharaoh. This title is frequently used in the Bible. On Egyptian monuments it appears for the first time in an 18th Dynasty inscription,<sup>17</sup> but beginning with Sheshonk I it is found more often in connection with the name of the Egyptian king.<sup>18</sup> After invoking the blessings of two gods upon Pharaoh, of whom Baalshamain is the only god whose name is preserved, Adon informs his overlord that the forces of the king of Babylon had invaded the country and had reached Aphek. Reminding Pharaoh that he, Adon, cannot wage a battle against the Babylonian army with any hope of success, he implores him

Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 256) suggested to translate it "frontier, border," as used in the Talmud and elsewhere (see M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targum, etc.* [New York, 1943], II, 1017, for references. Meyer's reference Yebamoth 48a should be 48b, also to be corrected in Donner and Röllig, *op. cit.*, p. 314). Meyer's rendering appeals also to the writer of this paper.

<sup>15</sup> Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-66.

<sup>16</sup> Adon appears as a personal name in Ugarit. See A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques* (Paris, 1963), I, 215.

<sup>17</sup> A. Gardiner, *JEA*, XXXVIII (1952), 17.

<sup>18</sup> The Dakhleh Stela of Sheshonk is the earliest inscription in

to send forces at once to deliver him and not to forsake him in this hour of desperate need.

The broken sentence of the last two lines allows different interpretations. Dupont-Sommer, connecting it with a statement of Berossus, that the governor of Egypt, Coele-Syria and Phoenicia had defected,<sup>19</sup> thinks that these lines contain the information that the governor had already been put to death and that the secretary had been changed by the invading Babylonians. On the other hand, according to Ginsberg's interpretation of these lines Adon warns the Pharaoh that in the case of a Babylonian victory the land which so far had been Egypt's possession would receive a governor appointed by the Babylonian king, and would experience drastic changes of its borders. The latter interpretation seems more plausible than the former and has been adopted in the translation presented above.

The most tantalizing lacuna is the missing name of the country or city over which Adon reigned. On the original document the name of the place had followed the last preserved word on line 1. This now merely reads: "To the Lord of kings, Pharaoh, your servant, Adon, king of . . ." As the following discussion will show, this missing name is the crux of the whole document. If it could be ascertained, most other questions connected with the letter would likely find satisfactory answers. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the letter never contained a date or the names of either the Egyptian or the Babylonian kings. A date and these names were considered superfluous, for everyone concerned was expected to know them. This missing information must therefore be obtained from considerations about the historical background into which the letter fits.

It is obvious that the letter was written at the time of one of the invasions of the Babylonian army during the

which the title Pharaoh is prefixed to a king's name after the model of the Biblical "Pharaoh Hophra." Gardiner, *JEA*, XIX (1933), 19.

<sup>19</sup> Josephus, *Contra Apion.*, i. 19.

Neo-Babylonian empire, which lasted from 626 to 539 B.C. Of the Babylonian kings who reigned during this period, only Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562) can be considered as the king under whom Adon's city or country was threatened, for in the time of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar's father, the Egyptian kings of the 26th Dynasty were undisputed overlords of Syria and Palestine. On the other hand, Nebuchadnezzar's successors never carried out military campaigns which brought them into conflict with Egypt. Hence it is rather certain that the letter was written neither earlier than 605, nor later than 562.

The name Adon is of limited value for an understanding of the historical situation in which the letter was written, because no king by that name is known to have reigned in the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire in any Asian area under Egyptian influence, which was at that time Syria and Palestine. The name Adon is a very neutral Semitic name which could have been borne by any Semite king, whether he was an Aramaean, a Phoenician, or even a Philistine, of whom some bear good Semitic names such as Aḥimiti and Aḥumilki, kings of Ashdod.<sup>20</sup>

The other tangible item of information in the Saqqara Papyrus, the mention of Aphek as a city already reached by the Babylonian army, is of only limited value, because Aphek was the name of several places in eastern and western Palestine and of one place in the Lebanon, as the following list will show:<sup>21</sup>

1. An old Canaanite town in the central coastal area of western Palestine. Jos 12: 18; 1 Sa 4: 1; 29: 1. It has been identified with *Tell el-Muchmar*, near *Rās en-'Ain*, at the source of the 'Aujah River, 10 miles north of Lydda. The place is first mentioned by Thutmose III as 'Ipk, lying between Ono and Socoh. In Hellenistic times it was called Pegae. Herod the Great rebuilt it and called it Antipatris after his father.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Aḥimiti, in Sargon II's time, *ANET*, p. 286; Aḥimilki or Aḥumilki under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, *ANET*, pp. 291, 294.

<sup>21</sup> See W. F. Albright, *JPOS*, II (1922), 184-189, who presents a good summary of the evidence for five Biblical Apheks.

<sup>22</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that it was inhabited from the

2. A town in the territory of Asher, Jos 19: 30 and probably Jugs 1: 31, although it is spelled there Aphik. It has been identified with *Tell Kurdāneh*, 6 miles southeast of Acco.<sup>23</sup>
3. A town in Transjordanian, 1 Ki 20: 26, 30; 2 Ki 13: 17, which has been identified with *Fiq*, about 3 miles east of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>24</sup>
4. A town probably north of Sidon, Jos 13: 4, generally identified with *Afqā*, 14 miles east of Byblos, near the source of the *Nahr Ibrahim* in the Lebanon mountains.<sup>25</sup>
5. Apheka, a town in the southern part of Judah, Jos 15: 53, which has not yet been identified with certainty. Alt locates it at *Khirbet eq-Darrāme*, southwest of Hebron.<sup>26</sup>

Of these five places, Aphek east of the Sea of Galilee (No. 3), and Apheka near Hebron (No. 5), need not be taken into consideration, because they did not lie on a marching route likely to have been taken by the Babylonian army. But something can be said in favor of each of the other places called Aphek, two of which lay in the coastal areas of Palestine, and one in the Lebanon mountains.

It is unlikely, however, that the Lebanese Aphek (No. 4) is meant, although certain operations carried out in the Lebanon by Nebuchadnezzar are attested by inscriptions left by him in the *Wādi Brīsa*, near Hermel in northeastern Lebanon, and at the mouth of the *Nahr el-Kelb*, north of Beirut.<sup>27</sup> The main objection against an identification of the Aphek of the Saqqara Papyrus with the Lebanese *Afqā* is the fact that the crossing of the Lebanon mountains at that point is not easy, as any good map of Lebanon will show. While the access to *Afqā* from the coast along the *Nahr*

Middle Bronze Age to Arab times. Albright, *BASOR*, No. 11 (Oct. 1923), 6, 7; *JPOS*, III (1923), 50-53; A. Alt, *PJB*, XXI (1925), 51-53; XXVIII (1932), 19, 20; M. Noth, *Josua* (2d ed.; Tübingen, 1953), p. 72.

<sup>23</sup> Alt, *PJB*, XXIV (1928), 59, 60. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 12-14, equated it with the Lebanese Aphek (our No. 4), a suggestion which no one else seems to have accepted.

<sup>24</sup> R. North, *Biblica*, XLI (1960), 41-63.

<sup>25</sup> Noth, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>26</sup> Alt, *PJB*, XXVIII (1932), 16, 17.

<sup>27</sup> F. H. Weissbach, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II. im Wādi Brīsa und am Nahr el-Kelb* (Leipzig, 1906).

*Ibrahim* is not too difficult, there is no ready pass for a crossing of the mountains by a large body of men to reach *Afqā* from the east. Since several wider mountain passes to the north and south of *Afqā* are available for reaching the coast from the *Beqa'*, it is hard to understand that the Babylonian army should have crossed the Lebanon via *Afqā*.<sup>28</sup> Should, however, the Lebanese *Aphek* be referred to in Adon's letter, the residence of King Adon would have to be sought along the Phoenician coast, south of Byblos.

The choice between the two remaining *Apheks* is not easy, although the Galilean *Aphek* (No. 2) seems to have been rather an unimportant town in the territory of Asher,<sup>29</sup> being mentioned only in Jos 19: 30 where places assigned to that tribe are listed, and in Jugs 1: 31 (called *Aphik*) where it appears as a Canaanite town not occupied by the Israelites in their early history. The other *Aphek* (No. 1), in the Plain of Sharon, with its long and virtually uninterrupted history from the 15th century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, has a better chance of being the one referred to in Adon's letter. It is this *Aphek* to which almost all commentators on the Saqqara Papyrus have turned for identification.

In this connection it is necessary to discuss a passage in a cuneiform text covering Esarhaddon's 10th campaign.<sup>30</sup> It presents a description of the marching route which the king's army took to Egypt in 671. It contains the information that the city of *Apqu*, belonging to the territory of the land *Sa-me-n*[...] lies at a distance of 30 *bêru* from Raphia. *Apqu* is certainly *Aphek*, but which? The distance poses a problem as well as the name of the land in which it was said

<sup>28</sup> Also Vogt (*op. cit.*, p. 86) discusses the difficulties of identifying *Afqā* with the *Aphek* of the Saqqara Papyrus.

<sup>29</sup> For this reason no commentator on the Saqqara Papyrus has identified its *Aphek* with the *Aphek* in Asher. Vogt says, "Niemand denkt im Ernst daran, dass es sich hier um das unbedeutende *Aphek* im westlichen Galiläa handeln könne," *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>30</sup> The latest text publication and translation is R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien* (Graz, 1956), p. 112.

to be. Some scholars have identified the broken word *Samen*[...] to stand for Simeon, others as an erroneous writing for Samaria. Since no city by the name of Aphek in Simeon is known, it seems more plausible that Samaria was meant, although the remains of the last letter do not look as if they could have belonged to any cuneiform character starting with *r*.

More serious is the distance given. The word *bêru* has more than one meaning, *i.e.*, "mile," "double-hour," and "twelfth part of a circle."<sup>31</sup> Several translators of Esarhaddon's text have rendered the 30 *bêru* simply as "30 miles."<sup>32</sup> Since a *bêru* actually had a length of *ca.* 10,800 meters, the whole distance of 30 *bêru* is about 200 English miles. The distance of the northern Aphek near Acco from Raphia at the *Wadi el-'Arish* is about 150 miles; the distance of Aphek in the Plain of Sharon from Raphia is about 75 miles by road. Neither of the two places fits Esarhaddon's description in this respect. For this reason Albright thought that the *bêru* in this passage must refer to actual traveling time. If 30 double hours are meant, a large army with baggage-train could cover the 150 miles from the northern Aphek to Raphia in 60 hours, and we must decide in favor of the northern Aphek. But Albright is inclined to follow Delitzsch and Langdon, who maintained that the Assyrians preferred a shorter *bêru*, of only one hour, and he therefore thinks that Esarhaddon's text refers to the southern Aphek, since its distance of 75 miles could be covered by an army in 30 ordinary hours of marching.<sup>33</sup> From this discussion it is obvious that Esarhaddon's data are too ambiguous to be of

<sup>31</sup> See *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, II, 208-211.

<sup>32</sup> For example, A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 292.

<sup>33</sup> Albright, *JPOS*, II (1922), 186. In *BASOR*, No. 111 (Oct. 1948), p. 26, n. 7, Albright, however, translates *bêru* as double-hours, and says that the marching time of 60 hours between Aphek and Raphia, with two miles an hour, is not inaccurate. But this is not satisfactory, since it would give a distance of 120 miles to cover, while the actual distance is only *ca.* 75 miles.

any help in reaching a decision as to which Aphek he means. This is regrettable, because it seems that his Aphek must have been a place important enough in the 7th century to be mentioned in a military itinerary, and it is plausible that as a well-known city it is the same place to which Adon refers in his letter to Pharaoh.

This leaves us practically where we started this discussion. Certainty as to which Aphek Adon means cannot be ascertained. Most commentators on the Saqqara Papyrus have seen in the Aphek mentioned in this letter the one which lay in the southern part of the Plain of Sharon (No. 1). While it must be admitted that this identification has much in its favor, especially if the letter-writer lived in southern Palestine, the identification cannot be considered as certain, because it cannot be ascertained whether Adon's letter came from a Phoenician, Syrian, or Palestinian city, and if from a Palestinian city, whether that city lay in the northern part of the Plain of Sharon, or in the Philistine Plain. For this reason the mention of Aphek does not present a great help in the search for the city from which Adon's letter came to Pharaoh.

It is now time to study the military activities of Nebuchadnezzar II in Syria-Palestine in order to find a possible military event which may have been the occasion for Adon to write the letter for help to Egypt. Before Wiseman published the Babylonian Chronicles covering the first eleven years of Nebuchadnezzar, all information concerning military campaigns of that king against Syria-Palestine or Egypt was extremely scarce. The only sources for such activities were Josephus, the Bible and two badly preserved fragments of cuneiform texts. These sources mentioned the following military campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in the west:

- 605      In the last year of his father's reign, which was the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar: Battle at Carchemish against the Egyptians and march through Syria-Palestine against Egypt.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> According to Berossus, quoted by Josephus, *Contra Apion.*, i. 19; *Antiquities*, x. 6. 1. Also Dan 1: 1 seems to refer to this campaign.



- 603/2 Possibly a campaign against Palestine, 2 Ki 24: 1. <sup>35</sup>  
 602 A campaign against Hattiland (= Syria-Palestine), in Iyyar of the 3rd year of (Nebuchadnezzar?). <sup>36</sup>  
 597 A campaign against Judah, as the result of which King Jehoiachin was taken prisoner, in the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Ki 24: 12. <sup>37</sup>  
 588-586 Siege of Jerusalem, ending with its capture and destruction in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Ki 25: 1, 2, 8, 9.  
 585-572 (?) Siege of Tyre lasting for 13 years. <sup>38</sup>  
 568/7 Campaign against Amasis of Egypt in the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar. <sup>39</sup>

As pointed out earlier, almost all discussions of the Saqqara papyrus were written before Wiseman's publication of the Babylonian Chronicles in 1956, when no more was known about Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns than is enumerated in the preceding list. Dupont-Sommer, the editor of the papyrus and its first commentator, dated it in 605 in connection with

Whether 2 Ki 24: 1 refers to the same campaign or a later one is not certain. Albright has dated the campaign of this text to 603/2, *JBL*, LI (1932), 89, 90. On the present writer's views concerning the dating of events which took place during the last years of the kingdom of Judah, see Horn, *AUSS*, V (1967), 12-27.

<sup>35</sup> See n. 34.

<sup>36</sup> The text (BM SP.II.407) was published by J. N. Strassmaier *Hebraica*, IX (1892-93), 4, 5, and with reservations was attributed to Nebuchadnezzar. I. H. Winckler in E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3d ed.; Berlin, 1903), pp. 107, 108, pointed out that the text speaks on the reverse of the finding of a statue with an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I, but that the obverse seems to deal with the wars of the king, probably Nebuchadnezzar II, who had found the statue. Since the Babylonian Chronicles have revealed that a campaign in Hattiland in Nebuchadnezzar's third year took place, it is now quite certain that Winckler's reasoning was correct.

<sup>37</sup> This campaign could have taken place any time between the autumn of 598 and the autumn of 597 according to the Jewish civil calendar, or between the spring of 597 and the spring of 596 if the Babylonian calendar was applied. See Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> Josephus, *Contra Apion.*, i. 21; *Ant.*, x. 11. 1; Eze 26: 7-14; 29: 17-20. On the problems of dating the siege of Tyre see O. Eissfeldt, *Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2. Reihe, 7. Band (Stuttgart, 1948), cols. 1889-1891.

<sup>39</sup> According to a fragmentary cuneiform tablet (BM 78-10-15, 22, 37, and 38), translated by Oppenheim in *ANET*, p. 308, where earlier publications are listed.

Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Necho II, using as chief sources Berossus' record. He maintained that an identification of the city or country over which Adon reigned was impossible, that Adon may have been a Phoenician, Philistine or even Transjordanian ruler, and that the city of Aphek could have been either the one lying in the Lebanon or the one in the Plain of Sharon.<sup>40</sup>

Then appeared Ginsberg's article, in which a brilliant suggestion made to Ginsberg by W. F. Albright was propounded. He pointed out that in 592 there lived in Babylon two persons known as "the sons of Aga', the king of Ashkelon." While it could not be ascertained whether their father "Aga' was still living in Ashkelon at that time as king, it was safe to infer that there had been a king in Ashkelon a decade earlier, when Nebuchadnezzar was sweeping the last vestiges of Egyptian authority out of Asia."<sup>41</sup> Ginsberg therefore suggested that "he [= king of Ashkelon in 602] may well have been our Adon, since the Aphek of l. 4 may well be the Apheq . . . in Sharon."<sup>42</sup> In a further note Albright pointed out that the presence of other Ashkelonians in Babylon, according to Weidner's tablets, indicated that a considerable number of captives from Ashkelon must have been in Babylon at that time, which all supported the idea that the city had been captured by Nebuchadnezzar's army.<sup>43</sup>

This very attractive solution of the problems posed by the missing name of Adon's city or country in the Saqqara Papyrus was thereupon adopted by several writers who discussed the papyrus, *i.e.*, Bea,<sup>44</sup> Bright,<sup>45</sup> Malamat<sup>46</sup> and Meyer.<sup>47</sup> Only Thomas sought Adon's city in Phoenicia and

<sup>40</sup> Dupont-Sommer, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 50, 61.

<sup>41</sup> Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 7.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Bea, *op. cit.*, p. 515, notes b and c, 516.

<sup>45</sup> Bright, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

<sup>46</sup> Malamat, *JNES*, IX, 222.

<sup>47</sup> Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 259.

thought the date to have been 587. <sup>48</sup> Fitzmyer wavers between Ashkelon and Gaza, but favors the former city. <sup>49</sup> Also Wiseman, the editor of the Babylonian Chronicles, agreed with Albright's identification, but dated the letter to 604, since the Chronicles indicate that Ashkelon was conquered in that year. <sup>50</sup> Most books in which the papyrus has been mentioned since Wiseman's publication have expressed agreement with this view. <sup>51</sup>

The only writer not agreeing with Albright's suggestion has been Vogt, who in his discussion of Wiseman's Chronicles comes to the conclusion that it is unlikely that Adon was king of Ashkelon. While he agrees that Aphek most likely was the city in the Plain of Sharon, and that Adon ruled over a Philistine city, he thinks that the record of Ashkelon's capture and destruction rules out its continuous existence as a city with its own king. Ashkelon, according to the Babylonian Chronicles, was turned "into a mound and a heap of ruins," an expression also used for the earlier total destruction of Nineveh. That a new king, namely Aga', was put in the place of Adon, as Albright and Ginsberg thought, was also unlikely according to Vogt, since the Babylonian Chronicles say nothing about it while they expressly mention later the installation of a new king in Jerusalem. For that reason Vogt rejects Ashkelon as a candidate for Adon's residence and suggests Gaza as an alternative. <sup>52</sup> Donner and Röllig remain uncommitted in their discussion of the Saqqara Papyrus. Mentioning four possible dates, 605, 602, 598, and 587, and declaring the last-mentioned date to be the most unlikely one, they leave the whole question open. <sup>53</sup>

The unanimity of the majority of commentators on the Saqqara Papyrus is impressive but provides no proof for

<sup>48</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Malamat, *loc. cit.*, opposed this view.

<sup>49</sup> Fitzmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>50</sup> Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> See the examples given in n. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Vogt, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-89.

<sup>53</sup> Donner and Röllig, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

the correctness of the theory of Albright, which is still unproved. Vogt's reasons against accepting Ashkelon as Adon's city are weighty and worth pondering, although his suggestion that Gaza was Adon's residence also poses problems, as G. E. Wright has pointed out.<sup>54</sup>

One of the chief reasons for uneasiness in being definite is the fact that the Babylonian Chronicles have revealed that Nebuchadnezzar campaigned in Syria-Palestine almost every year during the first eleven years of his reign, for which records exist, and that he may have continued to do so in later years, for which no records have been preserved. Adding the evidence of the Babylonian Chronicles to that found in other sources, as given above, we come to the following impressive list of Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns in the west:

- 605 Spring until August, Battles at Carchemish and Hamath against Egyptians and pursuit of the remnants of the Egyptian forces.<sup>55</sup>
- 604 February and March, unopposed march through Ḫattiland (= Syria-Palestine) and collecting of tribute. June, to December, campaigning throughout Ḫattiland and capture and destruction of Ashkelon in November/December. Return to Babylon in January/February 603.
- 603 From May on, campaigning in Ḫattiland. The terminating date is broken off.
- 602/1 Campaigning in Ḫattiland. Except for the year, the dates are missing.
- 601 November/December, battle against the Egyptians in which the Babylonians were worsted.
- 599 November/December, campaigning in Ḫattiland.
- 598/7 December/January, beginning of campaign against Ḫattiland, which ended with the capture of Jerusalem, March 16, 597.
- 596 January to March, campaigning against Ḫattiland, but only as far as Carchemish.
- 595/4 Campaigning in Ḫattiland. Except for the year, the dates are missing.
- 594/3 December/January, campaigning in Ḫattiland.

<sup>54</sup> G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 175.

<sup>55</sup> Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69. Where no documentation is given, the source is the Babylonian Chronicles according to Wiseman's translation, *ibid.*, pp. 67-75.

Here the presently known Babylonian Chronicles come to an end. The following campaigns are known from other sources, for which see above.

- 588-586 Siege of Jerusalem, ending with its capture and destruction.  
 585-572 (?) Siege of Tyre lasting for 13 years.  
 568/7 Campaign against Amasis.

The frequent campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in Syria and Palestine as attested by our records make it extremely difficult to date a document such as the Saqqara Papyrus, which provides no further clues as to its date other than that a king with a Semitic name calls on Egypt for help during an invasion of Babylonian forces which at that time had reached Aphek. Furthermore, the fact that four years after the battle of Carchemish the Egyptians were strong enough to engage the Babylonians in a new test of strength (601), and seem to have come forth from it, if not as victors, certainly not as vanquished, shows that Egypt was still a power to be reckoned with. This resurgence of Egyptian power prior to 601 lay probably at the base of the rebellion of the pro-Egyptian Jehoiakim against Babylon (2 Ki 24:1). Even after Nebuchadnezzar had taken the whole of Palestine, including Judah, Egypt still did not consider itself impotent to play a role in Palestine, although it was said that "the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land" (2 Ki 24:7). This statement seems to refer only to a limited time, for it is known that Egypt made further attempts to foment revolts against Nebuchadnezzar and actively harassed his military campaigns. A demotic papyrus tell us that Psamtic II made a trip to Palestine in 591.<sup>56</sup> It is not known whether this trip was peaceful and was made merely to organize a new coalition

<sup>56</sup> The papyrus was published by F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester, 1909), 3 vols., as No. IX. Its historical implications were studied by Alt, *ZAW*, XXX (1910), 288-297; J. Yoyotte, *VT*, I (1951), 140-144; S. Sauneron and Yoyotte, *VT*, II (1952), 135, 136.

against Nebuchadnezzar, or whether it was a military venture. From Jer 47: 1 it is learned that one of the kings of Egypt smote Gaza; from Jer 37: 11 that Hophra made an attempt to relieve Jerusalem when it was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar; and from Herodotus II. 161 that Hophra fought a land battle against Sidon and a sea battle against Tyre.

All this information shows that the struggle for supremacy over Palestine and Syria between the two powers, Babylonia and Egypt, was a long one, and explains why Nebuchadnezzar had to march almost annually into the west for a show of force or to reestablish his authority, which may often have been challenged as it was by Judah. In fact, Judah is a good example of what may have been going on in more than one of the several small kingdoms in Syria-Palestine. The kingdom of Judah had regained its political independence from Assyria under Josiah. After his untimely death in the Battle of Megiddo, 609, the country fell into the hands of Necho II of Egypt, who installed the pro-Egyptian Jehoiakim on the throne. However, this king was forced to become a vassal of Nebuchadnezzar after Necho's defeat at Carchemish in 605, but he changed masters again as soon as he saw that Egypt had become strong once more. The events of 601 seemed to prove that he had shown political foresight in switching loyalties from Babylon to Egypt, and for a few years he enjoyed the protection of Egypt. But Nebuchadnezzar recovered from his near defeat and as soon as he could he carried out a punitive action against Jehoiakim, who died before Nebuchadnezzar's arrival, with the result that his young son had to face the angry Babylonian king. After a 3-month rule he was forced to surrender himself and his city to the Babylonians. Then Zedekiah was put on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar and swore an oath of loyalty. For a few years he maintained his allegiance toward Babylon, even making a trip to the Euphrates Valley in 594/3 (Jer 51: 59), but in the end he also succumbed to the temptation to trust in the strength of Egypt, and turned against his Babylonian

overlord. Some men, such as Jeremiah, recognized this act as folly and expressed their views openly, but a great many influential people did not share these views. For Judah this course of action ended in a terrible disaster in 586, when the kingdom was abolished, the country with its cities destroyed, and most of its citizens deported.

It is quite possible that several other small kingdoms of Syria and Palestine shared the same or a similar fate. That Judah was not the only shaky vassal of Nebuchadnezzar is learned from Jer 27: 1-6, where the prophet tells of having warned envoys of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Sidon against breaking their allegiance to Babylon. They had come to Jerusalem with the obvious purpose of strengthening their alliance, which was certainly directed against Nebuchadnezzar. Whether his warning made any impression on them is not known. Jeremiah's warning certainly had no lasting influence in his own homeland, whose leaders were more inclined to accept the protection of neighboring Egypt than to follow the more cautious course of remaining loyal to Babylon. The land or city state over which Adon ruled seems to have gone through a similar experience, and probably suffered similar catastrophic results.

In the light of these considerations it seems futile to speculate which city in Palestine was Adon's capital if one of the two Palestinian Apheks of the Saqqara Papyrus was referred to, or over which city in southern Phoenicia Adon ruled if the Aphek in Lebanon is meant. Too many uncertainties are involved to establish the year of the invasion of which Adon speaks, or to ascertain the part of Syria-Palestine from where his cry for help came.

## IGNATIUS AND THE "LORD'S DAY"

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Ignatius of Antioch is frequently cited as an early witness for Christian observance of Sunday because of his alleged use of the term "Lord's day" in his letter to the Magnesians. His testimony is considered particularly valuable inasmuch as his letters are thought to have been written not later than A.D. 117. Use of the term "Lord's day" by him would therefore very likely constitute the earliest example of it after Rev 1: 10.

The pertinent reference from the Magnesian letter as quoted in one recent polemical work of some substance is as follows:

If, then, those who walk in the ancient practices attain to newness of hope, no longer observing the Sabbath, but fashioning their lives after the Lord's Day on which our life also arose in Him, that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ, our only teacher.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation, as rendered here and as frequently similarly rendered by other writers, is obviously only fragmentary; but it nevertheless appears to establish the early Christian usage of the term "Lord's day." Whether in reality it does so, however, depends on its authenticity and accuracy.

Regarding authenticity, Fritz Guy in an article in *AUSS* in 1964, has reviewed the evidence pertaining to the Magnesian epistle, and concludes that "there is at present no adequate reason to deny the general authenticity of the letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians on the basis of historical or literary criticism."<sup>2</sup> In dealing with the matter of accuracy—our main concern in the present study—, a first step in

<sup>1</sup> Walter R. Martin, *The Truth about Seventh-day Adventism* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Fritz Guy, "'The Lord's Day' in the Letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians," *AUSS*, II (1964), 6.



Epist. Ignatij. 4<sup>ta</sup>

quod est Christus Iesus quo melius nihil est.

Omnes ut in unum templum conuenerit Dei ut  
in unum altare <sup>ut 2<sup>m</sup></sup> in unum Iesum Christum ab

patre exentem. In unum existentem &  
reuerentem. Non ecclesiarum opinionibus

neque fabulis petentibus multitudine existensibus  
S. <sup>enim</sup> ~~nam~~ <sup>ps</sup> ~~qz~~ <sup>univ</sup> secundum iudaismum primum

confitemur gratiam non receperit. In unum enim  
enim propheta secundum Christum Iesum ~~inpe-~~

erunt. Propter hoc et persecutionem passi sunt  
inspirati a gratia ipsius ad rectificandam mensuram

quia <sup>apostolus</sup> ~~unus~~ <sup>quod</sup> dicitur est qui manifestavit se ipsum per  
Iesum Christum filium ipsius qui est ipsius ~~et~~

eternum non <sup>in</sup> ~~in~~ silentio progrediens qui secundum  
omnia bene placuit mittenti ipsum. Si igitur

in petentibus rebus conuersati in nouitatem facti  
reuerent <sup>non</sup> amplius sabalizantes sed secundum

Dominam petentes in qua ~~et~~ <sup>et</sup> ~~ista~~ <sup>ista</sup> nostra oratio  
est

Codex Dublin D. 3. 11 is a copy from Codex Caiensis 395, the oldest extant manuscript of the Latin version of the "middle" recension of the Ignatian letters, and records Ussher's notation of variant readings found in an independent manuscript, Codex Montacutianus, now lost (Trinity College, Dublin).

investigation relates to the manuscripts available for translation. Here again Guy has presented the needed information.<sup>3</sup> Of primary importance is *Codex Mediceus Laurentius*, which Guy considers to be the parent, directly or indirectly, of three other extant Greek manuscripts, and which he also considers to lie in the textual tradition from which three extant Latin manuscripts derived. The parent among these Latin manuscripts is *Caiensis* 395. Guy has presented photostats of the disputed passage from the Greek and Latin exemplars. We include now a photostat from a later Latin manuscript, *Dublin D. 3. II*, which is easier to read than *Caiensis* 395 and which contains Ussher's marginal notation of variants from an independent Latin manuscript, the *Montacutianus*, now lost. However, as Guy states, the extant Latin manuscripts are unanimous in the reading of the disputed passage: "secundum dominicam viventes." We have available, then, a good Greek source (which Robert A. Kraft labels "the best Greek witness"<sup>4</sup>), and the Latin translations.

After an intricate and accurate textual analysis, Guy concludes, in thoroughly neutral fashion, that the statement from Magnesians 9 "remains ambiguous."<sup>5</sup> It seems to me, however, that the ambiguity, while it may not be resolved, may be somewhat inclined from complete neutrality.

The sources, presented in juxtaposition, appear thus:

- a. κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶην ζῶντες
- b. κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες
- c. secundum dominicam viventes
- d. iuxta dominicam vitam agentes

The variants *b* and *d* are the work of editors and are significant. The *a* form is the exact wording of the Greek

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Robert A. Kraft, "Some Notes on Sabbath Observance in Early Christianity," *AUSS*, III (1965), 28.

<sup>5</sup> Guy, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

manuscripts, whereas the *b* form is used by Lightfoot,<sup>6</sup> who explains his omission of ζωήν on the grounds that it was an insertion. In this he has some support from several previous editors, including Cotelerius in 1724. The *c* form is that of the Latin manuscripts and appears in Ussher's 1642 edition,<sup>7</sup> whereas the *d* form appears in his 1647 edition. This difference deserves some attention.

The principal question at issue in this study is whether or not the expression "Lord's day" can be found in these phrases. The answer may seem to be simple—translate them literally:

- a. living according to the Lord's life (from the Greek);
- b. living according to the Lord's (the same, with *life* edited out);
- c. living according to the Lord's (Ussher's earlier edition);
- d. living according to the Lord's life *or* living a life according to the Lord's day (Ussher's later edition).

Between *c* and *d* Ussher consulted the Greek recension published by Vossius in 1646 and changed the wording. This change appears to involve more than a simple step toward textual accuracy. By Ussher's time the modifier *Lord's*, especially in the Latin—*dominicam*—was commonly used to

<sup>6</sup> J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part II (London, 1889), Vol. II, 129.

<sup>7</sup> Guy questions my use of this date in my book *The Protestant Dilemma*, a paperback prepared for the general reader, and rightly so, since at the time of writing I knew only of the inclusion of Ussher's Latin edition of the "middle recension" of Ignatius' letters within a composite book, following its own title-page dated 1642. Ahead of this portion of the book is other material with its own title-page dated 1644. My mistake was to use the word *published* in connection with the date 1642. I should have used, and I do here use, the word *edition*, because the edition was indeed edited and printed in 1642, but gathered and published with other materials in 1644. I am indebted to Cyril Richardson for calling my attention to the fascinating story of this printing as related in Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books* (Oxford, 1912), II, 363, 364, 382, 383.

mean *Lord's day*, or the first day of the week. It cannot be here asserted that the same was true in the writing of Ignatius, for to do so would be to assume what is to be proved. In fact, are we even absolutely sure that Ussher, in 1642, wanted his Latin version to mean "Lord's day"? The text as he then gave it, "Dominicam viventes . . .," could by the rule of ellipsis mean "Lord's [*life*], in which also our *life* sprang up" (italics mine). The reader of the earlier Ussher wording had a choice. But in the later wording Ussher left no choice, unless we allow for the use of the cognate accusative, "living a life according to the Lord's day," as explained by Guy.<sup>8</sup>

As Guy goes on to comment, "the cognate-accusative construction does not appear anywhere else in the Ignatian letters."<sup>9</sup> In view of this, is it not possible that Ussher, by inserting *vitam*, intended to prefer "Lord's life" to "Lord's day"?

We now turn attention to the overall meaning of the eighth and ninth chapters of the Magnesian letter which appear below in the Lake translation.

#### VIII

1. Be not led astray by strange doctrines or by old fables which are profitless. For if we are living until now according to Judaism, we confess that we have not received grace. 2. For the divine prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. Therefore they were also persecuted, being inspired by His grace, to convince the disobedient that there is one God, who manifested himself through Jesus Christ his son, who is his Word proceeding from silence, who in all respects was well-pleasing to him that sent him.

<sup>8</sup> Guy, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-12. Guy's elucidation of this pertinent theory goes beyond his predecessors. However, in relationship to the case in point, we may state that the "cognate accusative" argument may be valid in explaining an *existing* wording (such as *a*, above), but it can hardly be used to explain the *insertion* of ζωήν. That is, finding a manuscript with κυριακήν ζῶντες, which could be read "living according to the Lord's day," who would want to introduce the cognate-accusative ζωήν? Such an insertion would more nearly be cognate "confusative."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

## IX

1. If then they who walked in ancient customs came to a new hope, no longer living for the Sabbath, but for the Lord's Day, on which also our life sprang up through him and his death,—though some deny him,—and by this mystery we received faith, and for this reason also we suffer, that we may be found disciples of Jesus Christ our only teacher; 2. if these things be so, how then shall we be able to live without him of whom even the prophets were disciples in the Spirit and to whom they looked forward as their teacher? And for this reason he whom they waited for in righteousness, when he came raised them from the dead.<sup>10</sup>

There is a contrast in the foregoing passage between Judaizing and living "according to Jesus Christ," with the "ancient prophets" setting the example by "no longer sabbatizing" and by "living according to the Lord's life" or "living a life according to the Lord's day." If the reading "Lord's life" is accepted as the correct translation of the disputed passage, the contrast is clear. The prophets did not, of course, cease to observe the Sabbath, but by faith looked forward to the coming Lord and lived the way He would live. Their experience was an example to the Magnesians Christians. In order to avoid an absurdity, the word *sabbatizing* must not mean "sabbath observance," but rather the keeping of the Sabbath in a certain manner—Judaizing. The long recension of the letter reads as follows:

Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner, and rejoice in days of idleness; for "he that does not work, let him not eat." For say the holy oracles, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread." But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the workmanship of God, and not eating things prepared the day before, nor using lukewarm drinks, and walking within a prescribed space, nor finding delight in dancing and plaudits which have no sense in them.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Kirsopp Lake, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers* (New York, 1919), I, 205, 207.

<sup>11</sup> *ANF*, I, 62, 63.

Lest our interpretation seem strained, we may recall that there is dual use of the word *sabbatarian* in recent times. It may mean a person who keeps the seventh day of the week, or it may mean a person who keeps Sunday, in a strict "Sabbath-like" way.

A further significant comment from the early period may be found in the Gospel of Thomas, Logion 32, σαββατίσατε τὸν σάββατον. Occurring with an admonition to fast, the expression implies that even in Sabbath observance there may be a sabbatizing or Judaizing requirement (presumably observances of the kind referred to in the above quotation from the long recension of Magnesians 9). In any event, it is almost certain, if we are to avoid absurdity in our treatment of Magnesians 9, that *sabbatizing* is equivalent to the general idea of Judaizing, a practice which could be avoided even while keeping the Sabbath. This is the only feasible explanation inasmuch as it is the Sabbath-keeping Old Testament prophets who are described as "no longer sabbatizing." To interpret the next words of the same passage in such a way as to make the Old Testament prophets keep Sunday is, of course, equally absurd!

Some comparative passages will help further to clarify Ignatius' meaning. In Magnesians 8 Ignatius contrasts "living . . . according to Judaism" with living "according to Jesus Christ." The expression "live according to God" is found in Ephesians 8, and "living according to Jesus Christ" in Philadelphians 3. Not only is the "according to" construction used elsewhere by Ignatius in speaking of a way of life, but the contrast between Judaism and the Christian life is likewise presented elsewhere (*e.g.*, in Philadelphians 6). It seems entirely normal, then, to find "living according to the Lord's life" in Magnesians 9 as a parallel to living "according to Jesus Christ" in chapter 8. These expressions are in antithesis to "sabbatizing" and living "according to Judaism."

Other uses of "sabbatize" and "Lord's . . ." are lacking in the Ignatian letters. The reader is therefore left to his own

judgment as to whether to accept the insertion of *day* after *Lord's*. The shortening of "Lord's day" to "Lord's" would normally come after considerable usage of the term "Lord's day." To assume such habitual usage in this early context would seem to be going a long step beyond what the evidence warrants. It therefore appears that though the argument is not conclusive, the weight is indeed on the side of "Lord's life."

Lightfoot, in his edition of the Greek text of the Ignatian letters, omits *life* after "Lord's," stating that its "insertion" is "condemned alike by the preponderance of authorities and by the words following. . . ."<sup>12</sup> He does not explain the "words following," leaving us to suppose that he refers to "on [or *in*] which also our life sprang up through him and his death." In this clause the emphasis naturally falls on "our life" which echoes "the Lord's life." Thus the "words following" support the original use of *life*. It is interesting to observe that Lightfoot misses or perhaps rejects the suggestion of Pearson and Smith that *life* can be retained if associated with *living* (compare Guy's "cognate accusative").

Lightfoot goes on to state that *day* must be inserted after *Lord's*, on the basis of contemporary writings which use a similar phraseology. His significantly dated examples follow:

1. The *Doctrina Apostolorum*, chapter 14. Lightfoot's note is worth quoting in part:

If so [that Rev 1: 10 refers to the day of judgment], the passage before us [*Magnesians* 9] is the earliest example of its occurrence in this sense [to mean Lord's Day], except perhaps *Doct. Apost.* 14, where the expression is κυριακή κυρίου [actually κατά κυριακήν δὲ κυρίου].<sup>13</sup>

The significant words, "Lord's of the Lord" are a unique expression which baffles translators. Lightfoot is here assuming that "Lord's day" is the proper wording for *Magnesians* 9 and is willing to admit that there is no prior or contemporary

<sup>12</sup> Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, II, 130.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

use of κυριακὴν to mean "Lord's day," except the passage in the *Doctrina*. The *Doctrina* is an early writing of unknown date, which was combined with other fragments, including the *Didache*, to form the 4th-century *Apostolic Constitutions*. The expression "Lord's of the Lord" occurs in *Didache* 14 in Goodspeed's translation where it is rendered, "On the Lord's own day."<sup>14</sup>

This passage is poor support for Lightfoot's rendering of the disputed phrase, because of the obscure dating and meaning of "Lord's of the Lord." The earlier the date assigned to it, the less the likelihood that we have an example of "Lord's" meaning "Lord's day" or the first day of the week. Note also Lightfoot's further comment:

The day is commonly called μία [τῶν] σαββάτων in the New Testament. As late as the year 57 this designation occurs in S. Paul (1 Cor. xvi, 2), where we should certainly have expected κυριακή if the word had then been commonly in use.<sup>15</sup>

As far as Lightfoot's argument is concerned, the support of Rev 1: 10, used by many "authorities," is cancelled since he considers this Bible text to refer to the day of judgment.<sup>16</sup>

2. The title of Melito's lost work (A.D. 140) as listed by Eusebius,<sup>17</sup> who simply refers to "a discourse about the Lord's" with no available indication of what the treatise is about. We do not know whether Eusebius is using an actual title or citing the subject of the discourse in his own words. That is, an original title of "About the First Day of the Week" could become in Eusebius "About the Lord's [Day]." This piece of evidence, then, can establish the use of "Lord's day" no earlier than the time of Eusebius.

<sup>14</sup> Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Apostolic Fathers* (New York, 1950), p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, II, 129.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* See the quotation referred to in n. 13, p. 52.

<sup>17</sup> Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 26. 2. The date should perhaps be somewhat later.



3. A letter written by Dionysius of Corinth (A.D. 170). The fragment of the letter is found only in Eusebius.<sup>18</sup> The significant words are "today we have passed the Lord's holy day" on which Dionysius said he read a certain letter. There are two hazards in this piece of evidence: Did Eusebius quote *verbatim* or did he substitute terms according to the usage of his own time? If he quoted *verbatim*, does the expression "Lord's *holy* day," used thus early and uniquely, really signify Sunday? It could refer to the Sabbath, which had traditionally been called holy, since nothing is said about which day of the week is referred to. The designation of Sunday as "holy" certainly came later, but cannot be proved for A.D. 170. At best this "evidence" comes some 50 or 60 years after the writing of Ignatius.

It is interesting to note, in passing, that in Lightfoot's extensive footnote on Magnesians 9 he includes also a brief homily on the spiritual significance of the Lord's Day. He uses the disputed phrase as his text.<sup>19</sup> This fact, taken with his debatable references to Melito and Dionysius, makes it hardly surprising that he places himself among those editors who omit "life" from the Greek rather than those who retain it with notes that it might be an insertion. Guy lists, among the former, Funk (1881), Hilgenfeld (1902), Bihlmeyer (1924), and Camelot (2d ed., 1951), only the first of whom preceded Lightfoot; and he lists, among the latter, Pearson and Smith (1709), Hefele (1847), and Cureton (1849), all of whom preceded Lightfoot. Guy might also have included Cotelerius and Jacobson as preceding Lightfoot, and he does mention Migne as a later editor among those who retain "life."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 23. 9-11.

<sup>19</sup> Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

<sup>20</sup> Guy, *op. cit.*, p. 9, n. 26, and p. 10, n. 29. Guy mentions Migne as the single exception to the practice of the last hundred years in that he included the word *life*. It is my contention that Migne is the better editor. He supports the "Lord's day" position but employs good scholarly practice.

Guy mentions theological bias as a factor in weighing the reliability of various manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of this principle, the datings just referred to seem to have more significance than he assigns to them. Why, for example, should Lake in 1912, having available all of the material reviewed here and in Guy's study, follow Lightfoot instead of Migne, and omit Lightfoot's editorial comments to boot, as though to settle the "insertion" question forever by simply ignoring it?<sup>22</sup>

The following English translations give evidence, perhaps, of theological bias, but certainly of the "follow-the-leader" syndrome which too often affects editors and historians in all fields of scholarship:

Lightfoot, re-edited by Harmes: "... no longer observing sabbaths but fashioning their lives after the Lord's day..."<sup>23</sup>

Roberts and Donaldson: "... no longer observing the Sabbath, but living in the observance of the Lord's Day..."<sup>24</sup>

Lake: "... no longer living for the Sabbath, but for the Lord's day..."<sup>25</sup>

Kleist: "... and if these no longer observe the Sabbath, but regulate their calendar by the Lord's Day..."<sup>26</sup>

Goodspeed: "... no longer keeping the sabbath but observing the Lord's Day..."<sup>27</sup>

Richardson: "They ceased to keep the Sabbath and lived by the Lord's day..."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> See Lake's Greek text in Lake, *op. cit.*, I, 204.

<sup>23</sup> Lightfoot, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers*, as re-edited by J. R. Harmes (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), p. 71.

<sup>24</sup> *ANF*, I, 62.

<sup>25</sup> Lake, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

<sup>26</sup> James Kleist, *The Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius of Antioch* (Westminster, Md., 1946), p. 72.

<sup>27</sup> Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

<sup>28</sup> Cyril C. Richardson, ed., *Early Christian Fathers* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 96.

Grant: "... no longer keeping the Sabbath [cf. Isa. 1:13] but living in accordance with the Lord's [day; cf. Rev. 1:10]..."<sup>29</sup>

All of these translations state the absurdity that the prophets stopped keeping the Sabbath, and some of them likewise make the prophets observe "the Lord's day." Surely these translators are following the wrong authorities. To balance the score of authorities, we note the following comments, published in the last century and available to these editors.

1. Baden Powell in Kitto's *Encyclopedia of Religious Literature*:

We must here notice one other passage of earlier date than any of these, which has often been referred to as bearing on the subject of the Lord's day, though it certainly *contains* no mention of it. It occurs in the epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians (about A.D. 100). The whole passage is confessedly obscure, and the text may be corrupt. . . .

The passage is as follows:—"Εἰ οὖν οἱ ἐν παλαιοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἤλθον—μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες—(ἐν ἧ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ . . ."

Now many commentators assume (on what ground does not appear), that after *κυριακὴν* the word *ἡμέραν* is to be understood. On this hypothesis they endeavour to make the rest of the sentence accord with a reference to the observance of the Lord's day, by further supposing ἐν ἧ to refer to *ἡμέρα* understood, and the whole to be put in contrast with *σαββατίζοντες* in the former clause. . . .

Let us now look at the passage simply as it stands. The defect of the sentence is the want of a substantive to which αὐτοῦ can refer. This defect, so far from being remedied, is rendered still more glaring by the introduction of *ἡμέρα*. Now if we take *κυριακὴ ζωὴ* as simply "the life of the Lord," having a more personal meaning, it certainly goes nearer to supplying the substantive to αὐτοῦ. Again, ἐν ἧ may well refer to *ζωή*, and *κυριακὴ ζωὴ*, meaning our Lord's *life*, as emphatically including his *resurrection* (as in Rom. v. 10, &c.), presents precisely the same analogy to the spiritual life of the Christian as is conveyed both in Rom. v.; Coloss. iii. 3, 4, and many other passages. Thus upon the whole the meaning might be given thus:—

<sup>29</sup> Robert M. Grant, ed., *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. IV: *Ignatius of Antioch* (Camden, N.J., 1966), p. 63.

"If those who lived under the old dispensation have come to the newness of hope, no longer keeping Sabbaths, but living according to our Lord's life (in which, as it were, our life has risen again, through him, and his death [which some deny] . . . how shall we be able to live without him?") . . .

In this way (allowing for the involved style of the whole) the meaning seems to us simple, consistent, and grammatical, without any gratuitous introduction of words understood; and this view has been followed by many, though it is a subject on which considerable controversy has existed. On this view the passage does not refer at all to the Lord's day; but even on the opposite supposition it cannot be regarded as affording any positive evidence to the early use of the term "Lord's day" (for which it is often cited), since the material word ἡμέρα is purely conjectural.<sup>30</sup>

In modern grammatical terms Baden Powell finds no suitable antecedent for αὐτοῦ. The person referred to is obviously the Lord, but the word occurs here only as a modifier, not as a substantive. But to make "Lord's day" the antecedent of αὐτοῦ is unsatisfactory; whereas "Lord's life" is clear in meaning if not consistent grammatically.

2. Sir William Domville, *The Sabbath* (a single paragraph is taken from a chapter devoted to the subject, a chapter which delineates the probable circumstance by which the word *day* came into the translations):

On the other hand, if our theological theorists would but allow Ignatius to be his own interpreter, and the words which he uses to bear their natural and literal signification, how perfectly would his phrase of "living according to the Lord's life" agree with the whole tenor of the context! For the context shows that Ignatius, instead of intending to contrast the Sabbath day with the Lord's day, is throughout contrasting a Jewish life with a Christian life; a life spent in observing Sabbaths and ceremonies, with a life spent "according to the rules of Christianity." This last-quoted expression, and other expressions found in the above extracts from the epistle, are in a very striking manner confirmatory of the construction here given to the passage under consideration, and as such can hardly have escaped the notice of the reader. Thus, "living according to the Lord's life, in which also our life is sprung up." Why "also" our life, unless the Lord's life had been previously mentioned? Still more remarkable is the language of a preceding

<sup>30</sup> Baden Powell, "Lord's Day," in Kitto, *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* (New York, 1853).

sentence, "for even the most holy prophets lived according to Christ Jesus." What is this but saying in other words living "according to the Lord's life"? that is, according to the pattern He set us, or, as Ignatius expresses it, "according to the rules of Christianity."<sup>31</sup>

3. James A. Hessey in his Bampton Lectures at Oxford in 1860:

Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, is the first writer whom I shall quote. Here is a passage from his Epistle to the Magnesians, containing, as you will observe, a contrast between Judaism and Christianity, and, as an exemplification of it, an opposition between Sabbatizing and living the life of the Lord, κυριακὴν ζωὴν. I do not think it necessary to reject, with Cotelerius, the word ζωὴν.<sup>32</sup>

These three authors were Sunday advocates, but they saw the weakness of the "Lord's-day" arguments from Ignatius.

In summary, the arguments for leaving Magnesians 9 precisely as it is in the Greek manuscripts are these: (1) The reading of the manuscript makes entirely good sense and is grammatically understandable. (2) There is but one difficulty—the word *sabbatize*—which has a reasonable explanation. (3) To omit *life* and introduce *day* retains the difficulty of *sabbatize*, and at the same time duplicates that difficulty. That is, to center the Christian way of life on the keeping of Sunday, forces *sabbatize* to mean strictly the keeping of the Sabbath, and we have the double absurdity of "divine prophets" forsaking the Sabbath and observing Sunday. (4) Viewed in this setting, the forcing of "Lord's day" into the text appears as a purely artificial device to support the idea of an early use of the term.

It should be remembered that the problem is not that of deciding which of two equally authentic wordings is preferable, nor that of discovering which of two words should be used to fill an ellipsis. Rather it is the question of what justification there can be for removing a reasonable word from a prior, generally accepted manuscript and supplying another

<sup>31</sup> William Domville, *The Sabbath* (London, 1849), pp. 249, 250.

<sup>32</sup> James A. Hessey, *Sunday* (New York, 1880), p. 41.

word in its place. Certainly the "confused obscurity" of the passage and "involved style of the whole," as Baden Powell phrases it, forbids the glib acceptance of the traditional "Lord's day" interpretation of many writers on the subject. In view of the evidence, a defensible English version of this controversial passage would consist of a sincere literal translation from the Greek, with a footnote, somewhat as follows. *Translation*: . . . no longer sabbatizing but living according to the Lord's life\* in which also our life sprang up . . .

*Footnote*: \*A literal rendering of the best Greek manuscript. Some Latin versions of the epistle to the Magnesians omit the word *life*, and since the word *dominicum* later came to mean "Lord's day," some English translators render the passage "living according to the Lord's day."

## THE ACCESSION OF ARTAXERXES I

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### *Introduction*

This article is principally a reexamination of the source data relevant to the accession date of the Persian king Artaxerxes I, and especially a study of a double-dated papyrus from Egypt that was, until a few years ago, the only known ancient document assigning an approximate date to that event.

The "first year" and, therefore, the other years of his reign have long been known in two calendars. According to Ptolemy's Canon, which is fixed by eclipses, and according to certain double-dated papyri from Egypt (to be discussed below), his year 1 in the Egyptian calendar was the 365-day year beginning on Thoth 1, the Egyptian New Year's Day (that is, December 17), 465 B.C. In the Persian reckoning (in the Babylonian calendar, which was adopted by the Persian kings), his first year was the lunar year beginning in the spring, with Nisanu (Jewish Nisan) 1, approximately April 13, 464,<sup>1</sup> several months later than the Egyptian year.

*Postdating and Antedating.* This Persian reckoning means that his reign must have begun before Nisan 1, 464, because the Babylonian-Persian method was to *postdate* all reigns. That is, when a new king succeeded to the throne the scribes, who had been dating all kinds of documents by the day and month "in the 21st [or whatever] year of King X," would begin using the new dateline "in the accession year [literally,

<sup>1</sup> The equivalents of Persian dates in this article are taken from the reconstructed calendar tables in Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (Providence, R. I., 1956), hereinafter abbreviated: *PDBC* (1956).

“beginning of the reign”] of King Y,” and would wait until the next New Year’s Day to begin dating “in the year 1 of King Y.”

Does Ptolemy’s Canon, then, similarly indicate that Artaxerxes came to the throne before December 17, the Egyptian New Year of his year 1? No. Detailed checking of the source data has shown that the Canon uses two methods. In its earlier portion, which lists Babylonian and early Persian kings, it uses the postdating method (called by some the “accession-year method”). But in its latter portion, which lists the Seleucids and the Roman emperors, it *antedates* the reigns. That is, it counts as “year 1” the year *in which* a king came to the throne, as if he had been reigning since the first day of the year. By this method, commonly used in Egypt, a scribe would begin dating in the king’s “year 1” as soon as he came to the throne, and the first New Year’s Day would begin “year 2.”<sup>2</sup>

If Ptolemy’s Canon dated Artaxerxes in this way, it would indicate that he came to the throne after December 17, 465. Since the Canon used both methods, and source data for the later Persian kings are insufficient, the Canon does not help in determining whether Artaxerxes came to the throne before or after Thoth 1.<sup>3</sup>

*Ancient Documents.* Thousands of ancient documents from the period of the Persian Empire written on clay tablets—letters, deeds, contracts, business accounts—have been found, mostly in Babylonia. Many of them carry datelines in the day, month, and year of the king. Thus it is often possible

<sup>2</sup> On postdating and antedating, see Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Because of this uncertainty, a conclusion had to be held in abeyance in the present author’s “A Study of Ptolemy’s Treatment of the Babylonian and Persian Regnal Years” (unpublished Master’s thesis, S.D.A. Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1947) as to the method used in Ptolemy’s canon to number the regnal years of Artaxerxes I.



to determine, from the month and day of the last tablet in one reign and the first dated in the next, the approximate date of the accession.<sup>4</sup>

But because no contemporary tablets have been found dated in Artaxerxes' accession year or in his father's last year, his accession could formerly be dated only approximately by the only known contemporary dated document, a papyrus from Egypt.<sup>5</sup>

*A Double-dated Papyrus.* This was one among a number of Jewish papyri written in Aramaic found on the Nile island of Elephantine at Syene (modern Aswan). Jewish soldiers in the Persian army in Egypt lived here in a garrison town with their families, spoke Aramaic, and had their own temple. They dated by their lunar calendar; but on documents they used double dates, in their own lunar calendar and in the Egyptian solar calendar. Many of these papyri can be dated exactly in our calendar because a month and day in the shifting lunar calendar can synchronize with the Egyptian month and day in the fixed 365-day calendar only once in twenty-five years. Thus the papyrus *AP* 6, with a double date, can be fixed to January 2/3, 464. Its double-year date, in the year 21 of Xerxes and the accession year of Artaxerxes, has been interpreted to indicate that Xerxes had died and Artaxerxes had succeeded him very recently, probably in December, 465.<sup>6</sup>

*A Tablet Formerly Used.* A tablet from Ur, published in 1949 (designated *UET* IV, 193) apparently indicated that Xerxes was still living in late December. Written in the 13th year of Artaxerxes, it was, as described by its editor, a

<sup>4</sup> See the list of these in *PDBC* (1956), pp. 11-24.

<sup>5</sup> A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), No. 6, pp. 15-18. This papyrus, hereinafter designated as *AP* 6, was Papyrus B in its initial publication by Sayce and Cowley in 1906.

<sup>6</sup> So Parker and Dubberstein in their first edition (Chicago, 1942), p. 15. This edition (626 B.C.-A.D. 45), is hereinafter referred to as *PDBC* (1942).

“rearrangement of land parcels,” mentioning the “first arrangement: Kislimu [the month of Kislev], 21st year of Xerxes.”<sup>7</sup> According to this, Xerxes died after the 1st of Kislimu, which began about December 17, 465 (thus, incidentally, coinciding almost exactly with the Egyptian month of Thoth in that year). This seemed at first to settle the question, but not for long.

*A Hellenistic Tablet With an Exact Date.* By the time Parker and Dubberstein brought out the 1956 edition of their *Babylonian Chronology*, another clay tablet from Babylonia had come to light, an unpublished astronomical text of the Hellenistic period (designated *LBART* No. \*1419) mentioning the murder of Xerxes in the month of Abu (Jewish Ab), on the 14th? (or any day from the 14th to the 18th; the number is broken). If the writer of this tablet, about 150 years (or more?) after the event, had correct information, Xerxes died approximately August 4-8, 465.<sup>8</sup>

In the absence of any contemporary evidence, this has been accepted by Parker and Dubberstein in their 1956 edition, and by others. Figulla, the editor of the above-mentioned Ur tablet, in which he had read “Kislimu, in the year 21 of Xerxes,” decided that the partly broken word which he had taken as “Kislimu” must have been something else if Xerxes was dead some months earlier. Actually, the original may have read “Kislimu,” but since no one knows what the entire word was, this text is eliminated as evidence.

<sup>7</sup> H. H. Figulla, ed., *Ur Excavations: Texts*, IV (London, 1949), No. 193, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*, A. J. Sachs, ed. (Providence, R. I., 1955), No. \*1419. This tablet, hereinafter designated *LBART* No. \*1419, is merely described briefly, in this volume of Hellenistic texts, as listing certain eclipse dates; for the incidental mention of a date for the death of Xerxes (not mentioned in *LBART*), see *PDBC* (1956), p. 17, citing Sachs. Since this tablet was described in a book issued twelve years ago but still remains unpublished, there is no point in awaiting its publication in order to use it at least tentatively, though it can hardly be evaluated since details of its contents, date, provenience, and general accuracy are not yet available.

Thus we are left with two dated documents: (1) the contemporary papyrus *AP* 6, which has been taken to indicate that the accession was still recent in January; (2) the Hellenistic tablet *LBART* No. \*1419, which dates the death of Xerxes five months earlier. Can they be reconciled? An examination of the papyrus and of the historical accounts relating or mentioning the death of Xerxes furnishes clues to a harmonious interpretation. This study, comprising two main parts, will examine first the historical and chronological records, then papyrus *AP* 6.

### *Ancient Historical Accounts*

*The Oldest Historical Account.* Even earlier than the Hellenistic tablet that dates Xerxes' death is a historical narrative of his murder, produced by Ctesias, a Greek physician at the court of Artaxerxes II (grandson of Artaxerxes I), about 65 years after Xerxes' death. Ctesias lived in Persia, knew the language, and had access to the official archives and to the accounts preserved by the royal family. His *Persica* is extant only in a summary by Photius (9th century A.D.).

Ctesias tells the story as follows: Artabanus, a very powerful courtier, with the aid of an influential palace chamberlain, assassinated Xerxes, then procured the death of Darius, the older son and heir, by accusing him to Artaxerxes, the younger son. Thus Artaxerxes reigned with the support of Artabanus. But later the powerful Artabanus decided to put his young protégé out of the way and take the throne. He made the mistake of enlisting the help of Megabyzus, a brother-in-law of Artaxerxes. When Megabyzus told the king everything—the plot against him, the murder of Xerxes, and the false accusation against Darius—Artaxerxes asserted himself, and Artabanus was put to death. There followed a battle with the partisans of Artabanus in which three of his sons were killed. Then the Bactrians revolted under their satrap,

another Artabanus, but after two battles they submitted.<sup>9</sup>

*Later Ancient Writers.* Others (here cited in chronological order) mention Xerxes' murder, and several tell essentially the same story as Ctesias, with some differences, mostly on minor points.

Aristotle (4th century B.C.) makes a casual allusion—by way of illustration, not as historical narrative—to the murder of Xerxes by "Artapanes," who feared punishment for having hanged Darius.<sup>10</sup>

What may or may not be the next historical statement is the one found on the above-mentioned tablet (*LBART* No. \*1419) from the Hellenistic period—late 4th century or possibly even later—which says that Xerxes was killed on Abu 14 (-18?), approximately August 4-8, 465.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the date and the text of this tablet are not available since it remains unpublished.

Manetho, an Egyptian priest (3d century B.C.) whose history of Egypt, in Greek, is now lost, included Artabanus among the Persian rulers of Egypt, giving him a seven-month reign. At least he did so if the *Epitome* of his history, compiled soon afterward in the form of king lists, reflects accurately his historical account.<sup>12</sup>

Diodorus of Sicily (late 1st century B.C.) tells the story of the murder of Xerxes by Artabanus, captain of the king's

<sup>9</sup> Ctesias, *Persica* (Summary by Photius), 29-31 (Brussels, 1947, pp. 33-35). A year or two later came a revolt in Egypt, led by Inarus, in which the Athenians aided the Egyptians, and which lasted about five years (Ctesias, *op. cit.*, 32-36).

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, v. 8. 14; 1311b, 38 (Loeb ed., pp. 448, 449).

<sup>11</sup> A. J. Sachs, cited in *PDBC* (1956), p. 17. This text is listed among the historical sources, not because it presents an account of the event, but because it is not a contemporary dated document but a statement made by a writer a century and a half afterward, if not later.

<sup>12</sup> Manetho, *Aegyptiaca* (*Epitome*), Fragment 70, from Africanus, as preserved by Syncellus (Loeb ed., pp. 174, 175). In footnote 1 (see also facsimile on Pl. III), reference is made to a papyrus fragment of this *Epitome*, a copy from the 5th century A.D., independent of Africanus; this also lists [Arta]banus between Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

bodyguard, who then offered Artaxerxes the help of the guard in punishing Darius whom he accused of having committed the crime. When "he saw his plan was prospering" he decided that the time had come to kill Artaxerxes also. Calling his sons together, he attacked and slightly wounded Artaxerxes, whereupon the latter dealt him a fatal blow, and then "took over the kingship." Diodorus places the death of Xerxes, after a reign of more than 20 years, in the Athenian year of the archonship of Lysitheus (which ran from midsummer 465 to midsummer 464) and in the Roman year (January-December, 465) of the consulship of Lucius Valerius Publicola and Titus Aemilius Mamercus; that is, in the second half of 465. Apparently it was two years later (463/2) that Artaxerxes, "who had just recovered the throne, first of all punished those who had a part in the murder of his father and then organized the affairs of the kingdom to suit his own personal advantage."<sup>13</sup>

Trogus Pompeius, sometimes called Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), gives a similar account, as transmitted in extracts by Justin (3d century A.D.). This narrative says that Artabanus, fearing a struggle for the throne among the nobles, plotted to seize the throne himself. Upon learning of this treachery Artaxerxes, being only a boy, feared Artabanus and his seven sons. He therefore ordered out the troops for review. As Artabanus presented himself the young king asked the commander to exchange corselets with him, since his own was too short. While Artabanus was thus unarmed, Artaxerxes ran him through with a sword and ordered the arrest of the sons.<sup>14</sup>

Two other Greek historians mention Artabanus. Nepos

<sup>13</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xi.69.1-6; xi.71.1 (Loeb ed., IV, 304-307, 308-309). He places the final settlement in the archonship of Tlepolemus and the consulship of Titus Quinctius and Quintus Servilius Structus.

<sup>14</sup> Justinus Frontinus, *History of the World, Extracted from Trogus Pompeius*, xiii.1, in John Selby Watson, trans., *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius* (London, 1876), pp. 37, 38.

(1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.) merely alludes to Xerxes' murder by Artabanus, "one of his satraps," and Plutarch (2d century A.D.) says that when the exiled Greek general Themistocles came to the Persian court he obtained an audience with the king by applying to Artabanus, the Chiliarch, or commander of a thousand men.<sup>15</sup> Neither of these writers dates the event, but both accept the view of Thucydides (5th century B.C.), who says that Themistocles came to Persia when Artaxerxes "had lately come to the throne," as against the views of others that it was in the reign of Xerxes.<sup>16</sup> Nepos points out that Thucydides was the nearest in time to Themistocles and was from the same city.<sup>17</sup>

One other ancient writer mentions the death of Xerxes: Aelian (3d century A.D. or earlier) says merely that he was "murdered at night in bed by his son."<sup>18</sup> In attributing the murder of Xerxes to his son, he agrees with none of the other historians extant. That could be merely the error of a later writer, but it could be possible, though unlikely, that it reflects a variant tradition stemming from the partisans of Artabanus.

### *Ancient Chronological Works*

In addition to the historical narratives, there are several chronological works of the early Christian period that are relevant to the question of Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

<sup>15</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Lives*, xxi ("Of Kings").1 (in Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 413); Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 27.1-5 (Loeb ed., II, 72-75).

<sup>16</sup> Thucydides, i.137.3 (Loeb ed., I, 232, 233). Plutarch (*loc. cit.*) says that Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and others hold that it was Xerxes, but he prefers the view of Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus (the latter contemporary with Themistocles) that it was Artaxerxes because the chronological data agree better with this view. Diodorus holds that it was in the reign of Xerxes (xi.56.5 to 58.3 [Loeb ed., IV, 270-277]).

<sup>17</sup> Nepos, ii ("Themistocles").9 (in Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 321).

<sup>18</sup> Claudius Aelianus, *Varia Historia*, xiii.3 (Leipzig, 1819, p. 194).

Ptolemy, noted Greek-Egyptian astronomer (2d century A.D.), in his Canon of the Kings, already mentioned, gives a scale of Egyptian years (of 365 days, with no leap years) beginning with the year 1 of Nabonassar of Babylon on February 26, 747 B.C. He assigns 21 years to the reign of Xerxes and 41 years to Artaxerxes immediately following.<sup>19</sup> This does not indicate whether he, like the compiler of the *Epitome* of Manetho, regarded the period of Artabanus as a separate reign, for Ptolemy's Canon omits all kings who ruled less than a year. But since the Canon is dated beyond doubt by nineteen eclipses and other astronomical synchronisms, it is certain that in the official Egyptian reckoning Xerxes' year 21 (the year 283 in Ptolemy's Nabonassar Era) began on Thoth 1, December 18, 466 B.C., and that Artaxerxes' year 1 was the Egyptian calendar year beginning with Thoth 1, December 17, 465, and ending with December 16, 464.

Among the Christian chronographers, Julius Africanus (3d century A.D.) and Eusebius (4th century) used Manetho's chronology. They both included Artabanus with a seven-month reign between Xerxes and Artaxerxes, *i.e.*, in the 4th year of the 78th Olympiad (465/4). They also dated Artaxerxes' year 20 in the 4th year of the 83d Olympiad (which makes his year 1 fall in 464/3).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For Ptolemy's Canon, see Claudius Ptolemaeus, *The Almagest*, R. Catesby Taliaferro, trans. (*Great Books of the Western World*, vol. 16: *Ptolemy, Copernicus, Kepler*), Appendix A, p. 466; for the Greek Text, see Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Mathematike Syntaxis* [*Almagest*], [Nicholas] Halma, trans., I (Paris, 1813), lxx, lxxi. It is also printed in Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 216. Any year in the Nabonassar Era can be computed from the starting point by years of 365 days only, beginning a day earlier every four years, because of the difference at each leap year.

<sup>20</sup> Julius Africanus, *Chronography*, Fragments in *ANF*, VI, 135, 137; also table in Eduard Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II (Halle, 1899), 487; Eusebius, *Chronicæ Canones*, Jerome's Latin version, J. K. Fotheringham, ed. (London, 1923), p. 192; cf. Armenian version, J. B. Aucher, ed. (Venice, 1818), pp. 208, 209.

*Evaluation of Ancient Accounts*

In evaluating the ancient historical accounts it is clear that the situation portrayed is fairly consistent in the various narratives. Probably Ctesias' story is the nearest we can get to the original—at least as told from Artaxerxes' point of view, which naturally became the official version. The extant summary of Ctesias says nothing of how long Artabanus was in power or how he met his death, though additional details in his original account, now lost, may have been the source for later narratives of Diodorus and Trogus.

Diodorus seems to imply, though he does not say, that the whole upheaval was over immediately; yet he goes on to say that it was two years later that Artaxerxes settled the kingdom. The stories of Ctesias and Trogus, even in their present abridged state, definitely require some interval to allow for the first coup to "prosper" and for the development of the threat of a struggle among the nobles before the inception of the second plot, to put Artaxerxes out of the way. In the nature of the case, the fact that Artabanus did not kill Artaxerxes at first but allowed him to occupy the throne at least in name, and only afterward plotted against him, would indicate that some time must have passed before he felt strong enough to make the attempt to seize the kingship for himself.

Then even after Artaxerxes killed Artabanus he had to fight his way to control. There was at least one battle against the latter's adherents, and there was a revolt in Bactria, possibly representing the claim of his brother Hystaspes. In all, the events could account for much more than seven months.

Yet an actual seven-month reign of Artabanus preceding Artaxerxes' accession does not fit the picture drawn by the historical sources (which, of course, represent mostly the official story from the side of Artaxerxes). Not one of the extant accounts calls Artabanus "king." He is referred to as



“powerful” (Ctesias), “captain of the royal bodyguard” (Diodorus), “chief officer” (Trogus), “satrap” (Nepos), “commander of a thousand men” (Plutarch), while Artaxerxes is called king.

There are no known documents dated in the reign of Artabanus in either Egypt or Babylonia. The king list based on Manetho seems to be the only source for such a reign. It is possible that he could have been recognized in Egypt only, or the attribution could have been an error rising from the fact that Artabanus for a time—and possibly for about seven months—was the real power while the young Artaxerxes was the puppet king.

It may be that the confusion as to whether Themistocles came to the court of Xerxes or of Artaxerxes could be accounted for by supposing that he came during the period of Artabanus' ascendancy, while Artaxerxes was king but not yet ruling (note Plutarch, as cited above). And this situation may find an echo in the artificial extension of Xerxes' regnal numbering after his death as attested by papyrus *AP* 6, as will be discussed below.

### *Use of the Ancient Sources*

Before modern archeology furnished contemporary dated documents from ancient times, and when the only authority for chronology was Ptolemy's Canon and the ancient historians, many writers on Biblical interpretation and chronology in the last three hundred years discussed the chronology of Artaxerxes because of the Biblical mention of his 7th and 20th years. They included Johann Funck (1564), Archbishop Ussher (1650), William Whiston (1702), and Isaac Newton (1728, 1733), as well as numerous 19th-century writers. Several, including Ussher, accepted Thucydides' identification of Artaxerxes as the king to whom Themistocles went, but accepted a dating of Themistocles that put his visit, and therefore the accession of Artaxerxes, nine or ten years

earlier.<sup>21</sup> Newton reckoned Artaxerxes' year I as beginning in August or September, 464—a regnal year based on several erroneous assumptions: (1) that the Canon, always antedating, placed the death of Xerxes after Thoth I (December 17), 465; (2) that Artabanus ruled seven months after that before Artaxerxes' accession; (3) that Artaxerxes came to the throne two or three months after the summer solstice and counted his regnal years in the same manner as the British kings—as beginning always on the date of his accession.<sup>22</sup>

Modern historians tell the story by piecing together bits of the various ancient accounts. W. W. Tarn, in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1927), says that Artabanus reigned seven months and was recognized in Egypt (based apparently on Manetho) and that he defeated Artaxerxes' brother Hystaspes (a recombination of elements from Ctesias and Diodorus?) before Artaxerxes killed him.<sup>23</sup> A. T. Olmstead presents Artaxerxes as eighteen years old (a guess from Trogsus); Megabyzus as involved in the original conspiracy; and Hystaspes, Xerxes' other son, as heading the Bactrian revolt and being defeated by Artaxerxes after Artaxerxes killed Artabanus (Diodorus?).<sup>24</sup>

Most historians disregard Artabanus, largely because the absence of tablets dated to his reign would indicate that he was not recognized in Babylonia. Indeed, when it was believed that the nearest contemporary documents (papyrus *AP* 6 and the Ur tablet *UET* IV, 193) meant that Xerxes was living until near the end of 465, there could be no room for Artabanus

<sup>21</sup> James Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (London, 1650), on Anno Mundi 3531; in the English version, *Annals of the World* (London, 1658), pp. 131, 132.

<sup>22</sup> Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London, 1728), pp. 353-355; *Observations Upon the Prophecies* (London, 1733), pp. 130, 131, 142, 143.

<sup>23</sup> W. W. Tarn, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI (New York, 1927), 2.

<sup>24</sup> A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 289, 290.

as a factor in the chronology. The ancient writers are against his recognition in Persia, though he could have been recognized in Egypt. Yet *AP* 6, written in Egypt—possibly during the period when he was in *de facto* control—ignores him. (However, its dating formula does imply that the transfer of power to Artaxerxes was not immediate and normal, and implies the sort of confused situation pictured in the other ancient sources.)

### *Contemporary Papyrus AP 6 Examined*

Though historical sources furnish an interesting and probably relevant background for understanding the contents of the tablets or papyri, actually the conditions implicit in a contemporary document outweigh those in late copies of worked-over historical narratives. As primary evidence, then, the only known contemporary document, papyrus *AP* 6, must now be examined, and with it must be considered the Hellenistic tablet (*LBART* No. \*1419), which places Xerxes' death in Abu 14-18 (August 4-8), 465. Though the evaluation of this tablet must await its publication, it can meanwhile be accepted tentatively as possibly correct and be considered in the light of the contemporary Aramaic papyrus *AP* 6.

### *Double Date in Two Reigns*

The dateline of *AP* 6 reads: "On the 18th of Kislev, that is the [17th] day of Thoth, in year 21, the beginning of the reign when King Artaxerxes sat on his throne."<sup>25</sup>

Like many other papyri from this Jewish colony in Egypt, it is double-dated in two reckonings, the Egyptian solar

<sup>25</sup> Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Cowley reads the broken day number conjecturally as "7th day of Thoth." But he did not do any calendar computation; that was done later by others. The lunar-solar calendar synchronism is possible only if the Thoth date is read "17th," which is equally possible paleographically; see S. H. Horn and L. H. Wood, "The Fifth-Century Jewish Calendar at Elephantine," *JNES*, XIII (1954), 8, 9, Pl. I.

calendar and the Semitic (either Persian or Jewish) lunar calendar.

It has already been explained that the first part of this dateline, with its synchronism between a solar and a lunar month date, leaves no uncertainty that this represents January 2/3, 464. The remainder of this article will examine the last part of the dateline—the regnal *year* formula: the year 21 (of Xerxes, obviously), and the accession year of Artaxerxes. Does this double dating of the year represent the difference between the Egyptian and Jewish reckonings?

There are two other papyri from Elephantine that furnish examples of such a dating in two regnal years: *AP* 25 and *AP* 28. For example, *AP* 25 equates “Kislev 3, year 8” with “Thoth 12, year 9” in the reign of Darius II. That is, by the 3d of Kislev, the ninth month of the Semitic lunar year, the Egyptian New Year had passed, and this was the 12th of the first month in the new regnal year 9 by Egyptian count.<sup>26</sup>

But *AP* 6 not only has two regnal year numbers; the two are *in two different reigns*. It does not represent a coregency of Artaxerxes with his father. The historical accounts of Xerxes’ death show that Artaxerxes was not even the crown prince, and did not become king until after the death of his father and his older brother.

There are three possibilities in explaining this unusual dating in two reigns at once: (1) It was a scribal error. (2) It represents, like the two month dates, the difference in reckoning between two calendars, Egyptian and Semitic. (3) It is a double year designation in one calendar.

#### *Was the Double-Year Formula an Error?*

Some have thought that this unusual double-reign dating formula was an absent-minded error of the scribe who wrote it. This was plausible when it was believed that Xerxes had only recently died, in late December, for the scribe could

<sup>26</sup> Horn and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

have begun with "year 21" as he had been doing for some time, and on remembering that Artaxerxes was now king, merely added the accession-year formula without correcting the initial error.<sup>27</sup> But this was an official document written by a professional scribe; he would be expected to begin over rather than merely to add the correct dating to the erroneous phrase, especially since "in the year 21" stood in the first line of the document. And forgetfulness is not an easy explanation if, as the Hellenistic tablet (*LBART* No. \*1419) indicates, the change of kings had not been recent but some five months earlier.

*Other Examples of Dating in Two Reigns.* But it is not necessary to suppose a mistake, since there are other examples of this unusual type of year formula. In the case of the next regnal transition, after the death of Artaxerxes I, there are three tablets double-dated in two reigns. That was also a period of murders, plots and counterplots, and competing claimants, with the resultant uncertainty of the status quo. This is not the place to go into the problem of exact dates and intervals, but suffice it to say that at the death of Artaxerxes I his son Xerxes II occupied the throne briefly (45 days), then was killed by a half brother Secydianus, or Sogdianus, who was himself killed (after about seven months) by another half brother who reigned as Darius II.<sup>28</sup> There are no known tablets recognizing Xerxes II or Sogdianus. Perhaps the length of time assigned to them by the Greek historians was exaggerated.

There are tablets dated to Artaxerxes as late as the 9th month of his year 41 (December, 424), possibly also in the 11th month (February, 423); and there are two dated unequivocally to Darius' accession year in the 11th month. Yet there are two other tablets in the 12th month and one (yet

<sup>27</sup> See *PDBC* (1942), p. 16, for this interpretation in a similar case.

<sup>28</sup> Manetho, *loc. cit.*; Ctesias, *op. cit.*, 45-48, (Brussels ed., pp. 44-46); cf. Diodorus Siculus, xii.64.1, 71.1 (V, 60, 61, 78, 79); cf. Thucydides, iv.50.3 (II, 298, 299).

unpublished) supposed to be some months earlier—all three double-dated in the last year (of Artaxerxes) and in the accession year of Darius. They appear to reflect an unwillingness to abandon reckoning by Artaxerxes' reign, as if it were still uncertain as to whether the reign of Darius was permanent. It is significant that these tablets and the papyrus *AP 6*, which seem to have the only such double datelines known, come in both cases from periods when the uncertain political situation would provide a reason for such an unusual extension of a king's regnal numbering even beyond the beginning of another reign.

*Reign Artificially Extended Into Another Year.* There are several other tablets, from an earlier period, that similarly show an abnormal prolongation of regnal dating, and in this case using a ruler's name, not only after his death, but even into a new year, with a new regnal number. This was in another period of upheaval, when Assyria's rule over Babylon ended.

In 627 the last known Babylonian tablet dated in the reign of Kandalanu (who ruled Babylonia under Assyria) was written on the 13th of the 2d month of year 21. Then there were two later ones obviously after his death: one in Marcheswan, or Arahšamnu (the 8th month), dated year 21, not "of Kandalanu," but "*after Kandalanu*"; and the other a year later, Marcheswan 2, *in year 22* "*after Kandalanu.*" The intervening year was afterward reckoned an interregnum, after Kandalanu was gone but before Nabopolassar succeeded in fighting his way to independence for Babylonia and in winning the throne; but during that time the old regnal reckoning in Kandalanu's name was continued, even into a new and fictitious "year 22." And a chronicle tablet calls this year "*after Kandalanu, in the accession year of Nabopolassar.*"<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1961), pp. 89-90. *PDBC* (1956), p. 11.

Nabopolassar had already won recognition as king in at least a part of Babylonia, as attested by tablets dated to his accession year in the 2d and 6th months; but while the fighting and uncertainty lasted, the old reign was carried on artificially until the 8th month, within 24 days of the time when he occupied the throne. For the Babylonian chronicle tablet says that on the 26th of the 8th month (approximately November 23, 626) "Nabopolassar sat upon the throne in Babylon. (This was) the 'beginning of reign' of Nabopolassar."<sup>30</sup>

Except for the distinction made by the term "*after* Kandalanu," this reckoning of a year 22, although he had died in year 21, furnishes an exact parallel to the other examples of dating in the name of a king after his death, and after a new king was recognized as ruling.

Since the extension of one king's regnal reckoning beyond his lifetime, into the reign of another king, is attested both before and after the time of papyrus *AP* 6, then its double dateline in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes is not necessarily a scribal error. Nor is it necessarily a double dating in two calendars, for the tablets just discussed involve only the Babylonian-Persian calendar. Yet, in order to test all the possibilities, the *AP* 6 dateline will be investigated in both alternatives—whether the two year datings are expressed in two calendars, Egyptian and Semitic, or whether both are in one calendar (and if so, which one).

#### *Is the Year Formula Expressed in Two Calendars?*

First, suppose that the double year formula of *AP* 6 represents the two calendars in which the month dates (Kislev and Thoth) are expressed. Then obviously either "year 21"

presents this interpretation of a reign extended artificially, citing Wiseman's first (1956) printing.

<sup>30</sup> Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 51; cf. *PDBC* (1956), p. 11. (This exact date for the accession, not known before, shows that Ptolemy's canon postdated Nabopolassar's reign.)

or "accession year" must be in the Egyptian calendar. Yet a glance at the Egyptian calendar as represented in the horizontal band labeled "Egyptian" on Fig. 1, will show that the heavy arrow representing the papyrus date does not fall in either the year 21 of Xerxes or the accession year of Artaxerxes in the Egyptian calendar. What is wrong?

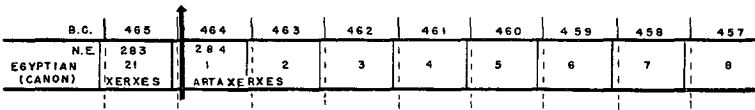


Figure 1. *Artaxerxes in the Egyptian Calendar*

The last regnal year (21) of Xerxes and the early years of Artaxerxes are shown here as reckoned in the Egyptian calendar, compared with the B.C. scale. The Egyptian years, beginning in December in this period, run a little earlier than the B.C. years (shown extended by the broken lines). The N. E. (Nabonassar Era) numbering, derived from Ptolemy's Canon, is indicated for the years 465 and 464. The arrow shows the date of the papyrus *AP* 6 (January 2/3, 464 B.C.).

On the one hand, Xerxes' Egyptian year 21 undoubtedly began on Thoth 1 (December 18), 466, according to the astronomically fixed canon of Ptolemy and a double dated papyrus (*AP* 5) of his year 15; then on the next Thoth 1 (December 17, 465) the year number would have changed to year 22. Yet sixteen days later, on January 2/3, 464, *AP* 6 was still dated in "year 21"!

On the other hand, the Egyptian year 465/4, in which *AP* 6 was written, was officially numbered Artaxerxes' year 1, not his accession year. (This is attested not only by Ptolemy's Canon but also by several double-dated papyri written during Artaxerxes' reign, all of which require year 1 to begin in December, 465 B.C.) If he came to the throne before Thoth 1 (December 17), 465—perhaps the preceding August 4-8, as the Hellenistic tablet (*LBART* No. \*1419) indicates—his "beginning of reign" could cover only the rest of that calendar year, and his year 1 would begin on Thoth 1.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The common custom of the Egyptians was to "antedate"—to begin dating in "year 1" immediately after the accession and change



If *AP* 6, written as late as Thoth 17, was dated in the accession year in the Egyptian calendar, this would indicate that Artaxerxes was recognized as king in Egypt only *after* Thoth 1 (else this would have been his year 1)<sup>32</sup> and before Thoth 17 (else his name would not have been on the dateline at all).

Further, if this was the accession year, then year 1 would not have *begun* until the following Thoth 1, December 17, 464. That would conflict with the official year numbering, also with the tablet that places the death of Xerxes in August 465, unless there was a delay in the recognition of Artaxerxes until after Thoth 1.

Could such a delay be accounted for by supposing it to be during the seven-month reign assigned by Manetho to Artabanus? Yet the interval between the August death date and the January date of *AP* 6 is less than seven months. And an intervening reign of Artabanus would still require

to year 2 at the first New Year's Day. Yet there is some reason to think that they sometimes applied the Persian postdating method to their Persian kings. See Parker, "Persian and Egyptian Chronology," *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 285-301.

<sup>32</sup> The present writer formerly, in the above-mentioned thesis (see note 3), accepted Cowley's designation of *AP* 6 as dated "year 21" in the Semitic calendar and "year 1" in the Egyptian calendar because the date (January 2/3, 464) arrived at by the synchronism *was* in the Egyptian year 1. But it seems necessary to abandon "year 1" in favor of "accession year" for the following reasons: (1) The phrase *rš mlwt* (*sic.*), "beginning of reign," in *AP* 6 is the exact Aramaic equivalent of the Akkadian accession-year formula *rēš šarrūti* (literally "beginning of reign"), defined as the accession year, the time of reign before the beginning of the first full regnal year; see Riekle Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, Heft 1 (Rome, 1963), Glossar, p. lxxvi; (2) a completely different phrase is used for "year 1" in Aramaic, "šnt 1 (with the king's name)," which is also the exact equivalent of the Akkadian date formula used in Babylonian tablets; and (3) the explanatory but redundant clause translated by Cowley "when King Artaxerxes sat on his throne" can also be translated "when King Artaxerxes seated himself" or "was seated" on his throne, that is, "when he became king" (Horn, Letter to the author, Feb. 15, 1967).

a change in Artaxerxes' year numbering afterward to continue with the later attested numbering. Such a change is unattested by any evidence and seems to be unknown in any other case.

Since the Egyptian year 21 is impossible for *AP* 6, and the accession year is incompatible with known Egyptian data and so unlikely as to be negligible, the logical result is to rule out both as possible Egyptian datings; and therefore to abandon the first alternative—a double (Egyptian-Semitic) year formula—and proceed to the second:

*A Double Year Formula in One Calendar*

*Not Egyptian.* If both "year 21" and "accession year of Artaxerxes" in the dateline of *AP* 6 constitute a double year formula in one calendar, then it means that both are designations of the same year—the one that begins as year 21 of Xerxes and ends as the accession year of Artaxerxes. This cannot be an Egyptian-calendar year, since the Egyptian year 21 ended seventeen days before this papyrus was written.

Then it must be a Semitic lunar-calendar date—in either the Persian year (beginning in the spring with the month of Nisanu) or the Jewish civil and regnal year (beginning in the fall with the 7th month, Tishri).

*Most Probably Jewish.* Papyrus *AP* 6 (an agreement over a disputed piece of land) was written in the name of a Persian for the benefit of his neighbor, designated as a Jew; and the scribe was a Jew, as well as most of the witnesses.<sup>33</sup> Although the lunar calendar synchronism in *AP* 6 could be valid in either the Persian or the Jewish reckoning, it seems logical to conclude that it was a Jewish dating as used in a Jewish community.

That this calendar was Jewish would be expected for several reasons. These Jewish colonists of Elephantine had been there some time before the Persians took over Egypt;<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Cowley, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

hence they would have no reason to adopt the Persian calendar, since they obviously had not adopted the Egyptian calendar outright, or they would not have needed double dating. That their Jewish calendar would have been the same as the regnal reckoning of the Kingdom of Judah, from which they had originated, and of the returned Jews of the contemporary period of Ezra and Nehemiah, seems most likely.

Some writers hold that these Jewish colonists, like the Babylonians and Persians, used a spring-beginning year, while others hold that they employed the Jewish autumn-beginning year. The evidence for the Jewish reckoning by years beginning with Tishri, in the autumn—used in the early Hebrew kingdom, in the Kingdom of Judah, in the restored Jewish community in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in this same Jewish colony in Egypt in a later reign<sup>35</sup>—makes it seem a reasonable conclusion that *AP* 6 was dated in the Jewish fall-to-fall year.

However, since opinions differ, the dating of this papyrus will be examined in both Persian and Jewish reckonings.

#### *The 21st Year of Xerxes and the 1st Year of Artaxerxes*

It has been explained already that throughout the reigns involved here the regnal-year numbering in the Egyptian calendar is known from the astronomically fixed reckoning of Ptolemy's canon and the synchronisms of several double-dated papyri. It is also known in the Persian calendar from the saros list, based on the 18-year saros cycle.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Horn and Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16, 20; Thiele, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>36</sup> The saros list is extant on two clay tablets containing a series of regnal years at eighteen-year intervals based on a Babylonian eclipse cycle (published by J. N. Strassmaier in reports in *ZA*, VII [1892], 200, 201; VIII [1893], 106). Beginning with the 7th year of Nabonidus, this list includes the year 9 of Xerxes and the years 6 and 24 of Artaxerxes.

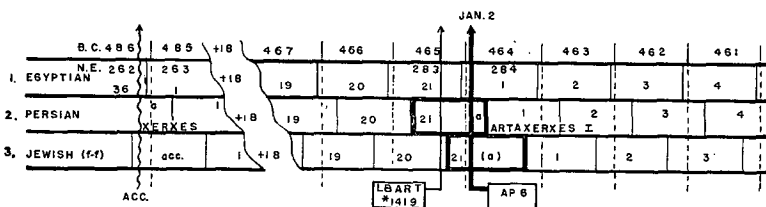


Figure 2. *Xerxes and Artaxerxes in Three Calendars*

The regnal years of Xerxes (shortened in this drawing by an 18-year gap) and the early years of Artaxerxes are shown as reckoned (1) in the Egyptian calendar (with years beginning in December), (2) in the Persian calendar (with years beginning in the spring), and (3) in the Jewish calendar (with years beginning in the autumn), all three aligned against the background of the B.C. years (extended by broken lines). The three vertical arrows represent, from left to right, (1) the accession of Xerxes (some time in November, 486 B.C.), (2) the death of Xerxes as indicated by the tablet *LBART* \*1419 (August 4-8, 465 B.C.), and (3) the date of the papyrus *AP* 6 (January 2/3, 464 B.C.).

(1) In the Egyptian calendar (see Fig. 2, first band), the year 21 of Xerxes was 466/5 and the year 1 of Artaxerxes was 465/4, beginning in December.

(2) In the Persian calendar (Fig. 2, second band)—with years beginning with Nisanu 1, in the spring—year 21 of Xerxes was 465/4 (beginning approximately March 25, 465), and the year 1 of Artaxerxes was 464/3 (beginning approximately April 13, 464), several months later than the beginning of the corresponding Egyptian years.

(3) Then in the Jewish calendar the 21st year of Xerxes as reckoned according to the fall-to-fall year can be determined, with equal accuracy, as 465/4; it began with the Jewish New Year, the 1st of Tishri, the 7th month (approximately October 18, 465),<sup>37</sup> half a year later than the Persian New Year. (Discussion of the year 1 of Artaxerxes according to this Jewish reckoning will be deferred until after the expla-

<sup>37</sup> The equivalents of the Jewish dates are taken from the reconstructed calendar tables of Horn and Wood, but they are approximately the same as those in *PDBC* (1956).

nation of why the 21st year of Xerxes runs later than the Persian year 21.)

*Alignment Depends on Accession Date.* The alignment of the Persian and Jewish years of Xerxes (or of any postdated reign) depends on whether the Persian or Jewish New Year came first after the accession. This can be explained best with the aid of Fig. 2. Since Xerxes' year 21 in the Persian calendar was 465/4, his year 1 was 485/4, from spring to spring; he must have come to the throne some time before that, since his "accession year" was the part of his reign that preceded his first full calendar year. The date of his accession can be determined as some time in the preceding November, 486, because the latest known tablet dated in his father's last regnal year was in the 7th month, and the first dated in Xerxes' reign was in the 8th month (approximately December 1).<sup>38</sup>

After his accession in November, 486, the first New Year's Day to arrive would be the Egyptian 1st of Thoth, in December (Fig. 2, band 1);<sup>39</sup> the Egyptian year 1 began then, but those of his subjects who used the Babylonian-Persian calendar (band 2) would not begin to date by his year 1 until the next Nisanu 1, in the following spring; and those who used the Jewish fall-to-fall calendar (band 3) would continue to date in the accession year until their New Year's Day came—the next Tishri 1, the 7th month—almost a year after his accession and half a year after the Persian year 1 had begun. (That is why, in some of these papyri, the dateline in two calendars can have two regnal year numbers.)

Thus, throughout his reign, any specific year of Xerxes—from year 1 through year 21—began earliest in the Egyptian calendar, then in the Persian calendar, and last in the Jewish calendar. Then it is demonstrated that the Jewish year 21, reckoned from Tishri 1, must be 465/4. And since year 21

<sup>38</sup> *PDBC* (1956), p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> For this Egyptian postdating of Xerxes, see note 31.

is equated with the accession year of Artaxerxes, it is obvious that the accession year according to this fall-to-fall reckoning would end in 464 (and consequently the Jewish year 1 would be 464/3).

Since January 2/3, 464, the date of *AP* 6, falls in year 21 and the accession year in both the Persian and the Jewish reckoning (see heavy arrow in Fig. 2), this papyrus date could have been either Persian or Jewish.

But there remains the question: Why would there have been a "year 21" for Xerxes in the Jewish calendar (see Fig. 2, band 3), beginning in October, 465, if Xerxes had already been murdered in the preceding August, in the Jewish year 20? The question of the artificial extension of Xerxes' reign must be answered regardless of whether the date is in the Jewish or the Persian calendar. However, such a practice of extending a regnal year after a king's death—even of beginning a new year number—has been shown to be a normal, if exceptional, practice under certain circumstances, as demonstrated in the Kandalanu-Nabopolassar transition and the Artaxerxes I-Darius II transition.

### *The Implications of AP 6*

The next step, then, will be to examine *AP* 6 to see whether its unusual dating, in either the Jewish or the Persian calendar, can likewise be considered an unusual but normal dating formula in relation to the political situation.

As a help in visualizing the following possibilities in both the Persian and the Jewish calendar, the year in which *AP* 6 was written is marked on Fig. 2 in heavy lines in the second and third bands. In each of these calendars it is the year that began as Xerxes' year 21 and ended as the accession year of Artaxerxes.

Here is what the *AP* 6 dateline itself tells us, as can be seen on Fig. 2: (1) A change of reign was recognized at some time before January 2/3, 464, when this papyrus was written

(heavy arrow), but not earlier than Nisan 1 in the preceding spring (otherwise the papyrus dateline, if in the Persian calendar, would have had "year 1," not "accession year" of Artaxerxes), and scribes in Elephantine began to date their documents in the name of the new king, Artaxerxes; yet (2) they retained the regnal numbering of Xerxes, at least as late as January, as if he were still alive and still reigning; (3) if the death of Xerxes occurred in August, 465, they extended his last year for at least five months longer, (4) continuing year 21 if they were using the Persian calendar or (5) year 20 if they were using the Jewish fall-to-fall calendar, and if the latter, they were so unwilling to drop Xerxes' regnal numbering that on Tishri 1, two months after his death, they even began a fictitious, additional year 21 rather than change to the accession year of Artaxerxes; in that case (6) they did not recognize Artaxerxes' reign until after Tishri 1, 465 (otherwise they would have dated *AP* 6 in year 1, not accession year); (7) if Xerxes' death occurred, not in August, but *after* Tishri 1, in the autumn, the Jewish year 21 would have begun normally, in his lifetime; (8) Artaxerxes may have been recognized immediately, but with reservations, since, (9) in either calendar, year 21 would have been artificially extended after Artaxerxes' accession.

#### *Relation to Historical Situation*

What could have been the reasons back of this reluctance to relinquish the old year numbering of Xerxes? Was it unwillingness to recognize the young Artaxerxes as king or uncertainty whether someone else might prevail in the end?

(1) If the unpublished tablet (*LBART* No. \*1419) is in error—if Xerxes did not die in August—he could have, as was formerly supposed, lived until December, not long before papyrus *AP* 6 was written. In that case Artaxerxes would have been given immediate recognition, and there would

have been no time for an intervening reign of Artabanus.<sup>40</sup> Why, then, was the recognition of Artaxerxes qualified by the retention of Xerxes' "year 21"? This would indicate an initial, though possibly brief, uncertainty as to his hold on the throne. Was it the presence of an older brother in Bactria? Or the immediate control by Artabanus?

(2) If the interpretation is not to be built on the supposition of errors in these source documents—then from the combination of these two documents, the tablet and the papyrus, it should be possible to derive an interpretation that is not incompatible with any of the data. The persistence of the regnal dating of a long-dead Xerxes indicates a prolonged period (at least five months) of uncertainty or unwillingness to give unequivocal recognition to the reign of Artaxerxes. If the new king was still so shaky on his throne after five months, there must have been a powerful rival or rivals who threatened his authority.

It is not clear whether his older brother Hystaspes, absent in Bactria, was a menace, but certainly the most powerful man in the kingdom was Artabanus. This was the commander of the royal guard, who, according to the ancient historians, was the most influential of the courtiers, the real power behind the throne, the man who had murdered Xerxes and to whom the young Artaxerxes owed his somewhat precarious occupancy of the throne. Possibly, in Egypt at least, the *de facto* power of Artabanus overshadowed the *de jure* authority of Artaxerxes.

If the dating of *AP* 6 is Persian, the double dating would indicate a prolonged period of uncertainty as to the situation of Artaxerxes. If it was in the Jewish calendar, it would

<sup>40</sup> Hence the present writer formerly, in the above-mentioned thesis (see note 3), ignored Artabanus as having any place in the chronology. But if August 4-8 is correct for Xerxes' death, then Artabanus' initial control of Artaxerxes may be taken into account as an explanation of the extension of Xerxes' regnal numbering in this papyrus dating; also Ptolemy's Canon, in agreement with tablet and papyrus dating, postdates Artaxerxes' reign.



appear to indicate even more—a gap between the death of Xerxes and the recognition of Artaxerxes. For a scribe using this Jewish calendar could not have *begun* dating in the accession year of Artaxerxes until after Tishri 1, in October, or even later (otherwise *AP* 6 would have been dated “year 21, year 1 of Artaxerxes”).

Did the Elephantine colonists, or all of Egypt, recognize someone else in the interval? Perhaps Artabanus, who was assigned a seven-month reign in Egypt by the Manetho *Epitome*? If so, they must have abandoned him to recognize Artaxerxes sometime between Tishri 1 and January. Even then they did not feel free to abandon the old Xerxes dating, as if the outcome were still not settled.

A reign of Artabanus in Egypt seems a doubtful explanation because it does not fit the historical narratives, because the interval between August and January is less than seven months, because the retention of Xerxes’ year 21 would seem unlikely if another king had been recognized in the interval, and because there is no evidence of Artabanus’ recognition in the Babylonian tablets (though neither is there any known tablet for Xerxes’ last year or Artaxerxes’ accession year). However, since *AP* 6 seems not to be dated in an Egyptian year, it would not be expected to furnish any indication of what the Egyptian regnal formula would have been.

Nor is it necessary to suppose that Artabanus was actually a king. If during seven months, or less, he was dominant as the real ruling power behind the throne, that would account for a situation in which full recognition of the young Artaxerxes was delayed. This divided and delayed recognition finds parallels, as has been shown in the dating formulas of tablets written in other periods of upheaval and confusion, when it was not clear which of the contenders would prevail. In the present case the historical sources corroborate the papyrus in picturing just such a situation of dynastic struggle. Then we may take *AP* 6 as reflecting such an interim

situation, and there is no disagreement between the earlier death date for Xerxes and the dating of this papyrus.

### *Summary*

In summary, then, the evidence of this contemporary papyrus, combined with that of the Hellenistic tablet and viewed against the background of the earliest historical narrative and compared with later accounts, leads to the following conclusions:

(1) There is not necessarily any basic discrepancy between these sources.

(2) A period of uncertainty between Xerxes' death and Artaxerxes' full recognition implied in the papyrus is compatible with the tablet, and the reflection of such a situation in the dating formula is paralleled by other examples in similar periods.

(3) Such an interval of instability agrees with the historical accounts concerning Xerxes, Artabanus, and Artaxerxes.

(4) The use of "year 21" and "accession year," in either Persian or Jewish dating, agrees with the fact that no known Babylonian tablets recognize any other king between Xerxes and Artaxerxes, though a Jewish dating implies a gap before the beginning of Artaxerxes' accession year in Egypt.

(5) The alignment of the regnal years of the same number in the Egyptian and the two Semitic calendars (attested by the synchronisms of Ptolemy's canon, the saros list, double-dated papyri, and dated tablets) follows this order: Egyptian (December), Persian (spring), Jewish (fall), in the reign of Xerxes; likewise in the reign of Artaxerxes the order is: Egyptian, followed by Persian, followed (if *AP* 6 has a Jewish date) by the Jewish.

(6) This alignment makes it clear that the year formula in *AP* 6 does not fit the Egyptian calendar, but is an exceptional but normal double formula in either the Persian or the Jewish calendar.

## THE USE OF ITALICS IN ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

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A famous Venetian printer startled the educated world in 1501 by publishing the writings of Virgil in a new font of type, characterized by sloping letters somewhat resembling handwriting. That printer was Aldus Manutius (1450-1515), one of the most illustrious names in the history of printing, and the new font of type which he introduced was called "Italic."<sup>1</sup> It was discovered, as time went on, that the new type face was not as easy to read nor as restful to the eye as roman type, hence it is seldom used for the major text of a document today. It does, however, have a number of specialized uses. It is often used for the titles of books and magazines. It is used for foreign words and phrases, for scientific names of genera and species, and for the names of the plaintiff and the defendant in legal citations, etc.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps its commonest use is for special emphasis, or to point out words that demand more than ordinary attention.

The careful reader of the King James Version (KJV) of the Bible is aware of the frequent use of italics for certain words from Gn 1:2 to Rev 22:21. Every informed Bible teacher and minister is, of course, aware that these italics indicate words for which there are no exact equivalents in the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, but which have been added to make the translation conform to English idiom. Unfortunately for the layman there is usually no preface or introduction explaining this specialized usage.

<sup>1</sup> The type was actually cut for Aldus Manutius by Francesco Griffo of Venice. *International Typographical Union Lessons in Printing* (Indianapolis, 1931), Unit I, Lesson 9, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

Usually all he can find in the front of his Bible is the "Epistle Dedicatory" which is the translators' dedication "To the Most High and Mighty Prince, James, By the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, etc." Therefore, laymen and even theological students, at times, think that the italicized words in the Bible are intended to be the most important words in the sacred text.

But to place emphasis on these words not only distorts the meaning of many a passage, but can also lead to ludicrous results. The classic illustration of this is in the story of the old prophet who commanded his sons, "Saddle me the ass. And they saddled *him*" (1 Ki 13: 27). To stress the italicized *him* results in a ludicrous distortion of the story.

#### *History of the Use of Italics in the Bible*

The device of using a different font of type for words supplied by translators is relatively new. How did the idea originate?

*Sebastian Münster* (1489-1552). Apparently the man to whom we are indebted for this new device was Sebastian Münster of Basel. He devoted his lifetime to Hebraic studies and produced over 40 books. His Aramaic grammar was the first grammar of that language written by a Christian. He taught at Basel, 1529-1552, and while there he produced the first German edition of the Hebrew Bible, in 1534-1535. This Hebrew Bible was accompanied by his own Latin translation and notes. "This version," says Basil Hall, "gave an impetus to Old Testament study similar to that which Erasmus had given to the study of the New Testament."<sup>3</sup> "Münster's translation was not as extremely literal as Pagnini's Latin version." Though "it did not depart by a nail's breadth from the Hebrew verity," it was written

<sup>3</sup> Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, S. L. Greenslade, ed. (Cambridge, 1963), p. 70.

in better Latin.<sup>4</sup> In this Latin version Münster conceived of the novel idea of printing inserted words in small roman type to distinguish them from the black letters used for the main body of the text. Münster's Latin translation of the Hebrew OT was used extensively by Miles Coverdale, and affected many of the renderings found in the Great Bible.

*Olivetán* (ca. 1506-38). The second person who seems to have made use of this idea was the cousin of John Calvin, Olivetan. He preached Reformation doctrines to the Waldenses in Piedmont in 1532-1535 and translated the Bible into French. The OT was translated directly from the Hebrew; the Apocrypha and the NT were a revision of the version of Faber Stapulensis. This version first appeared in June, 1535, as a large black-letter folio, printed by Pierre de Wingle near Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Olivetan used a smaller font of type to distinguish words which were not in the original but which were needed in the translation to complete the sense.

*The Great Bible*. In 1539, Miles Coverdale, at the request of Cromwell, edited a revision of the Thomas Matthew Bible, which became the first English Bible authorized by King and Parliament for use in the Church of England. In producing the "Great Bible" Coverdale made considerable use of Münster's Latin version of the OT. He also used Olivetan's French version. In the NT he made use of Erasmus' translation into Latin. To placate the conservatives Coverdale inserted additions into his translation from the Vulgate. These additions were put in smaller type and bracketed so that the reader would recognize their source.<sup>5</sup>

For example, to the words, "Judge not, that ye be not judged" in Mt 7: 1, he added in brackets and smaller type: "condempne not, and ye shall not be condempned," words found in some MSS of the Vulgate. In Mt 25: 1, he translated "Then shall the kyngdom of heaven be like unto ten virgins, which toke their lampes, and went to mete the brydgrome,"

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> J. F. Mozley, *Coverdale and His Bibles* (London, 1953), p. 221.

and adds in brackets from the Latin "and the bryde".<sup>6</sup>

The Vulgate often adds to the Hebrew and Greek text. Coverdale's inclusion of these additions meant a certain decline of the scholarship of the Great Bible,<sup>7</sup> since usually there is little support for these readings.

*Theodora Beza.* Although the Great Bible made use of the device of a different font of type for certain words, it was for a different purpose than in Münster's or Olivetan's Bibles. Theodore Beza's Latin NT, published in Geneva in 1556, returned to Münster's original idea. Beza was Calvin's successor in Geneva, and that city had become an outstanding center of Biblical scholarship. From it came the first English Bible using Münster's original idea.

*Whittingham's New Testament.* In 1557 William Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, prepared a revision of Tyndale's English NT. It was a small volume printed in roman type, contained verse divisions, and made use of italics for words not in the Greek but necessary in English. In the preface, Whittingham explains his procedure:

And because the Hebrew and Greke phrases, which are strange to rendre in other tongues, and also short, shulde not be so harde, I haue sometyme interpreted them without any whit diminishing the grace of the sense, as our langage doth vse them, and sometyme haue put to that worde, which lacking made the sentence obscure, but haue set it in such letters as may easely be discerned from the comun text.<sup>8</sup>

*The Geneva Bible.* Whittingham now took the lead in a scholarly revision of the whole Bible, which resulted in the Geneva Bible of 1560. It was printed in roman type and employed italics for the use of supplied words which had no equivalents in the original text. Again the procedure is explained in the preface:

<sup>6</sup> For other examples see Mt 4: 19; 6: 14; 7: 21, 29; 9: 25; 12: 2; 13: 47; 19: 21; 24: 7, 41; 26: 53; 27: 8; Lk 9: 39; 2 Cor 1: 6; 8: 20, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Mozley, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *The Holy Bible (A facsimile in a reduced size of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611)* with an Introduction by A. W. Pollard and illustrative documents (Oxford, 1911), p. 118.

Moreouer whereas the necessitie of the sentence required any thing to be added (for suche is the grace and proprietie of the Ebrewe and Greke tongues, that it can not but ether by circumlocution, or by adding the verbe or some worde be vnderstand of them that are not wel practised therein) we haue put it in the text with another kynde of lettre, that it may easely be discerned from the common lettre.<sup>9</sup>

Thus Münster's novel idea found its way into the popular English Bible of the 16th century.

*The Bishops' Bible.* The Bishops' Bible of 1568 was greatly influenced by the Geneva Bible, even though it was a backward-looking version. It was printed in the customary black-letter type, "but roman type served the function of the italics which had been used in the Geneva Bible."<sup>10</sup>

*The King James Version.* The original KJV of 1611, like its predecessor, the Bishops' Bible, was printed in black-letter type. Use was again made of roman type for words supplied by the revisers, but not found in the original languages. Numerous changes have been made in subsequent editions of the KJV. A few were unintentional, but most were deliberate attempts to correct errors.<sup>11</sup> In 1612 an edition in octavo was printed using a small clear roman type, and introducing the use of italics in this version. This was followed by a similar edition in 1616 also in roman type. The 1762 revision by Thomas Paris, published at Cambridge, extended and improved in accuracy the use of the italics. In 1769 the Oxford edition by Benjamin Blayney made more corrections and further extended the use of italics, probably beyond the limits that the original famous 47 revisers would have approved.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>10</sup> Allen P. Wikgren, "The English Bible" in *The Interpreter's Bible*, George A. Buttrick, ed. (New York, 1952), I, 92.

<sup>11</sup> For a complete list of deliberate changes since 1611, see F. H. Scrivener, ed., *The Cambridge Paragraph Bible of the Authorized Version* (Cambridge, 1870-73), pp. lxviii-lxxxvi.

*The Revised Versions.* The practice of using italics for translators' supplied words was continued in the English Revised Version, (NT, 1881; OT, 1885), and the American Standard Version of 1901. These versions were characterized by a strong attempt at verbal consistency and accuracy, but the resulting translation was often stilted and unidiomatic. The Revised Standard Version (RSV, NT, 1946; OT, 1952) completely abandoned the practice of using italics for words added by translators. Words inserted to complete or clarify the meaning were regarded by the revision committee "as an essential part of the translation."<sup>12</sup> The New American Standard Bible (NT, 3rd ed., 1963),<sup>13</sup> which attempts to contemporize the English of the American Standard Version, has retained that version's use of italics.

None of the translators of private modern speech versions with which the present writer is acquainted has deemed it wise to follow the KJV and the English and American Revised Versions in the use of italics. Moffatt's NT makes use of italics but for an entirely different purpose, *i.e.*, to indicate passages quoted from the OT.

#### *Examples of the Use of Italics*

A few specific examples of the use of italics in the KJV will serve to illustrate the principles on which the practice is based. In 1 Jn 2: 23 the entire clause, "[*but*] *he that acknowledgeth the son hath the Father also,*" is italicized evidently because there was in the minds of the translators uncertainty as to the genuineness of the text. The Textus Receptus on which the KJV is based lacked these words. However they are found in  $\aleph$ ABCP and there can be little doubt of their genuineness. Their omission in medieval MSS was due to a scribal error called by textual critics *parablepsis* (a looking by the side), facilitated by *homoioteleuton* (a similar ending of

<sup>12</sup> Millar Burrows, *Diligently Compared* (London, 1964), p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Published by the Lockman Foundation, La Habra, California.



lines).<sup>14</sup> It is to be noted that both clauses of this verse end with the words τὸν πατέρα ἔχει, and the scribe's eyes skipped a whole line which he unconsciously supposed he had already copied.

Another illustration of the use of italics in the NT to indicate textual uncertainty is in Jn 8:6, where the words "*as though he heard them not*" are italicized. This clause was not used in any of the great English versions before the Bishops' Bible, from which it came into the KJV. It is a rendering of the Greek μὴ προσποιούμενος found in the uncials EGHK and in numerous cursives. Robert Stephanus included it in his 1546 and 1549 editions of the Greek NT, but left it out of the 1550 edition, which became the basis of the Textus Receptus.<sup>15</sup> It is almost universally recognized today as a gloss which found its way into the *Pericope adulterae*, a passage whose place in the Gospel of John is disputed, but which appears to be a misplaced pericope with all the marks of genuineness.<sup>16</sup>

In a few passages the translators of the English NT felt obliged to supply the implied apodosis to a conditional clause, and such insertions were italicized in versions preceding the RSV. In Lk 13:9, for example, there is an implied conclusion to the conditional clause, "and if it bear fruit," which the KJV, following the Geneva Bible, renders as "well," and the Bishops' Bible as "*thou maiest let it alone.*" The position of the phrase εἰς τὸ μέλλον varies among MSS, but it is best taken with P<sup>75</sup>BL, etc., as preceding "and if not" (εἰ δὲ μὴ γέ), and means "in the future," or, more specifically, "in the next year" (ἔτος understood). Thus we arrive at the rendering of the RSV, "and if it bears fruit next year, well and good; but if not, you can cut it down."

<sup>14</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (New York, 1964), p. 189.

<sup>15</sup> A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to John* ("Cambridge Greek Testament," Cambridge, 1893), pp. 184, 185.

<sup>16</sup> Metzger, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

Similarly the clause "*he shall be free*" is inserted in Mt 15:6 and Mk 7: 11 by the KJV following the Geneva Bible. In 2 Th 2: 3, the KJV again following the Geneva Bible, inserts "*for that day shall not come,*" as compared with Tyndale's translation, "for the Lorde commeth not," and the Bishops' following the Great Bible's, "*for the Lord shall not come.*" The English and American Revised Versions here read, "for *it will not be.*"

In addition to elliptical conditional sentences such as those noted above, there are a few examples in the NT of aposiopesis, where a part of the sentence is suppressed due to strong emotion.<sup>17</sup> Jn 6: 62 is an illustration of this type. Here the KJV supplies *what*, and appropriately renders the conditional clause as a question: "*What* and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend where he was before?" The implied answer seems to be, "Would you still be offended?" In Lk 19: 42 the aposiopesis is rendered as an exclamation: "If thou hadst known . . . the things *which belong* unto thy peace!" The σου after εἰρήνην is of doubtful textual authority. "Peace" is probably to be taken in the Hebrew sense of *šālôm*, "welfare," "prosperity," and there is perhaps a paronomasia on the name Salem. "The things that *make* for peace" would be a better rendering than "*which belong* unto." The phrase "let us not fight against God" in Acts 23: 9 rests on doubtful textual authority, and should be omitted. This leaves an aposiopesis which is best read as a question, "Suppose a spirit or an angel has spoken to him?"

Lk 1: 64 illustrates the italicizing of words supplied to clear up a special type of ellipsis known as *zeugma*, where one verb is used with two objects (or subjects) but suits only one. In this case the verb "opened" suits "mouth" but not "tongue," hence the verb "loosed" is supplied and the verse is rendered, "and his mouth was opened immediately and his tongue *loosed*, and he spake and praised God." A

<sup>17</sup> A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York, 1923), p. 1203.

similar difficulty in 1 Cor 3: 2 is solved by translating the verb properly, "I gave to drink," as "I fed." The *zeugma* of 1 Ti 4: 2 is solved in the KJV by the insertion of another participle and reading "forbidding to marry, *and commanding* to abstain from meats."

### *Inconsistencies in the Use of Italics*

There is an ellipsis of various nouns in the Greek NT. When they are supplied in the KJV they are often, but not always, italicized. In Mt 3: 5 ἡ περιχώρος is given as "the region about," with no italics. Likewise ἡ ὄρεινή (*scil.* γῆ or χώρα) is translated "the hill country" in Lk 1: 39, 65. However, when "part" is supplied in Lk 17: 24 it is italicized in both cases. In such expressions as τῆ ἐπιούσῃ (*scil.* ἡμέρᾳ) the word "day" is italicized (Acts 16: 11; 20: 15; 21: 18). This is also true of such time expressions as "the first *day* of the week" (Mt 28: 1; Mk 16: 2 [9]; Lk 24: 1; Jn 20: 1, 19; Acts 20: 7; 1 Cor 16: 2), "the third *day*" (Lk 13: 32; Acts 27: 19), "the seventh *day*" (Heb 4: 4) and "the *day* following" (Lk 13: 33). In Rom 8: 34 ἐν δεξιᾷ is translated "at the right hand," and ἐν τοῖς δεξιούσις in Mk 16: 5 as "on the right side," with no italics. τὸ τρίτον is rendered "the third part" with no italics to indicate a supplied word in Rev 8: 7, 8, 11, 12; 9: 15, 18; 12: 4. "Water" is italicized in Mt 10: 42 and Jas 3: 11, and "clothing" in Mt 11: 8, whereas in Jn 20: 12 no word is supplied after "white." "Olive" is supplied twice in Rom 11: 24 but this is not indicated by italics.

There is, then, no real consistency in the use of italics for words supplied in elliptical constructions. There is also considerable variation in the matter in the various editions of the KJV. In 1 Cor 9: 22, for example, the 1611 edition used no italics. The present-day edition published by Oxford reads: "I am made all things to all *men*, that I might by all means save some." The 1873 edition italicized both "*men*" and "*things*." Probably the 1611 was correct in leaving both

without italics. In today's KJV, Lk 17: 27 closes, "and destroyed them all" (πάντας). But exactly the same words in v. 29 are rendered, "and destroyed *them* all." The vocative of Lk 19: 17 is rendered, "thou good servant." A similar construction in v. 19 is given as "*thou* wicked servant." In Lk 10: 30 ἄνθρωπός τις is translated as "a certain *man*," but in Lk 15: 11 as "a certain man." Compare also "this *man*" in Heb 3: 3 with "this man" in Heb 8: 3. πάντα in Rom 8: 32 is rendered "all things," but ἐκ πάντων in 1 Cor 9: 19 as "from all *men*."

Should "things" be italicized in Col 3: 1, 2? The Greek has only the neuter plural article τὰ, but there can be little doubt as to what is to be supplied and the present-day KJV does not use italics, though the 1873 edition did. In v. 6 δι' ἧς is rendered "for which things' sake," and again "*things*" is in italics in the 1873 edition. In v. 8 τὰ πάντα is translated "all these" and "*these*" in the 1873 edition is in italics. In v. 10 τὸν νέον is translated as "the new *man*." Did the translators really add these words, or were they called for by the original?

Often the article is sufficient in Greek to suggest the idea of the possessive relation.<sup>18</sup> Hence, in Col 3: 19, 20; 4: 1, "*your*" need not be italicized as though it were supplied. The same applies to "*his* hand," Mt 8: 3; "*their* stripes," Acts 16: 33; "*their* heads," Acts 21: 4; "*his* letters," 2 Cor 10: 10. In Mk 14: 46 "their hands" is correctly rendered with no italics. In the next verse "a sword" should read "his sword" (RSV). In 2 Cor 12: 18 it is not just "a brother," but could well be "his brother," as could also "the brother" of ch. 8: 18.

Robertson has pointed out that the revisers of the KJV were under the influence of the Vulgate, where there is no article, and "handle the Greek article loosely and inaccurately."<sup>19</sup> Apparently no attempt is made to indicate when

<sup>18</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 684.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 756.

the definite article is supplied by using italics. There are numerous passages where the Greek has the definite article, but it is left out of the translation (Mt 24: 12; Php 1: 14; Jn 3: 10; Acts 8: 5; Lk 18: 13; Rev 7: 13, 14; Acts 9: 35; 1 Cor 5: 9; 2 Cor 12: 13; Lk 4: 9; etc. ). No one has yet invented a scheme by which words in the Greek which are not translated are to be indicated. But if we are to insist on a word-by-word translation, should not this be considered?

The principle that all words supplied in a translation to make it conform to English idiom should be italicized is very difficult to apply accurately and consistently. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether certain words are being added or whether they are actually inherent in the original. For example, the Greek NT, like the Hebrew OT, often omits the copulative verb "to be." When the translator supplies the copula, is he actually adding a word, and should that verb be in italics? In general the KJV has italicized the copula, but this has not been done consistently. 1 Ti 5: 18 contains the proverb, "The laborer *is* worthy of his hire," with the italicized copula, but in the similar proverb of Mt 10: 10, "the workman is worthy of his meat," there is no italicization, though the verb is supplied in both. Compare also Heb 9: 23 "*It was* therefore necessary," with Heb 9: 16, "there must also of necessity be" (no italics).

τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ in Mt 8: 29 is rendered, "what have we to do with thee?" (no italics). But τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς in Mt 27: 4 is rendered as "What *is that* to us?" and τί πρὸς σέ as "what *is that* to thee?" in Jn 21: 22, 23, while τί γάρ μοι in 1 Cor 5: 12, as "For what have I to do?" (no italics). Both of the questions of Rom 3: 1 lack the copula in the Greek: the first in KJV reads "What advantage then hath the Jew?" (no italics), the second, "Or what profit *is there* of circumcision?" In the two questions of 2 Cor 6: 14 the KJV twice supplies "hath," but does not italicize either.

The supplied copula in Rev 5: 2, "who is worthy?" is not italicized, but in Rev 13: 4, "who *is* like unto the beast?" it

is. The same is true of 1 Cor 9:11, "Is it a great thing," as compared with 2 Cor 11:15, "*It is no* great thing," in some editions.

Again we note the lack of consistency in the use of italics in supplying the copula to translate the idiom for giving a name. Note the following examples: Lk 1:5, "her name *was* Elizabeth"; Lk 1:27, "whose name *was* Joseph"; Mk 14:32, "a place which *was* named Gethsemane"; Lk 1:26f, "a city . . . , named Nazareth," "the virgin's name *was* Mary"; Lk 2:25, "whose name *was* Simeon"; Lk 8:41, "a man named Jairus"; Lk 24:13, "a village called Emmaus"; v. 18, "whose name *was* Cleopas"; Jn 1:6, "whose name *was* John"; Jn 3:1, "named Nicodemus"; Acts 13:6, "whose name *was* Bar-jesus." Jn 14:10, "that I am in the Father," does not have the copula italicized, but in v. 11 the same clause, "that I *am* in the Father," does. No italics are used for the supplied copula in Rev 21:6 and 22:13 in the statement, "I am Alpha and Omega." We would expect to find an italicized copula in Php 3:15, "as many as be perfect"; Rom 1:15, "as much as in me is"; and Mt 16:22, "Be it far from thee, Lord." The translation of the last of these probably follows the Vulgate, *absit a te*.<sup>20</sup> A better rendering would be "*may God be gracious to you, Lord, i.e., may God in his mercy spare you this; God forbid!*"<sup>21</sup>

Usually in ascriptions of praise to God, the KJV italicizes the supplied copula as in Gal 1:5; 1 Cor 15:57; 2 Cor 8:16; 9:15. But there are exceptions. 1 Pe 4:11 has "to whom be praise and dominion forever and ever." In Rom 6:17 the KJV makes it read "God be thanked," and in Rom 7:25 it gives "I thank God through Jesus Christ," which rests on the reading εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ (NA Koine, sy), rather than χάρις τῷ Θεῷ (B, etc.). Finally there are no italics in the message of Pilate's wife, "Have thou nothing to do with that just man,"

<sup>20</sup> F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, R. W. Funk, tr. and rev. (Chicago, 1961), p. 71.

<sup>21</sup> William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1957), p. 376.

Mt 27: 19, where the Greek has only μηδὲν σοὶ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἐκείνῳ.

In many passages the italicization of words to indicate that they are supplied is not justified. In Mt 22: 46, for example, οὐδεὶς may well be translated as "no man," and apparently the original editors of the KJV, 1611 edition, thought so, for they did not italicize "*man*," as the present-day KJV does. Furthermore, the verb ἐπερωτάω means to ask a question,<sup>22</sup> hence there seems to be no valid reason for putting "*any question*" in italics. This same conclusion would apply to Lk 20:40 and Mk 12:34. The idea of asking a question is inherent in the verb.

Mt 10: 1 in the KJV reads in part: "and when he had called unto *him* his twelve disciples, he gave them power . . . to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease." The verb here as in Mk 3: 13, 23; 6: 7; 7: 14; Lk 7: 19; Acts 6: 2; 23: 17f, is προσκαλέω used in the middle voice. The middle means "to call to oneself" and justifies the translation "unto him" and no italics are necessary for this expression or its equivalents in these passages. The 1873 edition italicized the word *manner* in both instances in Mt 10: 1. But the word πᾶς can mean "every kind of," or "all sorts of," as Arndt and Gingrich put it, "including everything belonging in kind to the class designated by the noun."<sup>23</sup> No italics then are necessary in Rom 7:8 (1873 ed.), "all *manner* of concupiscence" or in Mt 12:31, "all *manner* of sin." Mt 23: 27 could well read, "are full of all sorts of uncleanness," and Mt 28: 18, "Every kind of authority has been given to me."

In the admonition of Col 3:21, "Fathers, provoke not your children *to anger*," the italicized words could well be omitted. The verb ἐρεθίζω means "to provoke," "to irritate," "to embitter." Rom 11: 4 in the KJV speaks of those who had "not bowed the knee *to the image* of Baal." The italicized

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, art πᾶς 1αβ.

words are an unnecessary addition which apparently goes back to the Great Bible, "to the ymage of Ball." Acts 27: 44 says that at the time of Paul's shipwreck some made their way to land "on *broken pieces* of the ship." The Greek has ἐπί τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου, "on some of the things (or people) from the ship." It is impossible to tell whether τινων is neuter as the KJV and RSV take it, or masculine. Lake and Cadbury suggest that it be taken as a masculine and translate the phrase, "and some on some of the crew."<sup>24</sup> F. F. Bruce also accepts this idea that some got to land on the backs of the ship's crew.<sup>25</sup> In Col 4: 16 the phrase τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας is translated as "the *epistle* from Laodicea." To italicize "epistle" here is pedantic, although literally the phrase reads, "the one from Laodicea."

Acts 26: 3 is difficult. The KJV reads, "Especially *because I know* thee to be an expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews . . ." The verse begins with a dangling accusative participle which Robertson calls an accusative absolute.<sup>26</sup> Some MSS (*P*<sup>74</sup>*AC*614) insert ἐπιστάμενος,<sup>27</sup> and others εἰδώς, but neither is accepted as original by textual critics.

In Luke's description of the great separation of the Last Day when "one will be taken and the other left" (Lk 17: 34 ff), the KJV italicizes "*men*" and "*women*" in the clauses, "there shall be two *men* in one bed," and "Two *women* shall be grinding together." But the insertion of these words is not really an addition to the text, but only a rendering of what is implicit there. In the first clause while the cardinal numeral δύο, "two," is used for all three genders, the use of the masculine ὁ εἷς, "the one," and ὁ ἕτερος, "the other," makes it clear that men are meant. In the second clause the use of

<sup>24</sup> Kirsopp Lake and H. J. Cadbury, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, ed., IV (London, 1933), p. 339.

<sup>25</sup> F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), p. 469.

<sup>26</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 490 f.

<sup>27</sup> Compare Acts 24: 10.



the feminine participle ἀλῆθουσai for "grinding" shows that the reference is to women. This is further strengthened by the feminines ἡ μία, and ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα. V. 36 is wanting in most of the Greek copies, and it is doubtful that it belongs in Luke. If the verse is genuine the same principle would apply to the "Two *men* . . . in the field."

In the parallel passage in Mt 24: 40, 41 the KJV does not have *men* in the first clause. It reads simply "Then shall two be in the field." But "men" is implicit in the Greek text, as shown by the εἷς . . . εἷς, and the RSV puts it in. In v. 41 the KJV reads: "Two *women shall be grinding at the mill.*" Again the use of the feminines ἀλῆθουσai and μία . . . μία justifies the insertion of *women*, and no italics are called for.

#### *Italics Used for Interpretative Additions*

Some of the supplementary italicized words in the English versions are interpretative in nature. In 1 Pe 5: 13 the KJV reads, "The *church that is* at Babylon, elected together with *you*, saluteth you." As the subject the Greek has simply ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, although κ vg sy<sup>p</sup> supply ἐκκλησία. "She who is in Babylon" could mean Peter's wife, or some prominent woman in the church, but is usually taken as a reference to the church itself. Tyndale rendered it, "The companions of your election that are of Babylon," and the Great Bible reads, "The congregacyon of them which at Babylon are companions of your election." The Geneva and Bishops' Bibles inserted the word "church." The Revised Version and the American Standard Version have simply, "She that is in Babylon," with no interpretative addition, and the RSV followed them with the rendering, "She who is at Babylon." The exhortation to church elders in v. 3 of the same chapter contains another illustration, where the expression, "neither as being lords over *God's* heritage," is found in KJV, following in the last phrase the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles. Tyndale and the Great Bible had, "not as though ye were

lordes over the parishes," and Wycliffe translated, "neither as having lordship in the Clergie." The Greek for "God's heritage" is simply τῶν κλήρων, meaning, "the lots," and refers here to the respective charges or allotments assigned for pastoral care to the individual presbyters or shepherds. The explanatory addition of "God's" is unnecessary, and gives a wrong picture of the meaning of the passage. It is better to follow the Revised Version and read, "neither as lording it over the charge allotted to you," or the RSV with its "not domineering over those in your charge." It is the allotments or portions assigned to the respective ministers and not the church as God's heritage that is here in view.

Another passage in which an explanatory addition distorts the meaning is in the KJV of 1 Jn 3: 16: "Hereby perceive we the love *of God*, because he laid down his life for us." In adding the explanatory phrase, "*of God*," the KJV departed from the rendering of the historic versions beginning at Tyndale and extending through the Bishops' which had simply "love." The italicized addition is unnecessary. "Love" is here used in the absolute sense. The passage is apparently designed to teach that the sacrifice of Christ in laying down his life reveals what this thing we call love really is. The rendering of the RSV, "By this we know love," is therefore to be preferred (cf. 1 Jn 4: 19).

The KJV of Heb 2: 16 begins, "For verily he took not on *him the nature of angels*." Again it may be doubted that the added explanatory words present a correct interpretation of the meaning of the passage. The verb ἐπιλαμβάνεται means primarily, "he takes hold of," "he grasps," "he seizes" (whether with beneficent or hostile intent). Westcott<sup>28</sup> points out that the ancient versions generally interpreted this taking hold of in the sense of appropriating. He cites the Syriac, "'he took not from angels,' *i.e.*, he did not appropriate their nature" and the *adsumpsit* or *suscepit* of the Old Latin. This

<sup>28</sup> Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1928), p. 55.

is evidently the way in which Tyndale interpreted the passage with his rendering: "For he in no place taketh on him the angels; but the seed of Abraham taketh he on him." The same idea was carried in the Great, Geneva, and Bishops' Bibles. But another interpretation is more probable, *viz.*, that of taking hold of to help or deliver. He does not take hold of angels to deliver them but of men. The Revised Version and American Standard Version translate the verb as "doth he give help."

This sense fits the context. V. 14a has already spoken of the incarnation. The γάρ of v. 16 connects the verse with the deliverance just spoken of, and the plural ἀγγέλων is accounted for. The "therefore" of v. 17 also follows more naturally. This meaning also is in accordance with the usage of the verb in ch. 8: 9 and elsewhere. The force of the verb in the RSV rendering, "it is not with angels that he is concerned," is unduly weakened.<sup>29</sup>

In 1 Cor 14: 2, 4, 13, 14, 27, it is doubtful that the addition of the qualifying adjective "*unknown*" in the KJV is justifiable, however the glossalalia at Corinth is to be explained. Nor does there seem to be consistency in the supplying of the adjective. Apparently when "tongue" in the singular occurs it is qualified by "*unknown*," but when "tongues" in the plural is found, there is no such qualification, vs. 5, 6, 18, 22, 23, 39. But this principle is not consistently followed, for in v. 26 the singular "tongue" is not preceded by "*unknown*."

An extremely difficult passage to interpret is contained in 1 Cor 4: 6, the middle clause of which is translated in the KJV as "that ye might learn in us not to think of *men* above *that* which is written." Moffatt found this clause so difficult that he did not attempt to translate it, and explained in a footnote: "The text and the meaning of the phrase between

<sup>29</sup> Bruce, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964), p. 51.

μάφητε and ἵνα μή are beyond recovery.<sup>30</sup> Howard thinks that the words are a marginal gloss, "which originally called attention to a copyist's error in the manuscript."<sup>31</sup> Ewald suggested that the clause was a "Rabbinical adage, as much as to say, *Keep to the rule of Scripture, not a step beyond the written word!*"<sup>32</sup>

The new *Jerusalem Bible* puts it in parentheses and translates, "(remember the maxim: 'Keep to what is written')". A footnote suggests that it was either a proverb familiar to the Corinthian Jews or "perhaps a gloss deprecating some insertion by a copyist."<sup>33</sup> In a very illuminating discussion of our passage,<sup>34</sup> Morna D. Hooker advocates that Paul is referring to passages from the OT, which he had used earlier in this letter. She further suggests that Paul is here quoting some saying which is familiar to his readers, either one he had himself coined and used in opposing those who elaborated his teaching, or a misquotation and "denial of the maxim of others, that one should go 'beyond the things that are written.'"<sup>35</sup>

In any case the φρονεῖν, "to think," of the KJV rests on doubtful MS authority, hence we are left with an elliptical construction, with no principal verb expressed. This leaves us with the four Greek words, literally, "not beyond the things, that (variant reading, "that which") stand written," preceded by the article τό, which apparently points to the whole clause. The rendering of the KJV, "to think of *men*

<sup>30</sup> James Moffatt, *The New Testament* (New York, 1935), p. 246.

<sup>31</sup> Wilbert F. Howard, "First and Second Corinthians" in *Abingdon Bible Commentary*, F. C. Eiselen, ed. (New York, 1929), pp. 1176 f.; Howard, "1 Cor 4: 6," *ET*, XXXIII (1922), 479.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted by G. G. Findlay, "St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians" in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, W. Robertson Nicoll, ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956), II, 800.

<sup>33</sup> *Jerusalem Bible*, Alexander Jones, ed. (Garden City, N. Y., 1966), N.T., p. 295, n. 4a.

<sup>34</sup> Morna D. Hooker, "Beyond the Things Which Are Written," *N.T.S.*, X (1963), pp. 127-132.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

above that which is written" seems to be an unwarranted interpretation, and the RSV rendering is unduly free, "to live according to scripture."

The KJV in Acts 7: 59 has Stephen at the time of his martyrdom, "calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Although in the Greek text there is no object expressed, the participle ἐπικαλούμενον calls for one, and the words spoken by Stephen leave no doubt as to whom he is addressing<sup>36</sup>—the Lord Jesus, not God the Father. Stephen's cry is reminiscent of our Lord's dying moment on the cross (Lk 23: 46). Both quote Ps 31: 5, but there is this striking difference: Jesus addressed the Father, while Stephen called upon Christ, the Lord.

There is no general agreement regarding the interpretation of Col 1: 19, where the KJV reads: "For it pleased *the Father* that in him should all the fulness dwell." The question here is whether πλήρωμα is the subject or the object of the sentence. If it is the object, as seems most likely, then either ὁ πατήρ or ὁ θεός may well be supplied as the subject. God saw fit that all the fulness should make its home in him.

Another passage in which to study the usage of italicized additions is in Mk 12: 1, where we note, to begin with the KJV rendering, "a *certain* man planted a vineyard." The RSV has simply, "A man planted a vineyard," though the MSS W and Θ actually read ἄνθρωπος τις. Of more interest is the clause, "and digged a *place* for the winevat." The Greek ὑπολήμιον refers to the vat or trough below the winepress which caught and held the pressed-out juice. Ancient winevats consisted of a pair of square (at times, round) pits usually hewn out of solid rock and connected by a channel. One of these pits (ληνός, Mt 21: 33) was higher and larger than the other and was used for treading out the grapes. The lower and smaller, but, at the same time much deeper

<sup>36</sup> Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), p. 180.

pit (ὕπολῆμιον) held the expressed juice.<sup>37</sup> Mark's clause could be translated simply, "and he dug a wine-vat."

### *Conclusion*

A careful study of the history of the use of italics in the English versions of the Bible makes it evident that the practice rests upon an idea that is almost impossible to carry out accurately and consistently. The question should also be raised as to the validity of the practice. Dewey Beegle has concluded "that from 75 per cent to 90 per cent of the italics in the King James Version are worthless."<sup>38</sup> A slight rewording of many passages would obviate the need for some added words. In many other cases the supposed supplied words are an essential part of the translation implied in the original. This is true of subjects and verbs which must be inserted in elliptical constructions to complete the sentence. Where a radical departure from the idiom of the original is necessary to make a passage speak in English idiom, an appropriate footnote could be used to explain the literal meaning of the original. Care should be exercised, when using additional interpretative words, that the original meaning of the text is set forth.

Finally, in the opinion of the present writer, the idea of italicizing added words rests on a false understanding of what is meant by translation. Only those who have tried it know how really difficult the task of translation is.<sup>39</sup> An exact rendering from one language into another is frequently impossible. The task of translating a Semitic document such as the OT into one of the Indo-Germanic languages has its special difficulties and problems.<sup>40</sup> Eugene Nida suggests

<sup>37</sup> J. F. Ross, "Wine," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, George A. Buttrick, ed. (New York, 1962), IV, 850.

<sup>38</sup> Dewey M. Beegle, *God's Word Into English* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960), p. 115.

<sup>39</sup> See Ronald Knox, *The Trials of a Translator* (New York, 1949).

<sup>40</sup> See Ecclus, Prologue.

the following definition of translation: "Translating consists in producing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent to the message of the source language, first in meaning and secondly in style."<sup>41</sup> This is the law of equivalent effect, recognized as a sound principle by all present-day translators. The translator's business is to produce a translation that has the same effect on the readers of the translation as the original produced (or produces) on those who read it.

It is well known that there were two versions which circulated under the name of John Wycliffe. The first was an extremely literal rendering of the Latin Vulgate, which closely followed Latin constructions and Latin word order, rather than English. The second was a freer, more natural rendering made after Wycliff's death, probably by his secretary, John Purvey. In the prologue to the second version, Purvey explains, among other things, his philosophy of translation: "First, it is to knowe, that the best translating is out of Latyn, into English, to translate after the sentence, and not oneli after the wordis, so that the sentence be as opin, either openere in English as in Latyn."<sup>42</sup> By "sentence" he means "sense," "substance," "general significance." The general significance of the English translation must be as plain as the Latin. A translation is to make clear the thought of the original to one who does not know the original. It must therefore be idiomatic, and must not sound like a translation.

Postgate sets forth the prime requirement of a good translation as faithfulness.<sup>43</sup> But faithfulness does not imply literalness. A baldly literal translation may actually distort the meaning or convey no meaning at all. The translator will stick as closely as possible to the letter, while making sure that he sets forth the spirit.<sup>44</sup> A translation should be, as

<sup>41</sup> Eugene A. Nida, "Bible Translating," in *On Translation*, Reuben A. Brower, ed. (New York, 1966), p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in John Eadie, *The English Bible* (London, 1876), I, 67.

<sup>43</sup> J. P. Postgate, *Translation and Translations* (London, 1922), p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Cauer put it, "So frei wie nötig, so treu wie möglich!" That is, it should be as free as necessary, and as faithful as possible.<sup>45</sup>

Everyone who has studied languages is aware of the fact that there is no exact equivalent in a given language for the words in another language. A given word in the Hebrew and Aramaic OT or the Greek NT seldom has an exact equivalent in English. Yet the practice of italicizing words supposedly added seems to rest on the theory that this is the case. For this reason the revisers of the RSV and most modern translators have completely abandoned the practice. Although they have been criticized for this, it seems to be the only sensible course to follow.

This paper has not touched on the use of italics in the OT. There is room for an expert in Hebrew and Aramaic to make a judicious investigation, for italics are more extensively used in the OT than in the NT.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Cauer, *Die Kunst des Uebersetzens* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1909), p. 12.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Adams, Charles J., ed., *A Reader's Guide to the Great Religions*. New York: The Free Press, 1965. xv + 364 pp. \$ 9.95.

The student of religion who is alive and sensitive to the breadth of his study is conscious of the vast amount of material in various languages which is available to him and open for his investigation.

*A Reader's Guide to the Great Religions* is an attempt to provide critical descriptive bibliographies to eight major religious traditions. The eight essays are written by authorities on various religions, as follows: "Primitive Religion" by Charles H. Long, "The Religions of China (excepting Buddhism)" by W. A. C. H. Dobson, "Hinduism" by Norvin J. Hein, "Buddhism" by Richard A. Gard, "The Religions of Japan" by J. M. Kitagawa, "Judaism" by Judah Goldin, "Christianity" by H. H. Walsh, and "Islam" by Charles J. Adams.

Each contributor to this volume has selected and organized basic reading material (primarily in English) which he considered to be the most useful for understanding the history and forms of religious life in his area of specialization. The material selected includes reference works, English translation of the scriptures, major periodicals, and introductions to the whole tradition, as well as special studies on historical periods, geographical areas and individual topics. The editor calls attention in the preface to the fact that technical works found in each area of specialization are omitted since the primary intention is to introduce the reader to the background and major area of study and the work that has been done and is being done.

In a publication of this nature it is not unnatural to expect such problems as the limitations of space, scope, and language; these are self-evident in the different chapters. It is also to be expected that each essay will reflect the author's special interests in his choice of material on individual topics in his field. Most of the chapters are approximately 30 pages in length, except the one on the religions of China which is only 14 pages, in contrast to the one on Buddhism, which is 78 pages long.

The volume as a whole evidences thoughtful general planning and an editorial flexibility which is highly commendable. Adams' excellent preface and model chapter on Islam were found by this reviewer to be particularly stimulating and illuminating.

The authors have labored carefully at the challenging assignment of providing the general reader with comprehensive and up-to-date bibliographical essays on the various religions treated and the cultures which they have engendered, and the entire volume is a model of

excellent scholarship. It is a much-needed tool for the student of religion, and is indispensable for the scholar who wants to keep abreast of his colleagues' field of study.

Montreal, Quebec

WALTER DOUGLAS

Barr, James, *Old and New in Interpretation*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966. 215 pp. \$ 5.50.

Barr's Currie lectures for 1964 deal with the basic problem of Biblical studies: the unity of the Bible. Undeniably the OT is the one which in a more definite way creates the problem; thus even though the sub-title reads "A Study of the Two Testaments," Barr concerns himself primarily with the Old. The question is this: Since to do what the NT did with the OT is no longer possible, understanding the OT as we do today, how do we establish a valid relationship between it and the NT (pp. 129-131)? Barr's main thesis is based upon the "soteriological function of the tradition" (p. 27). It is the tradition that "provides the matrix for coming divine acts and the impulse for their very occurrence" (p. 156). Therefore, it is "basically a simplistic approach" (p. 19) to see the uniting link between the testaments in acts done by God. The function of the tradition "is not mainly to point back to a series of events from which the tradition has originated, but also to form the framework within which an event can be meaningful" (p. 20). The structure of tradition is supported, according to Barr, by "situations." "It is in situations that God moves to call for a response, a response which in turn moves the tradition in some new direction" (p. 26).

These situations are "real in themselves" (p. 155). They do not form part of a wholly preplanned scheme. They are not prefigurations; neither are they promises waiting for a fulfillment, least of all if all Israelite history is understood as promise. One reads: "There is no actual prediction or prophecy of which we can say that Jesus is the intended content" (p. 153). Barr introduces the term "situations" in order to maneuver himself into a position in which "the multiplex nature of the Old Testament tradition" becomes more manageable. A situation may be indeed an act of God in history, but it can also be an event in the consciousness of a prophet, a social confrontation, a crisis in thought, a cultic situation, or indeed the almost unmanageable development of questioning and answering in the circles of the wise.

*Old and New in Interpretation* is Barr's latest book produced in America; and it was written, he tells us, with two things in mind. The procedure for writing was "motivated ultimately by my perception of my students' problems and difficulties" (p. 12). More directly, the book represents an attempt to enter into dialogue with the authors of the essays which appeared in B. Anderson's *The Old Testament and Christian Faith* and C. Westermann's *Essays on Old Testament*

*Hermeneutics.* Barr admires Pannenberg's solution to the dilemma of revelation and history because it represents a "Herculean effort" to maintain the centrality of history and at the same time overcome the paradox that history either is plain history, and thus hardly "revelation" in any normal theological sense, or history is invested with a kind of religious mysticism. Barr here affirms that to use history as a central and mandatory theological concept necessitates the above antinomy (p. 68).

Against Eichrodt, Barr argues that "the need to separate Old Testament theology from history of religion, understandable as it is in the circumstances of some decades ago, has now begun to be a source of damage rather than success" (p. 169). He challenges von Rad and Noth for their defense of typology on methodological grounds. Barr suggests that the argument on behalf of "good" typology on the basis of a contrast with "bad" typology and allegory which use "history" as the measuring rod breaks down because the etymologizing interpretations of Biblical words (here comes James Barr!) are a good example of an "allegorical-historical" approach. He would prefer value judgments grounded on the "resultant system" rather than a particular methodology (p. 108). In the case of the NT the resultant system would be the Christological kerygma, which is affirmed by the confessing church. The methodology for arriving at it, however, may be questioned, since it slips from typology into allegory with amazing ease (p. 110). Against Baumgärtel it is argued that to make the OT promise a timeless assertion by taking something out of the language of prophecy which may be worked into a scheme which seems theologically satisfactory, but forgetting "the way in which promise and fulfillment were actually historically understood in the New Testament period" (p. 123), is to do violence to the *linguistic* character of the tradition. The words were important in themselves, not on account of their place in a *heilsgeschichtliche* scheme. Zimmerli, on the other hand, is charged with taking the *language* of prophecy, not for its value, but in order to build the framework for a relation between past and future by working at "the deepest level" (p. 123).

Barr admits that the tradition which bridges the testaments played both a positive and a negative role. The coming of Christ produces a "crisis with tradition" which "forms an integral part of the atonement, just as the part played by Judas, or by Caiaphas." But his views in this respect are not to be confused with Bultmann's understanding of the OT as a history of failure. Barr lists six ways in which he disagrees with Bultmann (p. 162). The dialogue with Vriezen concerns the starting point of a Biblical theology. Here his concern is to establish the place of the OT within a theological construct. A Christian theology of the OT is suspect, according to Barr, not only from the point of view of objectivity but also from a theological point of view (p. 165). It may be well to recall at this point that Barr laments that "though I still feel that it is Barth's God whom I seek to worship, the intellectual framework of Barth's theology has in

my consciousness to a very great extent collapsed in ruins" (p. 12). Thus one reads that "the idea that the Old Testament cannot be understood without Christ seems a doubtful one." What the church has is the OT, and the Christ is to be interpreted in the light of it. This is the proper strategy, according to Barr, and this book represents an attempt to work it out in outline (p. 141). This means that our knowledge and conceptions of the Christ must be placed on a hypothetical status in order that they may be fully informed by the OT. Therefore, "Christian theological 'starting-points' can be reached only *after* account is taken of the Old Testament" (p. 168, italics his).

Vriezen's introduction to his *An Outline of Old Testament Theology* is, no doubt, one of the best essays on the definition of the task of OT theology. Barr would like to follow Vriezen, yet he translates him into his own terms. This means that he is rather skeptical of the legitimacy and value of an independent discipline called "Old Testament Theology," since "all attempts to develop an 'Old Testament theology' must be very partial and incomplete undertakings" (p. 167). With this, I am sure, most would agree, especially those who have produced a book whose title-page bears that name. The question here is whether or not Steuernagel's reasons for conceiving of an OT theology distinct from *Religionsgeschichte* are still valid. ("Alttestamentliche Theologie und alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte," *ZAW*, Beiheft 41, Marti-Festschrift, pp. 266-273.)

Barr understands that the study of the OT, therefore, should not be primarily theological; instead it should be exegetical. He asks for a "relative objective" exegesis. This "ideal of objectivity" (pp. 186-87) is not one built on the scientific method; rather it is built on the claim of theology to be based on scripture. This note at first reminded this reader of Cullmann's interest in "the objective ideas expressed in the text" ("The Necessity and Function of Higher Criticism," in *The Early Church*, p. 4). But Barr's objectivity refers to the fact that he conceives exegesis itself differently. Exegesis does not "work from the text to one interpretation, but *with* the text in discrimination *between* a variety of interpretations" (p. 186, italics his). In this way scripture fully informed by *Religionsgeschichte* provides the objective ground on which one may evaluate the interpretation alleged to be the text's meaning.

Here Barr is reacting, I think correctly, to the obsession observable in some quarters to decide all questions of exegesis on the basis of presuppositions. To suggest that exegesis is dependent on presuppositions rather than on evidence is to breathe a stifling skepticism on the possibility of exegesis. Yet this, we are told, is "one of the most obvious problems of the American theological campus," which is diagnosed as "interpretative anxiety" (p. 189). Barr is not over-concerned with presuppositions because they operate at different levels and therefore there is no agreement as to what constitutes one. A methodology, for example, is at times thus judged, yet it is determined more by the nature of the evidence than by presuppositions. Moreover,

and at a more profound level, Barr is not worried with presuppositions because he does not think that the question of ways of thinking is a controlling question (p. 61). Therefore to draw up a system of ideas and urge that only such a system can function as a legitimate medium of revelation, and to demand that theological arguments in order to be valid must operate within this framework, is to "radically depart from the position of the New Testament" (p. 58).

To Intertestamental Judaism, or to the Early Church, the Greek was not a problem on account of his thought patterns. Judaism and Christianity adopted Greek culture as a new vehicle of communication without leaving evidence of a conflict at this level. The Greek constituted a challenge by his presence, his needs, his interests, and his acting as a catalyst to reveal basic conflicts within the people of God. The conflict with the outside was political rather than intellectual. The conflict inside was not on cultural patterns of thought but rather on belief. On the contrary, Greek ideas proved helpful in "concept formation" (p. 61). In fact "it can be argued that classical Trinitarianism, within certain limits, did . . . state the truth about God better than the Bible does" (p. 163-64). This could be interpreted as placing the Bible in a rather dubious position within the soteriological tradition. Barr offers as "a suggestion" that the battle of the Bible should be continuously waged because "the centrality of the Bible for the Church is not that its statements are necessarily superior but that they are the ones through which the conflict and victory have in fact been won" (p. 164).

This book is a most stimulating one. The insights gained through Barr's keen analytical mind will have to be faced by anyone who wishes to participate in the Church's task to use the Bible for the salvation of men. The argumentation in these few pages is so tight that at times it is difficult to follow, especially when a "first" (p. 141) is followed by another "first" (p. 144), or when the author indulges in Paul-like argumentative digressions. This reviewer felt that at times Barr was overdrawing the picture of "purist theology" in his nervousness about an identification of revelation with Hebraic thought patterns. Yet Barr is to be commended for the lucidity of his thought and the new horizon he has tried to open up with his pregnant suggestions. This book does not represent an argument packed with caustic criticisms. When he voices disagreement, most often Barr is suggesting, not an opposite, but a more balanced emphasis. One is gratified to see the repeated use of qualifiers such as "not only," "but also," etc. Barr has attempted to remove the hermeneutical discussion away from the stagnant waters in which it had been caught and into a stream that promises to make progress easier. For this he is to be commended. He tells us that he is working on an exegetical commentary; we are anxious to see it in order to find out where the stream leads.

*The Greek New Testament*, ed. by Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Bruce Metzger, and Allen Wikgren. Published simultaneously in New York by the American Bible Society; in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society; in Edinburgh by the National Bible Society of Scotland; in Amsterdam by the Netherlands Bible Society; and in Stuttgart by the Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1966. 920 pp. \$ 1.95.

The publication of this *Greek New Testament* is a unique and significant event: unique because this is the first time that a Greek text has been prepared for the express use of translators (this characteristic is especially evident in the selection of the types of variants included in the apparatus), and significant because we have not had a critical Greek text established by a team of scholars since the days of Westcott and Hort. It is true that in a sense the Nestle text represented such a venture, but it was mechanically established rather than through live debate and discussion. Besides, what we have today is the consensus of modern 20th-century scholars and not that of the 19th century.

The editors list four special features of this edition:

(1) A critical apparatus restricted for the most part to variant readings significant for translators or necessary for the establishing of the text.

This feature is easily noticeable by checking the variants listed on any page of the edition. These are few and highly selective. In making a quick comparison on the quantity of variants, it is found that in Mt 1 (the examples cited are all taken from the Gospel of Mt, where a careful study of the edition has been made), there are seven variation units compared with 28 in Nestle-Aland (24th). The difference is even greater in the next three chapters. Therefore, the statement above lacks clarity. If the critical apparatus was selected for the purpose of establishing the text, it is highly inadequate and prejudicial. It has left out too many possibilities. In Mt 13: 22, while single brackets are placed around  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , no variants are listed in the apparatus even though  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  is omitted by RV, RSV, NEB, and NA (Nestle-Aland). In 3: 7  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  has been included in the text without indicating any variants, while RSV, NEB, and NA omit it. The same situation is present in 5: 39 with  $\sigma\upsilon$ , except that single brackets are placed around it by BS (the text presently under discussion). Again in 22: 21 BS adds  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$  without indicating any variants, while it is omitted by RSV, NEB, and NA. In 22: 20 BS has the support of NA in its omission of  $\omicron$   $\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  and is opposed by RSV and NEB but does not indicate any variants.

In the following places BS should have at least indicated a variant, if only because NEB does not follow its reading: 1: 4-5, 19; 9: 27; 10: 19, 25; 11: 16; 13: 1, 11; 16: 4; 19: 14; 20: 8; 21: 9, 23, 28; 23: 5; 24: 48; 26: 25, 33 (at 9: 27; 13: 11; 20: 8, and 20: 28, BS is also opposed by NA). At 24: 38 BS is opposed by NA (in brackets), RV, and RSV.

The variants in the above list may not all be significant for translators, but some of them definitely are. Furthermore, the placing of the readings selected by BS within the text is debatable, to say nothing about the omission of any indication of variants.

(2) An indication of the relative degree of certainty for each variant adopted as the text.

Each variation unit in the critical apparatus is accompanied by a letter preceding it (A.-D) enclosed within braces. This letter informs us concerning the relative degree of certainty for the reading adopted as the text. "The letter A signifies that the text is virtually certain, while B indicates that there is some degree of doubt. The letter C means that there is considerable degree of doubt whether the text or the apparatus contains the superior reading, while D shows that there is a very high degree of doubt concerning the reading selected for the text" (pp. x, xi).

If the translators can rely on the editors, they will concern themselves only with those readings which are rated C or D. This is helpful, for not all translators can be expected to be experts in textual criticism. Yet they will know where even the experts are in doubt.

However, there are places where one wonders what exactly is meant. Mt 21: 44 is enclosed in double square brackets within the text. The explanation given for words enclosed in double square brackets is that these "are regarded as later additions to the text." Yet this particular variant is given a rating of C. The explanation contradicts the rating.

Single square brackets enclose words which are regarded as having dubious textual validity. This may seem to indicate that all words rated C would be indicated in this way, but apparently such is not the case. Above we mentioned 5: 39 and 13: 22 where single square brackets were used but where variants were not even indicated in the apparatus. At 3: 16; 6: 15 and 20: 30 single square brackets are used with a C rating, but at 14: 27 with a D rating. But a C rating is found without single square brackets in numerous places—*e.g.*, 1: 18; 9: 14; 14: 22.

(3) A full citation of representative evidence for each variant selected.

This feature is a great improvement over previous Greek editions. In this respect it is more systematic and complete than any previous Greek edition, including Legg. The textual support for each variant is given, including a systematic citation of 62 minuscules which show significant difference from the Byzantine text-type and a selective citation of 181 others. It also includes a systematic citation of 52 lectionaries and a selective citation of 97 others, and an adequate citation from the papyri, uncials, versions, and church fathers. This feature is by far the most helpful as far as the contents are concerned. For the purpose of the edition, however, it may be doing too much of a good thing.

(4) A second apparatus giving meaningful differences of punctuation.

This last feature is definitely needed for this type of edition as well as for exegetical purposes. The meaning of a passage can be altered by a change in punctuation.

Concerning the quality of the text itself, see my discussion in *AUSS*, V (1967), 131-157, of the text of NEB in which its relationship to BS is also indicated.

While no unanimity need be expected, this Greek text prepared by four eminent textual critics will undoubtedly find favor among scholars. The second volume, which will give the Committee's reasons for adopting one or another variant reading, will be anticipated with great interest. The full citation for the variants in the apparatus will be much appreciated by many a student perplexed by methods of citation found in other Greek editions. Another important and attractive feature of this edition is the easy-to-read Greek type which is used.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Hamilton, Kenneth, *Revolt Against Heaven*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965. 183 pp. Paperbound. \$ 2.45.

In 183 small pages it is impossible to give a comprehensive survey of modern theology, but Hamilton has succeeded in his attempt "to review some of the outstanding varieties of anti-supernaturalism, showing how present-day theories have their roots in the past."

Hamilton's survey may not appeal to the scholar who has read widely in the fields of philosophy and theology, but the person who would like to know what the "God is dead" theology means and what it is all about should find this brief study very helpful.

Hamilton's position is that the "God is dead" theology of Bishop Robinson, Paul M. van Buren, Thomas J. J. Altizer, and the others of their school is really nothing new, that its traditions have been an essential part of modern theology for a century and a half, and that the men mentioned above are simply going a step farther in their thinking than men like Tillich, Barth, and Niebuhr dared to go.

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), according to Hamilton, is the High Priest of modern theology; and the radical theologians of our day, whether they admit it or not, are his debtors. The aim of the modern theologian is to get God out of heaven and down to earth, and we find that the God of Schleiermacher had the marks of an earthbound God. Schleiermacher taught that "man provides his own revelation. The divine is known in the human to the extent to which the human can manifest the divine under the limitations of temporal existence."

Schleiermacher too saw no need for the supernatural. Speaking of the divinity and incarnation of Christ, he said: "For in the first



place: as certainly as Christ was a man, there must reside in human nature the possibility of taking up the divine into itself, just as did happen in Christ. So that the idea that the divine revelation in Christ must in this respect be something absolutely supernatural will simply not stand the test. . . . Natural laws (but divine too, as everything in Nature is natural-divine) account completely for the incarnation."

Then Hamilton goes on to show how the liberal theologians who have succeeded Schleiermacher have built upon his principles and teachings. It may be that he proves too much, but the broad outline of his conclusions seems to be valid.

Billings, Montana

WALTER SIEMSEN

Hamilton, Kenneth, *God is Dead; the Anatomy of a Slogan*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966. 86 pp. Paperbound. \$ 1.25.

"It is hardly surprising that the death-of-God theology has made such a stir, for, considered as a slogan, 'God is dead' is magnificent. It is short, clear, and shocking even to the non-believer."

With these words Kenneth Hamilton begins his second study of the "God is dead" theology. He goes on to say that "whatever else it may represent, death-of-God theology certainly represents a challenge to, and a break with, mainstream Christianity in all its forms. . . . Christian atheism affirms that all images of God are equally useless, because the concept 'God' is an empty idea for modern man. There is nothing in the experience of our generation, with its scientific understanding of the universe, which can possibly correspond to the word 'God.'"

This is certainly radical thinking, but Hamilton, as he did in his earlier work, demonstrates that its antecedents go back into the distant past. Among its more modern ancestors he mentions Nietzsche, Tillich, Barth, Hegel, Heidegger, Kierkegaard, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was the direct inspiration of more than one radical theologian. Hamilton believes, however, that Bonhoeffer would not have been in accord with the death-of-God theology, especially in its extreme conclusions, for he never thought of the Christian faith as having any other center than the worship of God, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

After examining the roots of radical theology and the views of its chief proponents, Hamilton concludes (and it is likely that his readers will too) that the death of God cannot be a Christian belief, since it turns its back upon Christian history.

Billings, Montana

WALTER SIEMSEN

Henry, Carl F. H., ed., *Jesus of Nazareth: Saviour and Lord*. "Contemporary Evangelical Thought." Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966. viii + 277 pp. \$ 5.95.

This volume is the fifth in the "Contemporary Evangelical Thought" series. Other volumes deal with revelation and the Bible, basic Christian doctrines and Christian faith versus modern theology. *Jesus of Nazareth: Saviour and Lord* treats the burning issue of the "historical Jesus."

English, German, Swedish and American evangelical scholars holding membership in more than a dozen denominations share in this symposium. Editor Carl F. H. Henry sets the stage for the whole volume in "Cross-Currents in Contemporary Theology." After undermining Karl Barth's dialectical theology, Bultmann's existential and non-miraculous understanding of the New Testament is at present giving signs of confusion and disarray. Some of Bultmann's disciples now insist, for both theological and historical reasons, that some knowledge of the historical Jesus as center of revelation and as ground of faith is indispensable. In the contemporary discussion of revelation and truth, Henry concludes that the long-neglected evangelical theology emerges as a formidable alternative to recent dogmatic projections.

The sixteen essays are not a rehashing of the old liberal-fundamentalist controversy of half a century ago. They demonstrate a real awareness and understanding of European theological movements and culminate in an exciting study of the central issue of the Christian faith: "Is the Jesus presented in the Gospels the Christ of the Church's proclamation and of post-Easter experience, or is there a disjunction between the two, as Bultmann insists? May historical foundations legitimately be sought in the Gospels?"

Ralph P. Martin, examining "The New Quest of the Historical Jesus," sees indications of a decisive break from Bultmann's historical radicalism toward a closer relationship than the German theologian has been willing to allow between the Jesus-portrait in the Gospels and the kerygmatic Christ. Closely related is a short discussion by Adolf Köberle of the prophets' and apostles' view of time in the perspective of Jesus Christ as the "center of history." There is a longer contribution by K. R. Laird Harris in which he attempts to investigate the possible relation of the eschatological expectation of the NT Church to that of Qumran, and in which he establishes the sharp differences existing between the two communities.

The efforts of many present-day theologians to meet skeptical "modern man" halfway with a demythologized Gospel leave Birger Gerhardsson ("Authenticity and Authority of Revelation") with a strong impression that modern man's need is, as usually seen among these theologians themselves, a subjective experience. While most scholars now assume unhesitatingly that there is more theological

reflection than historical fact in John's Gospel, Leon Morris in "The Fourth Gospel and History" points out that in John's instance the facts related belong to that group of events which take their true place in a historical record only as they are interpreted.

"The Historicity of the Resurrection" gives Merrill C. Tenney an opportunity to deal with the fact that to acknowledge the importance of the resurrection of Jesus is not the same as accepting its historicity, and leads the author to examine the integrity of the sources, as well as the historical probability and the scientific possibility of the event.

Variations in the reported sayings of Jesus and differences in the four Gospels should not drive the reader to despair and skepticism, conclude Bastiaan Van Elderen and Everett F. Harrison in their well-documented contributions "The Teachings of Jesus and the Gospel Records" and "*Gemeindetheologie*: the Bane of Gospel Criticism." Whereas the latter thinks that *Gemeindetheologie* as part of the methodology of form criticism is far from being capable of demonstration beyond all cavil as a legitimate tool of historical research, the former avers that the *Sitz im Leben des Verfassers*, as a method of interpretation, will do justice to both the unity and diversity of the Gospel records.

The debate on the "Jesus of history" and the "Christ of faith" leads James P. Martin to discuss "Faith as Historical Understanding" with special emphasis on the place of faith in Paul's theology of history. He suggests, among other things, that *archēgos* (inaugurator) and *teleiōtēs* (perfector) illuminate the historical dimension of the work of Jesus and therefore the historical understanding implicit in faith in Jesus.

Paul Althaus' contribution, an excerpt from his *Fact and Faith in the Kerygma of Today* (Philadelphia, 1959), stresses the fact that if the Gospels are not *primarily* sources, but testimonies of faith, they are *also* narratives and sources. This interpretation makes the retrospective historical question as to the historical basis of the kerygma theologically legitimate.

While Gordon H. Clark, limiting himself to a careful examination of "Bultmann's Historiography," points out the intricacies and inconsistencies of the system, underlining most strongly Bultmann's failure in defining history and science as *wholly* different, John Warwick Montgomery studies the current trend "Toward a Christian Philosophy of History." An exceptionally well documented discussion brings Montgomery to conclude that an objective comparison of the problems in NT interpretation with parallel issues in extra-biblical historical and literary scholarship indicates that the seemingly insurmountable problem of the "historical Jesus" versus the "kerygmatic Christ" vanishes away.

Kenneth Kantzer presents "The Christ-Revelation as Act and Interpretation" as an answer to the fundamental religious question: "Can man know God?" In affirming that the method of divine revelation consists of the "mighty acts" of God in history which

culminate in his activity in Jesus Christ, most contemporary theologians do not appear very eager to clarify the nature of these "mighty acts" nor of man's "personal knowledge" of God. How are these acts related to ordinary human history? Their denial of the historical nature of revelation as a blend of act and interpretation is decidedly unbiblical. Too often they really give us, so Kantzer charges, not a theology drawn from the Bible but a subjective anthropology drawn from religious experience.

Easily the best articles are the chapters by F. F. Bruce on "History and the Gospel" and the brilliant study of the resurrection of Jesus, "On the Third Day," by Clark H. Pinnock. Both of them, original pieces of meticulous scholarship, are a fresh and cogent attempt to state some of the convictions which lead to the Christian belief in Jesus of Nazareth as Saviour and Lord.

It is perhaps inevitable that in such a volume as this there should be some overlapping of material, but one of its qualities is the incisive penetration to the heart of issues and the fair-minded sifting of the arguments. *Jesus of Nazareth: Saviour and Lord* is an important contribution to the Christological debate, without anything comparable in German or French. It is an indispensable piece of equipment for the minister as well as for the scholar. All the resources are made readily available by the addition of a select bibliography as well as indexes of authors and subjects.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Kitchen, K. A., *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*. Chicago: Inter-Varsity Press, 1966. 191 pp. \$ 3.95.

The author, Lecturer in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool, has already become known to the scholarly world through his book *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs* (1962) and a number of learned articles, mostly in the field of Egyptology. His conservative views with regard to the Old Testament have been revealed by his contributions to the *Tyndale House Bulletin* (now *Tyndale Bulletin*), and presently find eloquent expression in the book under review.

The book consists of two major parts, the first entitled "Problems and Solutions," and the second part, "Illumination and Illustration." The problems discussed deal with chronology (chs. 2 and 3), history (ch. 4), linguistics (ch. 7), source-criticism (chs. 1 and 6), legal matters and Biblical topography (ch. 8). All this is done in less than 150 pages; but the author has packed together so many observations, so much comparative material, and such a tremendous amount of references in the footnotes, that his book is a real gold mine of information, although its subjects are rather unconnected and their treatment often not very penetrating.

Chapter 4 may serve as an example. It bears the title "Some Historical Problems," and deals with five unconnected problems and their solutions covered in fewer than eight pages (pp. 79-86): (1) A one-paragraph statement, supported by nine footnotes, refutes the claim that the mention of camels in the patriarchal stories is an anachronism; (2) a brief discussion defends the existence of Philistines in patriarchal Palestine; (3) Tirhakah's appearance as commander of an Egyptian army in 701 B.C. is defended against Macadam, Albright, this reviewer, and others who maintain that Tirhakah was only eight or nine years old in 701; (4) the identification of the name David with an alleged *dawidum*, "general," "commander," is denied, and (5) it is shown that Yigael Yadin's recent explorations at Megiddo have revealed that the stable complexes excavated there by the University of Chicago expedition before World War II must be attributed to Omri or Ahab, and not to Solomon as the earlier excavators did.

The subject of chronology receives a more thorough treatment and is dealt with in two chapters (2 and 3) of which the first is concerned with the pre-patriarchal time and the Biblical genealogies pertaining to it, as well as with the patriarchal period itself. The author puts Abraham in the MB I period (*ca.* 2100-1800 B.C.), a view which has an increasing amount of evidence on its side, and with which one can hardly find fault. The next chapter marshals evidence for the date of the Exodus, which is dated with the majority of Biblical scholars in the 13th century. Here, however, Kitchen, in this reviewer's opinion, could have presented also the evidence which points to an earlier Exodus date. This evidence is almost entirely disregarded in spite of the fact that a minority of scholars accept a 15th-century Exodus. As far as the later Hebrew chronology is concerned, Kitchen agrees with the scheme of E. R. Thiele, and therefore hardly deals with it.

A number of chapters of Part One which in a superficial way deal with a great variety of subjects may be skipped, but a word should be said about Part Two. It provides illustrations furnished by recent archaeological discoveries for Biblical subjects. Here the same weaknesses mentioned with regard to chapters 1-8 are noticeable. Again subjects of a great variety are discussed, all in a rather superficial way—none receiving an exhaustive treatment.

One example may illustrate this criticism of Kitchen's treatment. On pages 159 and 160 a section is devoted to "Geshem the Arabian." It is pointed out that the identity of this hitherto least-known enemy of Nehemiah has been established by the recent discovery of a silver bowl which contains his name and title "King of Qedar." Kitchen failed to say that F. W. Winnett already in 1937 had identified Geshem on a Lihyanite inscription found at Dedan, now *el-'Ulā*, in northwestern Arabia (*A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* [Toronto, 1937], pp. 14, 16, 50, 51), an identification which was also made by H. Grimme in 1941 (*OLZ*, XLIV [1941], col. 343).

Grimme in his article does not mention Winnett's work, and may have reached his identification independently from Winnett.

Not only does Kitchen fail to give a complete picture of the archaeological evidence shedding light on Geshem, but he completely ignores the other two antagonists of Nehemiah: Sanballat and Tobiah. These two men have received equally interesting illumination from recent discoveries. On Sanballat's official position the Elephantine papyri (Cowley No. 30:29) and the recently discovered Samaria papyri (F. M. Cross, *BA*, XXVI [1963], 110-121) have shed a most interesting light. For the family of Tobiah additional information has been obtained from the Greek Zenon papyri and for the estate of the Tobiah family at 'Arâq el-Emîr the recent excavations of Paul Lapp have provided interesting new material. These facts and discoveries should have been mentioned to avoid giving the wrong impression that Geshem is the only one of Nehemiah's enemies of whom we know anything, and that only one discovery has shed light on him while there are actually two inscriptions that mention him and several discoveries that have provided information concerning Sanballat and Tobiah.

This criticism is not intended to minimize the value of this little book, which provides much useful information. It will be read with great profit by the conservative student of the Bible. However, this reviewer would like to encourage the author to provide us with penetrating and exhaustive studies of certain aspects of Biblical history, chronology, or other related disciplines.

Andrews University

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Samuel, Archbishop Athanasius Yeshue, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Philadelphia, Pa.: The Westminster Press, 1966. 208 pp. Paperbound. \$ 2.65.

This book is an autobiography of Archbishop Samuel inextricably interwoven with the world-famous manuscripts discovered in the caves of Qumran. The first part of this autobiography presents a moving picture of the serene life of the Syrian community to which Archbishop Samuel belonged. But this happy state of affairs did not last long until it was harshly interrupted by the backlash of World War I. The troubles of the young boy and his family and their friends, and the extraordinary story of his survival and eventual reunion with his mother, are painted quite realistically, without any special bitterness or rancor against those who mistreated them, which might have been expected. However, as a sidelight, the brief glimpse given in the book into the fate of the Armenians at the hands of the Turks is nothing but sheer horror.

The next part of the autobiography is concerned with the author's survival during the time of war, and his re-establishment into a

happier state of society in the years immediately following the war. Young Samuel was fortunate indeed to have been accepted as a student in various schools, where he had the opportunity of pursuing his studies and getting a well-rounded education under the tutorship of his kindly superiors.

The statement (which is really sort of a background theme throughout the autobiography) that the author, from his youth onward, was aware of the possibility of ancient writings hidden in a cave *not far from Jericho*, cannot be either proved or disproved, but can only be taken at face value on the authority of the author. At any rate, it turns out that there actually were extremely ancient and valuable documents so hidden, and the author was ready to grasp the opportunity that presented itself to secure these documents for the scholarly world, even at some personal monetary risk. The last part of this autobiography is a step-by-step story of the finding of the Dead Sea scrolls, the negotiations and purchase of them, and their ultimate disposition. The details of this story are quite intriguing, if not full of intrigue.

Just a word of caution may be interjected here. In the various accounts of the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea scrolls, there are certain discrepancies which are undoubtedly due to the passage of time and the ensuing haziness of memories on the part of the various authors. Possibly it is not in order here to point out specific discrepancies to the reader, but it may be well to refer him at this point to the work of John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran*, which is based on his letters, diary entries, and jotted notations made at the time of the occurrence of these unfolding events. Even so, Trever in several instances has admitted that his recollections were hazy, and that he was indebted to others in refreshing his memory concerning those instances in question.

The reviewer feels that this little volume is worth the reading of anyone interested in this field.

Andrews University

ALGER F. JOHNS

Strand, Kenneth A., *Early Low-German Bibles: The Story of Four Pre-Lutheran Editions*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967. 48 pp., 2-cols. \$ 4.00.

As the Preface indicates, this work is a sequel to an earlier one devoted to the High-German Bibles before Luther, published in 1966. Strange though it may seem, the Low-German Bibles were more often neglected by historians and theologians than the others, since the former appeared in the area where the Northern Renaissance culminated in a tremendous intellectual activity. At the end of the 15th century the great port of Antwerp and the thriving cities of Cologne and Lübeck were in closer touch with the Commercial Revo-

lution than such cities in the interior of Germany as Nuremberg and Augsburg. Preserved Smith in his highly influential book entitled *The Age of the Reformation* led the way toward misunderstanding when he proclaimed that Erfurt and its university surpassed in size Cologne with its mighty institutions. For too long a time, the majority of German scholars have shown an inclination to minimize the contributions of the Low Countries in favor of those by Italy. That can be seen most clearly in the article published in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* dated 1965 and devoted to *Frömmigkeit* at the end of the Middle Ages. It actually went so far as to state that the book by P. Mestwerdt entitled *Die Anfänge des Erasmus* (1917) still contained the best account of the *Devotio Moderna*! And so the influence of this movement was said to have been exaggerated by all the experts on the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Such is not the case with Strand nor with his learned colleague, William M. Landeen. They both are well aware of the influence exerted upon Luther and Erasmus by the Brethren of the Common Life. The latter, in their house at Cologne, issued in 1434 the first German translation of *The Imitation of Christ*. During the academic year 1397-98 their order was strongly defended by several distinguished professors in the University of Cologne. Consequently, it was perfectly natural for their house in Rostock to publish a German translation of the NT, a performance to which Strand devoted his doctoral dissertation and later published a book entitled *A Reformation Paradox: The Condemned New Testament of the Rostock Brethren of the Common Life* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960). Strand's present study is again marked by great acumen and industry. The plates are again most beautiful and illuminating, and his meticulous scholarship once more of the highest order. The present reviewer confidently predicts that before long a much larger edition will appear to meet the increasing demand for such publications.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

Wiles, Maurice, *The Christian Fathers*. "Knowing Christianity." Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1966. 190 pp. \$ 3.95.

In reviewing an earlier volume in this series (W. H. C. Frend's *The Early Church*), Robert M. Grant has pointed to the difficulty in providing "students of early church history with enough (but not too much) information, clearly organized for assimilation and at the same time pointing beyond itself to encourage further study"; and he has rendered a favorable judgment on that volume (see *CH*, XXXVI [1967], 85). What he has said could well be said also of Wiles' publication, which covers essentially the same time period (to A.D. 451), but treats the doctrinal aspects rather than the general history. It may



be *apropos* to call attention to the fact that these two volumes belong to a series described on the page facing the title-page as having as its purpose "to provide for thinking laymen a solid but non-technical presentation of what the Christian religion is and what it has to say." It would be a mistake, however, to think that the two volumes on the Early Church are useful only for "thinking laymen." Certainly both the student and teacher in the field may find these works profitable.

*The Christian Fathers* has seven chapters, entitled "The Image of God," "The Divine Christ," "The Incarnation," "Sin and Salvation," "The Sacraments," "The Church," and "Ethics." All vital items have been touched, there is a logical sequence, and the style is stimulating. Stylistically there is, in fact, a touch of the dialectical as the basic doctrines are thrown into clear relief in their historical context and in contrast to the alternatives which Christianity rejected.

The attempt to be non-technical may be somewhat overdone. In some cases, for example, one misses the use of terms normally employed to describe certain views: The discussion of monarchianism (pp. 31-33) and of docetism (p. 56) fails to employ these names—names which need not have been omitted inasmuch as they are an integral part of the jargon of early church history and could very properly be added to the vocabulary of the "thinking laymen" for whom the "Knowing Christianity" series is primarily intended.

The competence with which the author handles the views of the Church Fathers themselves is outstanding, but a few of his personal judgments and "editorial comments" will undoubtedly arouse debate. For instance, the value of a statement such as the following may be questioned: "But when the same Augustine externalises and rationalises those insights [certain insights regarding sin and salvation] in terms of an original guilt handed on through the presence of concupiscence in the act of intercourse and of a divine predestination whose justice is hidden in the inscrutable will of God, then we are being offered an account which the Christian conscience can only reject with all the force at its command" (p. 108). The intent here is undoubtedly not that of branding Augustine as lacking Christian conscience; but in effect is not this what is being done to Augustine himself and also to John Calvin and numerous other Christians whose views are in some respects akin to Augustine's? Though on this subject the reviewer's own convictions apparently lie closer to the author's than to Augustine's, he cannot help but protest what appears to him as an unfortunate indictment of the Christian conscience of many sincere Christians. Indeed, in a book of this sort, is the author's comment really in place—is it not superfluous and irrelevant? Fortunately, it is an exception to what we find generally throughout the book, although the author's own viewpoints do shine through frequently enough (and at times quite refreshingly so).

Question may be raised as to whether Wiles' reference to Origen's "thought about the resurrection" (p. 94) and "understanding of the nature of man's eventual resurrection life" (p. 96) employs the most

desirable terminology. As Wiles himself makes clear in his discussion of Origen's view on this subject (p. 94), Origen did not believe in a *resurrection* in the traditional Christian sense. Also, the suggestion that by Augustine's time amillennialism rather than premillennialism had become "the dominant faith of men throughout the known world" (p. 92) is, at best, debatable. After Augustine, of course, the picture becomes precisely that.

Mechanically, the book suffers (in this reviewer's opinion) from its lack of running heads. A few typesetting errors occur, such as "Hw" for "How" on p. 58, line 27, and "Guilts was" for "Guilt was" on p. 98, line 33. Occasionally (but rarely) there are awkward or ambiguous sentences, such as the following: "I Peter 3.20 had likened the flood to baptism and I Corinthians 10.2 the Red Sea" (p. 112).

The book contains an Appendix (pp. 181-185), which lists some 32 personalities of early church history. Brief biographical information concerning these individuals is given. The book also includes a bibliography (pp. 186, 187) and an index (pp. 189, 190). The bibliography is particularly disappointing, even when considering the fact that the book is intended primarily for laymen. A total of only eight titles (books or sets) is listed under five subdivisions: "Biographical," "Doctrinal," "Historical," "Reference," and "Translations." The choices of titles are good, but they are inadequate—and all the more so in light of the fact that throughout the book footnote references to the original sources are lacking. That J. N. D. Kelly's *Early Christian Doctrines* is listed is especially fortunate inasmuch as it is the only entry (!) in the "Doctrinal" section. The only title mentioned under the "Translations" is the "Library of Christian Classics" series, whose first eight volumes are appropriately listed. The reviewer concurs heartily with the statement that this is an "excellent selection well translated" (p. 186). But would it not have been well to include notice also of one or two *more complete* sets of the Fathers? And might not Bettenson's small volume entitled *The Early Christian Fathers* (published by Oxford University Press) have been very appropriately included inasmuch as it is a compilation which especially emphasizes doctrinal items?

A further comment should be made, as well, regarding the lack of footnotes, mentioned above. A wealth of material from the Fathers has been treated throughout this book, but the lack of an adequate tool for locating the specific items in the originals is disappointing (what a task it can become for the non-specialist or beginner—and even for the specialist—to endeavor to locate some specific item in Tertullian or Augustine, or even in Church Fathers whose extant writings are much less extensive!). Perhaps it is for the sake of the general reader that footnotes have been omitted, but in this case a section of notes at the end of the volume would have been a most helpful addition.

In closing, it must be emphasized that in spite of certain deficiencies, this book provides a truly excellent introduction to the teachings of

the Church Fathers. Both "thinking laymen" and beginning students in the field will indeed find it most useful. But even mature students and seasoned scholars can profit by reading it.

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# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

## CONSONANTS

א = 'a	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ך = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = 'e	ש = š
ג = g	ו = w	כּ = k̄	פ = p	שׁ = š̄
דּ = ḡ	ז = z	ל = l	פּ = p̄	ת = t
הּ = ḥ	ח = ḥ	מ = m	צ = ṣ	תּ = t̄
וּ = v̄	ט = ṭ	נ = n	ק = q	

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֶ = a	ׁ, ׀ (vocal shewa) = °	ֹ = o
ֶ̄ = ā	ׂ, ׃ = ē	ׁ = °
ֶ̇ = e	ִ = i	ִ̇ = o
ֶ̇̄ = ē	ִ̇ = î	ֶ̇̄ = u
	ֶ̇̄ = o	ֶ̇̄̄ = ū

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<i>AAS</i>	Annales archéol. de Syrie	<i>BJPES</i>	Bulletin, Jewish Pal. Expl. Soc.
<i>AASOR</i>	Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.	<i>BJRL</i>	Bulletin, John Rylands Library
<i>ADAJ</i>	Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan	<i>BMB</i>	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth
<i>AER</i>	American Ecclesiastical Review	<i>BQR</i>	Baptist Quarterly Review
<i>Afo</i>	Archiv für Orientforschung	<i>BR</i>	Biblical Research (Chicago)
<i>Afp</i>	Archiv für Papyrussforschung	<i>BRG</i>	Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum
<i>AJA</i>	Amer. Journal of Archaeology	<i>BS</i>	Bibliotheca Sacra
<i>AJSL</i>	Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Literature	<i>BSHFP</i>	Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français
<i>ALBO</i>	Analecta Lovan. Bibl. et Orient.	<i>BT</i>	Bible Translator
<i>ANET</i>	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, J. B. Pritchard, ed., 2d ed., 1955	<i>BZ</i>	Biblische Zeitschrift
<i>ANF</i>	The Ante-Nicene Fathers	<i>CBQ</i>	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
<i>AO</i>	Acta Orientalia	<i>CC</i>	Christian Century
<i>ARG</i>	Archiv für Reformationsgesch.	<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d'Égypte
<i>ARW</i>	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft	<i>CH</i>	Church History
<i>ASAE</i>	Annales, Serv. des Ant. de l'Ég.	<i>CIG</i>	Corpus Inscript. Graecarum
<i>ASB</i>	Acta Sanctorum (ed. Bolland)	<i>CIL</i>	Corpus Inscript. Latinarum
<i>ATHR</i>	Anglican Theological Review	<i>CIS</i>	Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum
<i>AUSS</i>	Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies	<i>CJTh</i>	Canadian Journal of Theology
<i>BA</i>	Biblical Archaeologist	<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.	<i>CT</i>	Christianity Today
<i>Bib</i>	Biblica	<i>ER</i>	Ecumenical Review
<i>BIES</i>	Bulletin, Israel Expl. Soc.	<i>ETHL</i>	Ephemer. Theol. Lovanienses
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin, Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.	<i>ET</i>	Expository Times
<i>BiOr</i>	Bibliotheca Orientalis	<i>HJ</i>	Hibbert Journal
		<i>HTHR</i>	Harvard Theological Review

<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual	<i>RE</i>	Review and Expositor
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal	<i>RdE</i>	Revue d'Égyptologie
<i>Int</i>	Interpretation	<i>RHE</i>	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
<i>JACH</i>	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum	<i>RHPR</i>	Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.
<i>JAOS</i>	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.	<i>RHR</i>	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
<i>JBL</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature	<i>RL</i>	Religion in Life
<i>JBR</i>	Journal of Bible and Religion	<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
<i>JCS</i>	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	<i>RQ</i>	Revue de Qumrân
<i>JEJ</i>	Journal of Egyptian Arch.	<i>RSR</i>	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies	<i>RSV</i>	Revised Standard Version
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	<i>SJTh</i>	Scottish Journal of Theology
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review	<i>STh</i>	Studia Theologica
<i>JR</i>	Journal of Religion	<i>THEH</i>	Theologische Existenz heute
<i>JSS</i>	Journal of Semitic Studies	<i>ThQ</i>	Theologische Quartalschrift
<i>JThS</i>	Journal of Theol. Studies	<i>ThT</i>	Theology Today
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version	<i>ThLZ</i>	Theologische Literaturzeitung
<i>LQ</i>	Lutheran Quarterly	<i>ThR</i>	Theologische Rundschau
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica	<i>Trad</i>	Traditio
<i>MPG</i>	Migne, Patrologia Graeca	<i>ThS</i>	Theological Studies
<i>MPL</i>	Migne, Patrologia Latina	<i>ThZ</i>	Theologische Zeitschrift
<i>MQR</i>	Mennonite Quarterly Review	<i>VC</i>	Verbum Caro
<i>NKZ</i>	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift	<i>VD</i>	Verbum Domini
<i>NPNF</i>	Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers	<i>VCh</i>	Vigiliae Christianae
<i>NRTTh</i>	Nouvelle Revue Théologique	<i>VT</i>	Vetus Testamentum
<i>NT</i>	Novum Testamentum	<i>WThJ</i>	Westminster Theol. Journal
<i>NTA</i>	New Testament Abstracts	<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes
<i>NTS</i>	New Testament Studies	<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
<i>Num</i>	Numen	<i>ZAS</i>	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
<i>OCh</i>	Oriens Christianus	<i>ZAW</i>	Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft
<i>Or</i>	Orientalia	<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.
<i>OTS</i>	Oudtestamentische Studiën	<i>ZKG</i>	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
<i>PEQ</i>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	<i>ZHTTh</i>	Zeitsch für hist. Theologie
<i>PJB</i>	Palästina-Jahrbuch	<i>ZKTh</i>	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
<i>PRE</i>	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche	<i>ZNW</i>	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wiss.
<i>QDAP</i>	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.	<i>ZSTh</i>	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
<i>RA</i>	Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.	<i>ZThK</i>	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche
<i>RAC</i>	Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana		
<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique		