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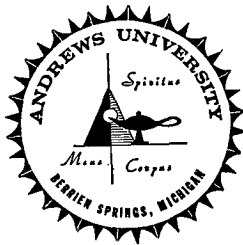
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"BEARERS OF *HEAVY* BURDENS"  
A SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL VARIANT \*

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In the Syriac version of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Mt 11:28 is cited explicitly<sup>1</sup> four times (see table on p. 2).

All four citations are identical; all four have the significant textual variant ܡܬܢܝܢ ܡܚܘܒܝܢ "bearers of *heavy* burdens."

The equivalent of this *lectio varia* is nowhere attested in either the *Greek* or the *Latin* text traditions, neither in the gospel manuscripts nor in the patristic citations.<sup>2</sup>

\* Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: *BO* = *Biblica et Orientalia*; *BPM* = *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensis*; *CBM* = *Chester Beatty Monographs*; *CBU* = *Contributions of Baltic University*; *CCL* = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*; *CSCO* = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; *HS* = *Horae Semiticae*; *PETSE* = *Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile*; *PO* = *Patrologia Orientalis*; *PS* = *Patrologia Syriaca*; *SBT* = *Studies in Biblical Theology*; *SNT* = *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*; *TU* = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.

<sup>1</sup> That these are *explicit* citations is clear from the formulae with which they are introduced. Citations 1, 3, and 4 are introduced by the formula ܐܘܟܘܢ "and he said" the subject of which is ܐܘܪܝܢܐ "our Savior" (5:7), ܡܘܠܐܢܐ "our Lord" (103:28), and ܐܘܪܝܢܐ "our Savior" (110:27), respectively; while citation 2 is introduced by the longer formula ܐܘܟܘܢ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܡܚܘܒܝܢ "and again in the Gospel he said," the subject of which is ܡܘܠܐܢܐ "the Lord" (41:10).

These references indicate page and line in Paulus de Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (Leipzig, 1854; reprint Osnabrück, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> See among others S. C. E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford, 1940), *ad loc.*; Adolf Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung, I: Matthäus-Evangelium* (Berlin, 1938), p. 69; and I. Wordsworth and H. I. White, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine, secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi* (Oxford, 1889-1898), I, 84.

I <i>Didasc</i> I.6.10	2 <i>Didasc</i> II.34.7	3 <i>Didasc</i> VI.12.11	4 <i>Didasc</i> <sup>3</sup> VI.17.6
<p>           ,הל הֶה            חלח לרת            מעמל            חתלר <u>מפתה</u>            סהר ססבחה         </p> <p>           הנה            נהר גלר            חלחה            סלעה חר            גסס סר            סחפפ סר            חר            סהעסה            נסר            לנפתחה            נהר            חססר :ס            סחחטר            מללר :ס         </p>	<p>           ,הל הֶה            חלח לרת            מעמל            חתלר <u>מפתה</u>            סהר ססבחה         </p> <p>           הנה            נהר גלר            חלחה            סלעה חר            גסס סר            סחפפ סר            חר            סהעסה            נסר            לנפתחה            נהר            חססר :ס            סחחטר            מללר :ס         </p>	<p>           ,הל הֶה            חלח לרת<sup>4</sup>            מעמל            חתלר <u>מפתה</u>            סהר ססבחה         </p> <p>           הנה            נהר גלר            חלחה            סלעה חר            גסס סר            סחפפ סר            חר            סהעסה            נסר            לנפתחה            נהר            חססר :ס            סחחטר            מללר :ס         </p>	<p>           ,הל הֶה            חלח לרת            מעמל            חתלר <u>מפתה</u>            סהר ססבחה         </p> <p>           הנה            נהר גלר            חלחה            סלעה חר            גסס סר            סחפפ סר            חר            סהעסה            נסר            לנפתחה            נהר            חססר :ס            סחחטר            מללר :ס         </p>

For notes 3 and 4 see p. 3.

In view of this, one might be inclined to dismiss it as an *ad hoc* variant introduced by the author of the Syriac *Didascalia*<sup>5</sup> were it not for the fact that it is widely attested in the Syriac and Armenian text traditions.

<sup>3</sup> These references are given according to the widely used system of F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905; reprint Turin, 1964); see I, 16.7 f., 118.21 ff., 330.10 ff., and 356.14 f. For the Syriac text see Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 5.9 f., 41.15 ff., 103.28 ff., and 110.26 f., or Margaret D. Gibson, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (HS, I; London, 1903), pp. 8.22 f., 85.14 ff., 186.17 ff., and 197.5 f., respectively.

<sup>4</sup> In the text itself, Lagarde's edition reads  $\text{ܠܘܢܐ}$ , but, as Lagarde himself notes in his introduction (*op. cit.*, p. vii), this is a typographical error. It should read  $\text{ܠܘܢܐ}$  as I have rendered it. Cf. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 186.17.

<sup>5</sup> It does not occur in the three citations of Mt 11:28 in the extant fragments of the Latin *Didascalia*:

a) *Didasc* IV. 6 f.

Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis.

b) *Didasc* XXVIII. 23 ff.

Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego repausabo vos. Tollite iugum meum super vos et discite a me, quoniam mansuetus sum et humilis corde, et inuenietis requiem animabus vestris: iugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve est.

c) *Didasc* LI. 22 f.

Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos repausabo.

See Edmundus Hauler, *Didascalie Apostolorum: Fragmenta Veronensia Latina* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 6.2 f., 41.14 ff., and 72.11 f., respectively. Cf. Eric Tidner, *Didascalie Apostolorum, Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, Traditiones Apostolicæ: Versiones Latinae* (TU, LXXV, Berlin, 1963), pp. 7.6 f., 46.3 ff., and 83.22 f., respectively.

Nor does it occur in the only citation of Mt 11:28 in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, the first six books of which are, without doubt, based on the Greek *Didascalia*:

*Constit Apost* I, 6.10: δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς.

See Funk, *op. cit.*, pp. 17.6 f.

Since the Latin renderings are clearly *ad hoc* translations of the Matthaean citations as they appeared in the Greek text of the *Didascalia* and not "dubbed in" versions drawn on popular contemporary Latin text traditions (note, e.g., the readings *repausabo*, instead of *reficiam* as in Itala, Vulgate, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine; *quoniam*, instead of *quia* as in Itala, Vulgate, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose; and *mansuetus*, instead of *mitis* as in Itala, Vulgate, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, readings which, with the exception of *quoniam*,

In the *Syriac* text traditions it is attested  
a) among the *Syriac* gospel manuscripts by

*Codex Curetonianus* (*ad loc.*):<sup>6</sup>

seem not to occur elsewhere in the Latin traditions), and since they imply underlying *Greek* forms identical with that preserved in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, I am persuaded that the variant under consideration did not occur in the Matthaean citations as they appeared in the original *Greek* text of the *Didascalia*.

For the Itala and Vulgate evidence see Jülicher, *loc. cit.*, and Wordsworth and White, *loc. cit.* For the patristic evidence see Cyprian, *Testimonia ad Quirinum*, I, 13; III, 119 (in Guilelmus Hartel, *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia* [CSEL, III; Vienna, 1868; reprint New York, 1962], pt. 1, pp. 48.8 ff.; 183.22 ff.); Hilary, *De Trinitate*, IX.15 (in *Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi Opera Omnia juxta editionem Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri* [PO, X; Paris, 1845], col 293; and *Tractatus Mysteriorum*, I, 13, 2 (in Alfredus Feder, *S. Hilarii, Episcopi Pictaviensis Opera* [CSEL, LXV; Vienna, 1916; reprint New York, 1966], pt 4, p. 13.21 ff.); Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii Lucae*, V, 54; VII, 230 (in Carolus Schenkl, *Sancti Ambrosii Opera* [CSEL, XXXII; Vienna, 1902; reprint New York, 1962], pt. 4, pp. 203.4 f.; 385.7 f.); *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII*, 7, 2; 14, 20; and 14.46 (in M. Petschenig, *Sancti Ambrosii Opera* [CSEL, LXII; Vienna, 1913; reprint New York, 1962], pt. V, pp. 127.20 f.; 310.24 ff.; and 329.15 ff., respectively); *Explanatio Psalmorum XII*, 37.29; 43.78; 45.16; 48.15; 48.1 (in Petschenig, *op. cit.* [CSEL, LXIV; Vienna, 1919; reprint New York, 1962], pt. VI, pp. 158.11 f., 318.2 f.; 341.19 ff.; 370.3 f.; 362.11 ff.); Augustine, *Confessionum* VII, 9, 21 (in Pius Knöll, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: Confessionum* [CSEL, XXXIII; Vienna, 1896; reprint New York, 1962], pp. 155.22 f., 156.3 f., and 168.9 f. respectively); *De Civitate Dei*, IV, 16 (in Emmanuel Hoffmann, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: De Civitate Dei* [CSEL, XL, Vienna, 1899; reprint New York, 1962], p. 183.24 ff.); *In Iohannis Evangelium*, XV, 17, 6; XXV, 18, 7; and XXXIV, 8, 18 (in R. Willems, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: In Iohannis Evangelium* [CCL, XXXVI; Turnholt, 1954], pp. 156, 258, and 315 respectively; and many more citations of Mt 11:28 f. in the vast corpus of Augustine's writings.

The reading under discussion is also attested in the Ethiopic version,  
**ገዕ: ገቡ፣ ከ-ልክሙ: ጽዕ-ራ-ገ: ከቡ-ደ፣ ጾር: ወክ፣ አዐርፈክሙ ::**

See T. Pell Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia; or, the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolic Constitutions* (London, 1843), p. 9.10 f.

<sup>6</sup> Francis C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe: The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the Readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the early Syriac Patristic Evidence* (Cambridge, 1904), I, 58.

Syr<sup>s</sup> does not have this reading; nor do syr<sup>p</sup> and syr<sup>h</sup>. Nor is it to be found in the *Syriac* lectionaries (syr<sup>pal</sup>).

הוה לה, חלה, לעתה מעתה חקלה מיהוה כרה כרסחה  
 ובעלה יו, חלה: ובעה חרד ויסה כרה כרסחיה כרה חלה:  
 ובעשה יסי לפתחה. יו, יח, ובעה חלה חלה חלה חלה חלה.

b) among the Syriac patristic writings by

i) *Acta Thomae* (Act. 9): <sup>7</sup>

כרה כרה כרה יו... הוה לה, חלה, לעתה מעתה חקלה  
מיהוה כרה כרסחה.

ii) *Martyrius (Sahdona) (Letter 4, 103):* <sup>8</sup>

הוה לה, חלה, לעתה מעתה חקלה מיהוה כרה כרסחה  
 ובעה יו, חלה. ובעה חרד ויסה כרה כרסחיה כרה חלה:  
 ובעשה יסי לפתחה. יו, יח, ובעה חלה חלה חלה חלה חלה.

iii) *Philoxenus (Discourses, 9):* <sup>9</sup>

הוה לר לה, חלה, לעתה מעתה חקלה מיהוה כרה כרסחה

<sup>7</sup> So the Cambridge codex Add. 2822 (see Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 58, *apparatus criticus*), and the Berlin codex Sachau No. 222 (see Paulus Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace* [Leipzig, 1892; reprint Hildesheim, 1968], III, 87, n. 5). It does not, however, occur in the British Museum codex Add. 14.645 (see William Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* [London, 1871; reprint Amsterdam, 1968], I, 252), as Arthur Vööbus, *Researches on the Circulation of the Peshitta in the Middle of the Fifth Century* (CBU, LXIV; Pinneberg, 1948), p. 48, indicates.

That מיהוה חקלה is probably the more original reading is implied by the allusion to Mt 11:28 which occurs later in the same paragraph (see Bedjan, *op. cit.*, III, 87.13) where the adjective מיהוה is attested by both B.M. Add. 14.645 and Sachau No. 222.

The Greek version follows the Greek text tradition. See R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1898; reprint Darmstadt, 1959), vol. II, pt. 2, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> Andre de Halleux, *Martyrius (Sahdona). Oeuvres spirituelles, IV: Lettres à des amis solitaires, Maximes sapientiales* (CSCO, 254/syr 112, Louvain, 1965), p. 51. Martyrius explicitly cites the same passage on two other occasions (*Letter 1, 7*, and *Book of Perfection, I, 4, 53*); see Halleux, *op. cit.*, p. 2, and *Martyrius (Sahdona). Oeuvres spirituelles, I: Livre de la Perfection, 1<sup>e</sup> Partie* (CSCO, 200/syr 86, Louvain, 1960), p. 102), on each occasion employing the reading מיהוה חקלה.

<sup>9</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh, A.D. 485-519* (London, 1893), I, 270 f. In a letter addressed to Patrikios of Edessa (Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14649, fol. 180b), Philoxenus again cites Mt 11:28, and in precisely the same form. See Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac* (CSCO, 128/sub 3, Louvain, 1951), p. 199.

c) among the Syriac translations of Greek patristic writings by

i) *Athanasius (Ad Serapionem, 4.23):*<sup>10</sup>

ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ

ii) *Chrysostom (Homily on the Incarnation, 10):*<sup>11</sup>

ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ

There is also a clear allusion to it in the *Liber Graduum* (19.7):<sup>12</sup>

ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ  
ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ  
ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ

And *Ephraem (?)*<sup>13</sup> undoubtedly drew on a text of Mt 11:28 which had this reading:

ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ  
ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ  
ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ

In the *Armenian* traditions it is attested

a) among the *Armenian* historians by

i) *Agathangelus (History, 221):*<sup>14</sup>

Եկայք առ իս, ամենայն վաստակեալք և աշխատեալք և ոյք ունիք  
բերինս ծանուխս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

<sup>10</sup> See Robert W. Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca*, II (CSCO, 272/syr 118, Louvain, 1967), p. 15. The reading ܐܘܬܢܐܣܝܘܣ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܥܨܪܦܝܘܢ occurs again in a British Museum manuscript (Add. 14650, fol. 222a) attributed to Athanasius. See Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> F. Nau, *Documents pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Église Nestorienne*, 1: *Quatre Homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome* (PO, XIII; Paris, 1919), p. 156.

<sup>12</sup> See Michael Kmosko, *Liber Graduum* (PS, III; Paris, 1926), col. 465.

<sup>13</sup> See Petrus Benedictus and Stephanus E. Assemanus, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia* (Rome, 1743), III, 372; cf. Louis Leloir, *L'Évangile d'Éphrem d'après les œuvres éditées: Recueil des textes* (CSCO, 180/sub 12, Louvain, 1958), p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> *History of Armenia (Armenian)* (Tiflis, 1909), p. 221; cf. Leloir, *Citations du Nouveau Testament dans l'ancienne tradition arménienne: 1A, L'Évangile de Matthieu, I-XII* (CSCO, 283/sub 31; Louvain, 1967), p. 163.



ii) *Lazar of Pharb (History, 199)*:<sup>15</sup>

Եկայք առ իս, ամենայն աշխատեալք և վաստակեալք, և որք ունիք զբեռինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

b) among the Armenian translations of Syriac patristic writings by

i) *Aphraates (Demonstrationes, 13)*:<sup>16</sup>

Եկայք առ իս աշխատեալք, և վաստակեալք, և որք ունիք զբեռինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցից զձեզ.

ii) *Ephraem (Commentary, 10)*:<sup>17</sup>

Եկայք առ իս, ասէ, վաստակեալք և աշխատեալք, և ոյք ունիք բեռինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

c) among the Armenian translations of Greek patristic writings by

i) *Cyril of Jerusalem (Catecheses, 2.3)*:<sup>18</sup>

Եկայք առ իս ամենայն աշխատեալք, և ոյք ունիք զբեռինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

ii) *Severian of Gabala (Homilies, 374)*:<sup>19</sup>

Եկայք առ իս ամենեքեան ոյք վաստակեալ էք, և ունիք զբեռինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

Further attestation is to be found in two Armenian gospel manuscripts (mss. 129 and 308) housed in the library of the Mechitarists, Vienna, which read *ծանրաբեռինք* and

<sup>15</sup> *History of Armenia (Armenian)* (Tiflis), 1904), p. 199; cf. similar quotes on pp. 180 f.; also Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 162.

<sup>16</sup> See N. Antonelli, *Sancti Patris nostri Iacobi, episcopi Nisibeni, sermones cum praefatione, notis et dissertatione de Ascetis* (Rome, 1756), p. 335; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 164. The Syriac text does not have the additional adjective *բեռինս*. See I. Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* (PS, I; Paris, 1894), col. 757.

<sup>17</sup> Leloir, S. *Éphrem: Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant. Version arménienne* (CSCO, 137/arm 1), Louvain, 1953), p. 141.

<sup>18</sup> *Catecheses (Armenian)* (Vienna, 1832), p. 2; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, pp. 161 f.

<sup>19</sup> J. B. Aucher, *Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae* (Venice, 1827), p. 374; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 162.

աշխատեալք և ծանրաբեռնեալք respectively;<sup>20</sup> in the Armenian Breviary 388, which reads աշխատեալք և ծանրաբեռնեալք;<sup>21</sup> and in the Armenian translations of the Greek fathers, *Chrysostom*<sup>22</sup> and *Hesychius of Jerusalem*,<sup>23</sup> which employ the “adjectif composé” ծանրաբեռնիք in place of the periphrasis և ոյք ունիք դբեռնս ծանունս.<sup>24</sup>

Such extensive and independent lines of evidence suggest a single written source prior to the earliest of the witnesses, that is, at least as early as the early third, if not the late second, century.

That this source was a gospel harmony is probable. That it was Tatian’s *Diatessaron* is possible.

I am persuaded that this particular rendering of Mt 11:28 was probably drawn on a gospel harmony, on the one hand, because of its wide usage in the eastern churches (the *Միջին Ավետարան* “mixed gospel” was rather popular in the eastern Christian communities<sup>25</sup>) and, on the other hand, because of its meager support in the manuscripts of the *Քրիստոս Ավետարան* “separated gospel.”<sup>26</sup>

I am not, however, as confident as some<sup>27</sup> are that we can

<sup>20</sup> P. Paul Essabalian, *Le diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des évangiles arméniens* (Armenian, with a French résumé) (Vienna, 1937), pp. 43, 119.

<sup>21</sup> S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (BO, XIII; Rome, 1950), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Concerning the Evangelist Matthew* (Armenian) (Venice, 1826), pp. 577, 579; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, pp. 161, 164. See also *Interpretation of the Prophet Isaiah* (Armenian) (Venice, 1880), p. 453; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> See C. Tcherabian, *Commentary on Job* (Armenian) (Venice, 1913), p. 590; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 162.

<sup>24</sup> See Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament: Manuscript Studies* (PETSE, VI; Stockholm 1954), pp. 22-26.

<sup>26</sup> It is possible that *Codex Curetonianus* was influenced by Tatian’s *Diatessaron*. See Vööbus, *Studies*, pp. 34 ff. But note the cautious remarks of Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (2d ed.; Oxford, 1968), pp. 69, 91 f.

<sup>27</sup> Vööbus, *Researches*, p. 48, holds that it “certainly originated from Tatian’s work”; and Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 206, contends that it

identify the conjectured harmony as Tatian's *Diatessaron*. In the first place, there were probably a good many gospel harmonies, particularly of the synoptic gospels, available to the early church. Bellinzoni has rather forcibly demonstrated that there were in use, before Justin, in whose school Tatian studied, "written gospel harmonies, which served as models for the harmonies used and perhaps composed by Justin,"<sup>28</sup> and, no doubt, by Tatian.<sup>29</sup> And in the second, it is by no means clear from the extant evidence that this particular reading occurred in Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

While the Armenian version of Ephraem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron*<sup>30</sup> clearly employs the reading under discussion,<sup>31</sup> the Syriac does not;<sup>32</sup> and, while the Persian *Diatessaron* reflects this longer reading,<sup>33</sup> the Arabic does not.<sup>34</sup>

In this connection, it is of interest to note that while Leloir, in his recent studies, based on the early Armenian

is a reading which belonged "hors de doute" to the Old Armenian Gospel text and was "non moins certaine" of Tatianic origin. See also Leloir, *Le Témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron* (CSCO, 227/sub 19; Louvain, 1962), p. 146.

<sup>28</sup> Arthur Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (SNT, XVII; Leiden, 1967), pp. 48, 142.

<sup>29</sup> Tatian's particular contribution seems to have been his use of the fourth Gospel. See Bellinzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

<sup>30</sup> Leloir, *S. Éphrem: Commentaire* (Armenian), p. 141. For the text see p. 7 above.

<sup>31</sup> Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, is persuaded that the Armenian version represents the original Tatianic rendering more accurately than does the Syriac text.

<sup>32</sup> Leloir, *Saint Éphrem: Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, Texte Syriaque* (*Manuscrit Chester Beatty*, 709) (CBM, VIII; Dublin, 1963), p. 50. The text reads:

ܐܘܢ ܠܚ ܠܘܐ, ܠܚ ܠܘܐ ܠܚ ܠܘܐ ܠܚ ܠܘܐ ܠܚ ܠܘܐ ܠܚ ܠܘܐ ܠܚ ܠܘܐ

<sup>33</sup> *Diatessaron* (Persian), III, 3. See Giuseppe Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano* (BO, XIV; Rome, 1951), pp. 196 f. The text reads: Vogliate venire a me, o voi tutti affaticati con pesi gravi e grandi, affinché a voi dia riposo nella mia misericordia (translation by Messina, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>34</sup> *Diatessaron* (Arabic), XV, 39 ff. See A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien* (Beyrouth, 1935), p. 146 f. The text reads: Venez à moi, vous tous, les fatigués et les porteurs de fardeaux, et je vous donnerai du repos (translation by Marmardji, *loc. cit.*).

writers, is confident that the longer reading (*i.e.* the reading with the adjective "heavy") was employed in Tatian's *Diatessaron*,<sup>35</sup> Ortiz de Urbina, in his recent attempt at a reconstruction of the Syriac *Diatessaron*, based on the early Syriac fathers, seems to be similarly confident that it was not.<sup>36</sup>

The purpose of this essay is to attempt to determine the nature of the reading under discussion, and the motives which inspired it.<sup>37</sup>

There can be little doubt that this is a conflate reading. I conjecture that it has resulted from the conflation of Lk 11:46 (syr<sup>s</sup>),<sup>38</sup> ܐܚܘ ܠܡ ܐܢ ܢܐܢ ܠܚܘ ܗܘܝܢ ܨܘܫܘܢ ܨܘܫܘܢ with Mt 11:28 (syr<sup>s</sup>),<sup>39</sup> ܐܘܝܠܘܢ ܠܐܘܝܢܐ ܠܚܘܢܐ ܘܠܚܘܢܐ ܘܠܚܘܢܐ.

I also conjecture that this conflation was inspired by apologetical/polemical motives. These sayings were probably brought together first in a *florilegium* of dominical *logia*, the common denominator of which was their expressed opposition to the *עול תורה*, "yoke of the Torah," a *florilegium* used, no doubt, as some sort of *vade mecum* in the apologetical/polemical preaching and teaching of the early Palestinian church.<sup>40</sup> In such a context, Lk 11:46 very likely influenced Mt 11:28 and the reading ܐܚܘ ܠܡ ܢܐܢ ܠܚܘ ܗܘܝܢ ܨܘܫܘܢ ܨܘܫܘܢ resulted.

<sup>35</sup> Leloir, *Le Témoignage*, p. 146.

<sup>36</sup> Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et Exinde Excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (BPM, VI; Madrid, 1967), p. 237. Unfortunately, Ortiz de Urbina does not give his reasons for rejecting the longer reading.

<sup>37</sup> As far as I have been able to determine, no one has heretofore attempted this.

<sup>38</sup> See Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshé* (London, 1910), p. 160.

<sup>39</sup> See Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. a comparable conjecture, made in another context, by Bellinzoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 140 f. With regard to a group of four *logia* in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (Dial 35.3), he observes that they are "apparently derived from an early Christian *vade mecum* of sayings against heresies, and it is likely that this manual or a similar manual for use against heresies was known to the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and perhaps also to Didymus, Lactantius, and the author of the *Didascalía*."

I furthermore conjecture that this conflation came into existence before it was taken up into the harmony on which the fathers who employed it drew.<sup>41</sup>

Within the extant witnesses to the *Diatessaron* I am unable to find any evidence to support the view that the reading "bearers of *heavy* burdens" originated with Tatian.<sup>42</sup> However, within the Matthaean gospel itself, and within the patristic literature which draws ultimately upon it, I do find evidences that lend support to my conjecture.

Already, in its Matthaean form, the complex of *logia*<sup>43</sup> that

<sup>41</sup> Leloir, *Le Témoignage*, p. 237 f., recognizes the probability of this reading's antedating Tatian's *Diatessaron*. He concludes, "Bon nombre de ces leçons, soit d'Éphrem-syriaque, soit d'Éphrem-arménien, sont probablement tatianiques, non en ce sens que Tatien en serait le créateur — beaucoup lui sont antérieures, ou ont existé dans des traditions parallèles à Tatien —, mais simplement parce que, reprises et comme cristallisées dans le *Diatessaron* de Tatien, elles ont, à partir de cet ouvrage, exercé forte influence sur les écrits subséquents." Mt 11:28 is included in his list of "leçons."

<sup>42</sup> *Pace* Vööbus, *Researches*, p. 48; and Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 206. See n. 27 above.

<sup>43</sup> That Mt 11:28-30 is a complex of *logia* is made evident by a comparison of the Matthaean pericope with its parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas* (*Logion* 90):

<i>Mt. 11:28 ff.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas, 90</i>
1a) δεῦτε πρός με . . .	1a) ἀληθειῆ ὑαροεῖ'
	2a) ἄγε οὐχ ἰησοῦς πε παναροῦ.
	2b) ἀτω ταμῆτ'χοεῖς οὐραῖα τε
1b) καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.	1b) ἀτω τετναρε ἀθανατ'πασεῖς νητῆ
2a) ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστὸς	
2b) καὶ φορτίον μου ἕλαφρόν ἐστιν.	

That both of these passages are drawn on originally Aramaic traditions is probable. Note especially the incidence of *parallelismus*

make up the pericope Mt 11:28-30 reflects the apologetical/polemical attitude of the western Syrian church<sup>44</sup> toward the synagogue.

In the first place, Matthew employs the pericope, Mt 11:28 ff., as an introduction to two *typical* instances (*The Plucking of Grain on the Sabbath*, Mt 12:1-8; and the *Healing of the Man with a Withered Hand on the Sabbath*, Mt 12:9-14) of the  $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\tau\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$  of the  $\zeta\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$  τοῦ κυρίου<sup>45</sup> *membrorum* in both the Greek and Coptic forms (part 2, a and b); the use of  $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$  for the reflexive pronoun in the Greek text (part 1b); and the use of *chiasmus* in the Coptic text (part 2, a and b). On the Aramaisms in the Matthaean pericope see, e.g., Arnold Myer, *Jesu Muttersprache* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 84; and Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3d ed.; Oxford, 1967), pp. 183 ff. On the Aramaic background of the *logia* of the *Gospel of Thomas* see, e.g., G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VCh*, XI (1957), 207; "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS*, V (1959), 277, 290; Hugh Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel according to Thomas and of the Synoptic Gospels," in H. E. W. Turner and Hugh Montefiore, *Thomas and the Evangelists* (*SBT*, XXXV; London, 1962), p. 78; and Helmut Köster, "TNQMAI ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ: the Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity," *HThR*, LVIII (1965), 295 f., although they do not deal specifically with *Logion* 90.

That there were originally two basic Aramaic *logia* is patent; the one, in the form (probably), אתו לותי / ותשכחן נחא לנפשכון, and the other (possibly), נעים נירי הוא / ומובלי קליל היא.

It is also obvious that these two *logia* were related, the one to the other, prior to the independent developments manifest in the Matthaean and Thomas traditions. It is not easy, however, to determine how they were originally related. Were they connected tandem-like (*logion* 2 following *logion* 1 linked by a simple connective), as in the Matthaean tradition, or sandwich-like (with *logion* 2 intercalated between the two members of *logion* 1), as in the Thomas tradition?

It is not possible to decide this question with any degree of finality. I am inclined to think, however, that the Matthaean order represents the primary development. On the one hand, it seems to reflect a stage in which several related *logia* were simply strung together catena-like (cf. the *logia* of Q). On the other hand, the Thomas arrangement appears to be more contrived, and thus likely represents a secondary development.

For the Coptic text with English translation see A. Guillaumont, *et al.*, *The Gospel according to Thomas* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 46 f.

<sup>44</sup> See Köster, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Did 6.2 where the  $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$  κυρίου (1.1 to 6.1) is referred to as

as compared with the τὸ δυσβάστακτον φορτίον<sup>46</sup> of the ζυγὸς τοῦ νόμου (= עול תורה) required by the Rabbis,<sup>47</sup> and thereby reveals his apologetical/polemical understanding of the *logia* of which it is composed;<sup>48</sup> and in the second, when one compares the Matthaean passage with its parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas*,<sup>49</sup> and at the same time takes into consideration the "pre-history" of the *logia* involved,<sup>50</sup> it becomes evident that whereas the Thomas tradition has retained the heavy accent on the term ἀναπαυσίαις (sic!)

the ζυγὸς τοῦ κυρίου; Barn 2.6 which speaks of the "new" νόμος τοῦ κυρίου which is "without" the ζυγὸς ἀνάγκης (see F. X. Funk and Karl Bihlmeyer, *Die Apostolischen Väter* [Tübingen, 1956], pp. 5 and 11 respectively); and Justin Martyr, Dial. 53.1 (see J. C. T. Otto, *Iustini Philosophi et Martyris Opera* ["Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi," II; 3d ed.; Wiesbaden, 1877; reprint, 1969], bk I, pt II, p. 178).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Lk 11:46.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the *logion* of R. Nehunjah ben ha-Kanah (*Pirke Aboth*, 3.6):  
 כל המקבל עליו עול תורה מעבירין ממני עול מלות ועול דרך ארץ.  
 See R. T. Herford, *The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers* (New York, 1962), pp. 69 ff.

<sup>48</sup> See also Alan H. M'Neile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London, 1915; reprint, 1957), pp. 166 f.

<sup>49</sup> See n. 43 above.

<sup>50</sup> There can be little doubt that the *logia* of Mt 11:28 ff. are rooted in the Wisdom traditions of Judaism. Note, for instance, the remarkable parallelism between Sir 51.23 ff., and Mt 11:28 ff.:

*Sir 51.23 ff.*

*Mt 11:28 ff.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| a) ἐγγίσατε πρὸς με                          | δεῦτε πρὸς με . . .                            |
| b) τὸν τραχηλὸν ὑμῶν<br>ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν    | ἄρατε τὸν ζυγὸν μου<br>ἐφ' ὑμᾶς                |
| c) καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω<br>ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν<br>παιδείαν | καὶ μάθετε<br>ἀπ' ἐμοῦ . . .                   |
| d) καὶ εὖρον ἐμαυτῷ<br>πολλῶν ἀνάπαυσιν.     | καὶ εὐρήσετε<br>ἀνάπαυσιν<br>ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. |

Cf. Sir 24.19 ff., Prov 1:20 ff., and 8:1 ff., and see Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (5th ed.; Göttingen, 1961), pp. 171 f.; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (TU, LXV; Berlin, 1967), pp. 106 f.; and Francis W. Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus* (Oxford, 1962), p. 89.

"rest," the Matthaean tradition has shifted it to the term ζυγός,<sup>51</sup> thereby again revealing the Matthaean apologetical/polemical understanding of the *logia* concerned.

This apologetical/polemical attitude in which the ζυγός τοῦ κυρίου is consciously opposed to the ζυγός τοῦ νόμου continued to have an influential impact on some sectors of the Aramaic-speaking church, in the East as well as the West, and upon the gospel traditions which they transmitted.

The *Liber Graduum*, for instance, in an obvious allusion to Mt 11:28 ff., with measured phrases, deliberately sets the ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܘܬܐ, the "light burdens," of the ܚܘܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܘܬܐ, the "new covenant," to which the Christian is "subject," over against the ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܘܬܐ, "the heavy burdens," of the ܚܘܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܘܬܐ, the "old covenant," from which he has been "liberated."<sup>52</sup>

Similarly, the *Didascalia*, after carefully distinguishing between the ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܘܬܐ, the "first law," which consists of the "ten words and judgments,"<sup>53</sup> and which is "in accord with the gospel," and the ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܘܬܐ the "second law," which contains the ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܘܬܐ, "the heavy burdens," the "bonds which may not be loosed of heavy burdens," from which the "Savior" has set the Christian free,<sup>54</sup> through baptism,<sup>55</sup> cites Mt 11:28 with the comment, ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ܕܠܗܘܘܬܐ.

<sup>51</sup> ܐܢܐܦܐܬܐܘܬܐ is an important term in the *Gospel of Thomas*, as in Gnostic literature generally, and has rather specialized connotations (cf., e.g., *Logion* 60 in which ܐܢܐܦܐܬܐܘܬܐ serves "to describe that condition in which man, having allowed himself to be illuminated by gnosis, is no longer in the power of, and can no longer be corrupted by, the material world." So Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel according to Thomas* (New York, 1961), pp. 265 f.). It is no doubt intended to receive special emphasis in *Logion* 90. So also Robert M. Grant and D. Noel Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (London, 1960), pp. 173 f., and R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (London, 1960), pp. 57 f.

<sup>52</sup> The Syriac text is cited on p. 6 above.

<sup>53</sup> Since the "Ten Words" are patently the ܕܒܪܝܝܡ of Ex 20:1 ff., the "Judgments" are most likely the ܕܡܫܦܬܝܡ of Ex 21:1 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Didasc* 4.23 ff.; cf. 41.10 ff.; and 109.27 ff. (Lagarde, *op. cit.*).

<sup>55</sup> *Didasc* 109.28 f. (Lagarde, *op. cit.*).



ܠܗ ܡܡܢ ܠܚܬܝܒܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ. ܕܠܗ ܠܗܠܘܡܢܐ, ܘܡܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܚܘܒܐ.  
 ܕܚܘܒܐ ܡܡܢ. ܡܡܢ ܡܢ ܚܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܠܚܬܝܒܐ ܚܘܒܐ.

"now we know that our Savior did not say this to the Gentiles, but he said it to us his disciples from among the Jews, and brought us out from burdens and a *heavy* load."<sup>56</sup>

To summarize, there can be little doubt that Mt 11:28, as cited in the Syriac *Didascalia*, and in a number of Syriac and Armenian fathers, was drawn ultimately on a single source, a source which represented a text tradition that had developed independently of the Greek and Latin traditions in the early eastern Christian communities, a source that probably dated from as early as the second half of the second century A.D.

That source was probably a gospel harmony. It is possible that it was Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

The significant conflate reading "bearers of *heavy* burdens," which it transmitted, probably did not originate in its composition, but earlier in a *florilegium* of dominical *logia*, employed in the debate between the church and the synagogue, in which Lk 11:46 influenced Mt 11:28.

<sup>56</sup> Didasc 110.27 ff. (Lagarde, *op. cit.*).

## ON ESTEEMING ONE DAY BETTER THAN ANOTHER

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One man esteems one day as better than another, while another man esteems all days alike. Let every one be fully convinced in his own mind. He who observes the day, observes it in honor of the Lord. He also who eats, eats in honor of the Lord, since he gives thanks to God; while he who abstains, abstains in honor of the Lord and gives thanks to God (Rom 14:5, 6).

What was in the mind of the apostle when he indicated the Christian's perfect liberty either to esteem one day above another, or to fail to make any distinction at all between them? Was Paul objecting to Sabbath keeping? Was he attempting to prove that the "Jewish Sabbath" was "nailed to the cross" like any other day of worship, since the issue presented here seems to be of equal importance to both Sabbath and Sunday-keepers? What is Paul saying to the Christian community in Rome? Is he writing of doctrinal "essentials" or of ethical "unessentials"? If he is writing of soteriological "unessentials" would he include a reference to the Sabbath in the passage?

### *The Church at Rome*

The epistle itself seems to have been a product of Paul's three-month stay in Greece, at the close of his third missionary journey. Quite probably it was written from Corinth, or that city's seaport, Cenchræe, for Corinth was the site of the most important Christian church in the area.<sup>1</sup> The best historical evidence seems to locate this three-month period in Achaia between 57 and 59 A.D. The winter of 57-58 or the early spring of 58 seems a reasonable date for the letter.

Little is known regarding the beginning of the Christian

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (London, 1954), pp. xviii-xx.

community in Rome. But it seems certain that Christianity was introduced quite early in the capital city. Evidently there was a large church at Rome in 58, composed like most churches of mixed Jewish and Gentile membership.<sup>2</sup> "When the Neroian persecution broke out (ca. 64), the Christians of Rome were 'a large body' (I Clem. VI, 1), 'an immense multitude' (Tacitus, *Annals* XV, 44).<sup>3</sup>

The basic theme recurring through the entire letter is that of justification by faith, the universal sinfulness of man and the universal grace of God. The epistle itself is divided into two main sections, the theological part (chs. 1-11) and the ethical or practical section (chs. 12-16): "Ethics" after "Dogma."<sup>4</sup>

In Rom 12 and 13 the principle of love receives first importance. It will express itself to the need of the brethren as well as to the world at large in civic justice, good citizenship, and a holy example. But what shall be done about matters of Christian ethics when believers differ in opinion and are convinced that their views are sound? Is there here some tangible meeting place? Yes, answers Paul in a passage which is an immediate illustration of the spirit of self-sacrifice that he has just been requiring (ch. 14:1-15:13). Depicting Christ as the model in self-denial, he summarizes the whole thrust of the passage by these words, "Let each of us please his neighbor for his good, to edify him" (ch. 15:2). This ethical section is not to be considered as a new development in Paul's outline. It is rooted in the previous chapters. The first eleven chapters cannot be fully understood without the concrete and practical application of chs. 12-15, nor would it be possible to interpret the latter correctly without the background offered by the first eleven chapters. The passage under study (chs. 14:5,6) falls within a large section of the letter devoted to the very application of Christian truths to the daily Christian life.

<sup>2</sup> See Rom 1:13-16; 2:9, 10, 17; 11:13, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Althaus, *Der Brief an die Römer* (9th ed.; Göttingen, 1959), p. 112.

## The Immediate Context

As for the man who is weak in faith, welcome him, but not for disputes over opinions. One believes he may eat anything, while the weak man eats only vegetables. Let not him who eats despise him who abstains, and let not him who abstains pass judgment on him who eats; for God has welcomed him. Who are you to pass judgment on the servant of another? It is before his own master that he stands or falls. And he will be upheld, for the Master is able to make him stand.

One man esteems one day as better than another, while another man esteems all days alike. Let every one be fully convinced in his own mind. He who observes the day, observes it in honor of the Lord. He also who eats, eats in honor of the Lord, since he gives thanks to God; while he who abstains, abstains in honor of the Lord and gives thanks to God (Rom 14:1-6).

No attempt at reliable interpretation of Rom 14:5 can be made without a careful examination of the context. A cursory reading of Rom 14 indicates that there existed in the Christian community of Rome a controversy in connection with both diet and the observance of certain days. In fact, the matter of "esteeming one day as better than another" seems to be merely interjected into a passage which has to do entirely with a controversy which existed in the Roman community on the matter of meat-eating *versus* vegetarianism and abstinence from wine (see vss. 1, 21).

Therefore, in order properly to evaluate Rom 14:5 it is necessary first to gain an understanding of what conflicting philosophies were involved in the controversy, and then determine, if possible, whether there is any connection between the question of diet and that of considering certain days as holy. If any conclusion may be reached, it might then be possible to suggest whether or not the seventh-day Sabbath is involved.

*Is Paul Speaking to a Specific Situation?* Whether or not Paul is speaking to a specific situation is a matter of debate. Although the suggestions made by some commentators seem very reasonable,<sup>5</sup> the author is inclined to believe that Paul

<sup>5</sup> Following an excellent resume of the various positions, W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam conclude that Paul is giving general counsel arising

aims his counsel to a specific situation and to a particular group of individuals in the Roman church. With Emil Brunner he believes that "a certain split had occurred in the church at Rome"<sup>6</sup> and that after having dealt with the more general aspects of Christian behavior, Paul now turns to a problem which was perplexing that community.<sup>7</sup>

Exactly what the problem was remains uncertain. In Christian communities tension arose between the "old-fashioned" and the "emancipated," the "progressives" or "enlightened," in T. W. Manson's words.<sup>8</sup> The weak are vegetarians, the strong are able to eat all kinds of food. In a classic chapter on the theory and practice of the Gospel in terms of Christian tolerance, Paul places his finger on the vice so liable to be indulged by the respective groups. That of the strong is the smile of disdainful contempt. That of the weak is the frown of condemnatory judgment. Both are condemned with equal vigor.

#### *Who Were Those Ascetics?*

The tendency has been to point immediately to Jewish Christians who still adhered to the shadows of the laws and whose minds were not yet sufficiently established, as the weak

from past experience. William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (5th ed.; Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 399-403.

<sup>6</sup> Emil Brunner, *The Letter to the Romans* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> The questions raised by Paul in verses 4 and 10 appear to refer to a concrete situation. In verse 2 he uses *λάχανα* (vegetables), the only time in the entire body of his writings. The situation does not seem to have appeared elsewhere. Furthermore, his general method seems to be to state enduring Christian principles in the presence of problems or errors. 1 Cor and Gal are outstanding examples. Likewise it seems that the great principles of Christian living laid down in Rom 14:1 to 15:13 are triggered by the situation at Rome. It seems that Paul knew something about the Roman church through persons who had been in Rome or traveling church members (ch 1:8). It is like human nature that he could have heard of the contention as early as of the faith of the Roman Christians.

<sup>8</sup> T. W. Manson, *Romans*, in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (Matthew Black ed.; London, 1964), p. 951.

believers mentioned in this passage. Ascetic trends, however, existed in paganism as well as in Judaism.<sup>9</sup>

Pagan concepts may very well have made inroads in the Christian church at Rome. We find them indicated in Paul's epistles to the Galatians and to the Ephesians. Those who followed the Orphic Mystery cult and the Pythagoreans appear to have been vegetarians. Gnostic ideas also were prevalent in the first century in many parts of the Empire.<sup>10</sup> Their tendencies toward asceticism may have obtained some following in Rome. But these do not satisfy all the circumstances. Roman Christians were in the habit, says Paul, of observing scrupulously certain days, and this custom did not, as far as we know, prevail among any heathen sect. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that there might have been those among the Roman congregation who, because of the influence of a philosophy of life rooted in Hellenistic dualism, chose totally to abstain from meat and wine.<sup>11</sup>

It seems difficult also to retain the possibility that Paul was speaking of Jewish Christians who rejected wine (see v. 21) and who had serious scruples about eating unclean meats of which others among the congregation partook. Judaism did not reject wine except for the duration of a vow, and the weak brethren objected to eating flesh at all, an objection which was not founded on the law of Moses but on ascetic motives foreign to the eleventh chapter of Leviticus.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> For a list of the major groups, see Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (10th ed.; Göttingen, 1955), pp. 256 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston, 1958), p. 33.

<sup>11</sup> See Ernest Best, *The Letter of Paul to the Romans* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 154, 155.

<sup>12</sup> The word used for unclean (Rom 14:14) is significant, *viz.*, κοινός. It is to be distinguished from ἀκάθαρτος, the word applied to forbidden food in the LXX text of Lev 11. Κοινός does not carry the sense of being impure, but common, unfit for the holy purpose of sacrifices, and defiling (see 1 Macc 1:47). Ἀκάθαρτος refers to meat which, defined by Lev 11, is unfit for human consumption. Κοινός is applied to perfectly proper food become "unclean" and therefore not lawful to be eaten.

Most vegetarians in those days abstained from meat on the basis of

Since all meat was refused, some have postulated that the reason could very well be the same as that given in 1 Cor, namely the difficulty of obtaining meat that had not previously been offered in sacrifice to deities.<sup>13</sup> There is a rather close affinity, in fact, between Rom 14 on one hand and 1 Cor 8 and 10 on the other. Food and drink is the issue (Rom 14:1, 21; 1 Cor 10:31), "everything" is permissible (Rom 14:14, 20; 1 Cor 10:23). In each case the eater gives thanks to God and eats with impunity (Rom 14:6; 1 Cor 10:26, 30). He is justified if he has no scruples and is no stumbling block to the weak brother (Rom 14:20; 1 Cor 8:9). In both instances Christ's disciples are exhorted to consider others before themselves (Rom 15:1, 2; 1 Cor 10:24) and to see the other's advantage rather than one's own (Rom 15:1, 2; 1 Cor 10:33). The appeal is to be considerate of the weak one's faith and to abstain rather than to cause another's fall (Rom 14:1, 21; 1 Cor 8:9, 11-13).

It seems impossible to determine exactly what the problem in Rome was. It might very well have been identical with that in Corinth. But Paul's silence concerning idols and demons, as well as the mention of the observance of certain days, incline many to conclude that there is no real parallel between the two passages.<sup>14</sup>

*Christians of Jewish Origin Influenced by Essenism.* It is equally possible that those refraining from meat and wine might have been Christians of Jewish origin influenced by Essenism.<sup>15</sup> It is evident, as mentioned earlier, that the church their metaphysical concept of the world. Most Christian vegetarians today do so mainly in striving for good health.

<sup>13</sup> Anders Nygren, *Commentary on the Romans* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 442. Cf. A. M. Hunter, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London, 1957), p. 117.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Adolf von Schlatter, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit* (4th ed.; Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 364, 368; Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 256; Ernst Gaugler, *Der Römerbrief* (Zürich, 1952), II, 326.

<sup>15</sup> On the importance of the Jewish influence in Rome, see J. Kinoshita's interesting theory on a source for the outline of Rom 14. He sees the passage as composed of "The Manual of Instruction on the Jewish Problem." J. Kinoshita, "Romans—Two Writings Combined," *NT*, VII (1964-65), 258-277.

at Rome was composed of both Jews and Gentiles. The relative size of the two groups is uncertain, although we know that at that time there was a large Jewish colony in Rome.<sup>16</sup>

Like the Pythagoreans, the Essenes sought to attain a higher sanctity by depriving the flesh of satisfaction of its desires. As a possible outgrowth of Pharisaism, Essenism had much in common with it, although it also found itself at great variance with it. Here ceremonial purity was not merely a principal aim, it was an absorbing passion. In his desire to observe carefully the distinction laid down by Moses of meats as lawful and unlawful, the Essene went far beyond the Pharisee. Many believe that he even drank no wine nor touched any animal food, at least at times.<sup>17</sup>

Less objection applies to this proposed solution if it is

<sup>16</sup> For a study of the Christian community and the Jewish colony in Rome, see G. La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire," *HTHR*, XX (1927), 183 ff.

<sup>17</sup> It remains difficult to know whether the Essenes abstained entirely from meat and wine. Archaeological and literary evidences provided by the Qumran community—which most scholars relate to the Essenes—have been variously interpreted. Whereas some, on the basis of the Dead Sea scrolls, consider that the Essenes used wine, others regard it as improbable in view of the use of the word *tirosh*: see J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran* (London, 1958), p. 212, and E. F. Sutcliffe, *The Monks of Qumran* (Westminster, Md., 1960), p. 110. Archaeologists uncovered numerous deposits of bones in jars and pieces of jars, bones of animals—mainly sheep and goats—which had been cooked or roasted. The theory that these are the remains of animals of which the flesh was eaten seems very natural, although not convincing to those who consider them as evidence of sacrifices that the Essenes felt necessary to offer within the purity of their own community; see Kurt Schubert, *The Dead Sea Community* (New York, 1959), p. 23; van der Ploeg, *JSS*, II (1957), 172; R. de Vaux, *RB*, LXIII (1956), 73, 74, 549-550; W. R. Farmer, *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, II (New York, 1962), 148.

In the absence of coercive evidence it seems reasonable to suggest that wine was drunk and meat was eaten at times by the Essenes of Khirbet Qumran. But if the Pharisee fasted twice a week and, at times, rejected wine for the duration of a vow, the Essene, whose austerity was so highly esteemed by ancient authorities, must not have lagged behind in his zealous attachment to a strict observance of his religious practice. At Qumran the significance of asceticism and purity was pushed to the limit. The community stood or fell by it, so to speak.



presented in the form, not that Essenism existed in Rome as a strict organization, which is highly improbable, but that there was an Essenic influence in the Jewish community there. This is probable, and the view fulfills the three conditions of the case. The Essenes were Jewish and ascetic, and they observed certain days. "There is some evidence," writes F. F. Bruce, "that such 'baptist' communities were found in the Dispersion as well as in Judaea. The Jewish community of Rome, in particular, appears to have preserved some characteristic features of this 'non-conformist' Judaism—features which, as we may gather from the Hippolytan *Apostolic Tradition*, were carried over into Roman Christianity."<sup>18</sup>

*On Esteeming Certain Days Above Others*

Whatever the real problem may have been, Paul's plea is for consideration on the part of more mature Christians towards their weak brethren. Those whose faith makes them independent of ritual prohibition should not reject the weak, but welcome them as Christian brethren. To the weak and scrupulous Paul appeals with more elaboration of argument that they should refrain from condemning those who claim to exercise freedom in matters of such observances.

At this point, in a chapter that has to do with a controversy on the matter of meat-eating versus vegetarianism, Paul interjects another issue, that of "esteeming one day as better than another" (v. 5). This might very well have been another expression of the scrupulousness Paul is concerned with.

*Remarks on the Greek Text of Rom 14:5.* Part of the interpretative problem of this passage is the fact that a linguistic study hardly contributes any substantial information toward a more accurate understanding. The Greek text reads: *ὁς μὲν (γὰρ) κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν, ὁς δὲ κρίνει πᾶσαν ἡμέραν· ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοῦ πληροφορεῖσθω.*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> F. F. Bruce, "To the Hebrews or to the Essenes?" *NTS*, (1962-1963), 227.

<sup>19</sup> *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Erwin Nestle, ed.: Stuttgart, 1952).

Key words in this passage, on which its sense hinges to a large degree, are κρίνει, ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν, and πληροφορείσθω.

Κρίνει: one man "esteems." The basic meaning of the word is that of separating, and then discerning, in the act of judging. It stresses mental discrimination, a moral scrutiny and determination. It is here properly translated "esteems." Some Roman Christians attributed a particular importance to certain days, others considered them all alike.

Ἡμέραν: "day." Although ἡμέρα may have several meanings,<sup>20</sup> in this passage the word falls easily into the category of a 24-hour period. Reference is made here to the calendar day.

Ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν: "one day as better than another." In this phrase, the key word is παρα. When used before an accusative, as is the case here, except with verbs of motion and adverbially of place or time, παρα indicates a comparative-contrastive concept. According to the best Greek authorities this concept conveys two fundamental notions: (1) *Besides* or *beyond*, as in Rom 16:17; (2) *Above* or *beyond* in the sense of the comparative sense "more than," as, for instance, in Heb 1:9; Lk 13:2. Fundamentally, then, the preposition παρα serves to *set apart* one idea *from* another, or "one day *above* another."<sup>21</sup> Although in the opinion of some the addition of "alike" may seem to distort the meaning of the passage, this adjective has been supplied by the translators in an effort to complete the sense of the sentence.

<sup>20</sup> As a summary of the meanings ἡμέρα may have in the Pauline writings, W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich suggest: (1) An age, era, indefinite period of time, as in 2 Cor 6:2; Eph 5:16; (2) an eschatological day, as in Rom 2:16; 1 Cor 5:5; (3) the natural day from sunrise to sunset, 1 Th 2:9; 3:10; (4) the day of 24 hours, Gal 1:18; 1 Cor 15:4. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 346-348.

<sup>21</sup> James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. III by Nigel Turner (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 273; F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 123-124; Arndt and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, art. παρα.

The various nuances of meaning possible to the entire clause  $\delta\varsigma$  κρίνει ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν are reflected in various versions and translations. The following are samplings:

"One man discriminates between days" (Syriac).

"One man considers some days to be more sacred than others" (*The Twentieth Century New Testament*).

"One man esteemeth one day above another" (KJV).

"This man putteth difference between daye and daye" (Tyndale and Cranmer).

"One man esteems one day as better than another" (RSV).

"One man keeps certain days as holier than others (*Jerusalem Bible*).

"This man rates one day above another" (Moffatt).

"One demeth a day bitwixe a day" (Wycliffe).

"This man regards one day more highly than another" (NEB).

Πληροφοροεῖσθω: "Let one be fully convinced," a compound verb which means to become filled with a thought or conviction to the extent of accepting it, and of being settled in mind. The contextual significance of this verb seems obvious. It fits in with Paul's attitude in matters of moral issue, and more specifically in this case, in the matter of "eating and not eating." So also in the matter of discriminating or not between days, it is important that one's mind be settled. The mind must be "fully assured,"<sup>22</sup> having carefully pondered the question and come to a settled conviction.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> A. T. Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*, IV (New York, 1931), 413.

<sup>23</sup> Biblical scholarship is divided on the matter of retaining or dropping a passage which follows Rom 14:5. The KJV has translated Rom 14:6 as follows: "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." The uncial authority is strongly against the italicized passage; the lack of completeness in the antithesis might easily have led to its insertion. On the other hand the possibility of omission by homoioteleuton exists and the repetition characteristic of the clause increases the probability

The passage has been very faithfully rendered by the translators.

*Paul's Distinction and the Seventh-day Sabbath*

But is it possible to discover what days Paul had in mind when he wrote that "one man esteems one day as better than another, while another man esteems all days alike"?

Although one may not want to exclude the possibility of Paul's referring to certain days of fasting as of heathen origin<sup>24</sup> or to an early keeping of Sunday,<sup>25</sup> commentators have very generally thought of them as being: (1) Jewish ceremonial feasts or Sabbaths which Jewish Christians would still have been observing; (2) fast days on which it would not have been permitted to eat certain things; and (3) the seventh-day Sabbath.

It has been argued that the distinction here touched upon refers to the seventh-day Sabbath. "What other day would any Roman Christian judge to be above other days?" asks Lenski.<sup>26</sup> A small group of Jewish Christians, some of them probably from Jerusalem, "still clung to the Sabbath much as the Christians did after Pentecost."<sup>27</sup> In this interpretation Paul considers that all distinction of the Sabbath day from other days has been abolished by Christianity. In other words, for the Christian there are no sacred days any longer, all days being indifferently sacred. Although Alford does not see how the passage can be otherwise understood,<sup>28</sup> others—from an understandable fear that any application of "one day" to the sev-

of its having existed in the original manuscript, inasmuch as its inclusion completes a parallel between observing and not observing on the one hand, and eating and not eating on the other. The insertion or omission of the clause does not essentially modify Paul's argumentation.

<sup>24</sup> See Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

<sup>25</sup> Von Schlatter, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

<sup>26</sup> R. C. H. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (Columbus, Ohio, 1945), p. 821.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> H. Alford, *The Greek Testament*, II (Cambridge, 1865), 452.

enth-day Sabbath would equally apply to the "Lord's Day"—have suggested that Paul was exclusively dealing with the *Jewish* Sabbath, and not at all with the *Christian* Sabbath.<sup>29</sup> When confronted by the fact that the "strong" esteems every day alike, such commentators reply—with much common sense—that "if any man is disposed to plead this passage as an excuse for violating the Sabbath [Sunday] and devoting it to pleasure or gain, let him quote it just as it is, *i.e.*, let him neglect the Sabbath from a conscientious desire to honor Jesus Christ. Unless this is his motive, the passage cannot avail him."<sup>30</sup> Both groups agree, therefore, that it is ruled by Paul that the seventh-day Sabbath is no longer of permanent moral obligation.

It is to be noted, however, that the attempt to connect the fourth-commandment Sabbath with the "days" mentioned in this passage is not convincing for everybody.<sup>31</sup> The whole discussion concerns "unessentials," matters in which God has not spoken clearly in his Word. No such question can be conscientiously raised concerning the fundamental moral issues that are clarified in the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, or in any other plain statement of Scripture. Who can have a divine commandment before him and say to others: you can treat that commandment as you please; it really makes no difference whether you keep it or not; please yourselves? No apostle could so conduct an argument. And probably no man would be more surprised at that interpretation than Paul himself, who had utmost respect for the Decalogue, God's law, which is "holy, just and good" (Rom 7:12). For the apostle each of the ten commandments is an expression of love (ch. 13:8-10), and Christ himself, the norm of all Pauline teach-

<sup>29</sup> A. Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament*, IV, *Romans* (London, 1832), 299, 300.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, Joseph Parker, *The People's Bible*, XXVI, *Romans and Galatians* (New York, 1901), 123 ff.; Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 300; Wilber T. Dayton, *Romans and Galatians*, in the *Wesleyan Bible Commentary*, V (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), 85, 86.

ing (see, for instance, ch. 15:1-13), was indisputably a Sabbath keeper. For the apostle, the situation of the Christian toward God's law has become much more responsible—and dangerous—than that of the devout men of the Old Testament.

Paul himself, who evidently cannot be reckoned among the "weak," worshiped on Sabbath "as was his custom" (Acts 17:2; cf. Lk 4:16), and there is no conclusive evidence to the contrary. He was in no doubt about the validity of the weekly Sabbath. Thus, to assume that when they were converted to Christianity by Paul, Gentiles or Jews would be anxious to give up the "Jewish" Sabbath for their "own day" is hardly likely. This could be expected only at some later time in the history of the Christian Church, and for other reasons.

In Rom 14 Paul is taking for granted certain things which ought never to be disputed. If it had occurred to his mind that there were presumptuous believers who thought that a commandment could be trifled with, he would probably have conducted his argument accordingly. It seems safe, therefore, to conclude with a large group of exegetes, that the seventh-day Sabbath does not come within the scope of the distinction respecting the days mentioned in Rom 14:5.<sup>32</sup>

*The Jewish Ceremonial Sabbaths.* It has been argued with a great deal of plausibility that Paul was simply referring to the sacred days of the Jewish ceremonial economy. Some regarded them as having abiding sanctity. Others considered them as abrogated with the passing away of the ceremonial institutions. After the deliverance from Egypt, the Lord instituted for Israel six annual feasts, and in connection with these, seven ceremonial Sabbaths.<sup>33</sup> In subsequent Jewish history these

<sup>32</sup> It is to be noted that it is even more so for John Murray, the Presbyterian theologian, since he considers that the Lord's day, the memorial of Jesus' resurrection, borrows its religious significance from the Sabbath institution which keeps its abiding relevance and binding obligation upon the believer of the New Testament covenant. See "Appendix D" in *The Epistle to the Romans*, II (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), 257 ff.

<sup>33</sup> See Lev 23 and Num 28, 29.

feasts were given great prominence and became deeply ingrained in Jewish culture. Some of the early Christians, of Jewish origin, might have been slow to break away from the old customs. It is quite possible that in the church at Rome there may have been a strong Jewish element endeavoring to make a case for the observance of these yearly feasts and Sabbaths. Some converts from Judaism still like to observe them today and see nothing wrong in this, regarding them as part of their ethnic heritage.

These interpreters generally see a connection between the problem mentioned in Rom 14 and that discussed in Gal 4 (vs. 8-11) and Col 2 (vs. 16, 17). It might seem that the similarities between the two groups of passages would indicate the same issue. This inference, however, is not established, and the evidence would point to the conclusion that the weakness in view in Rom 14 is of a somewhat different character. It seems that more has to be taken into account. In Rom 14 there is no mention of the specific days designated in Col, for instance. If this were the question we would expect an explicit reference as in Col 2:16, 17. Here Paul mentions only a distinction between days.<sup>34</sup> The main weakness of Rom 14 involved a vegetarian diet, which is not reflected in the epistles to the Galatians and Colossians. There is no indication either that the weak in reference to food had, as the Galatians, been "bewitched" in accepting "another gospel" (Gal 3:1; 1:8). Both attitudes may very well have been an outgrowth of Essenic-Judaistic sectarianism, and it is conceivable that the yearly Sabbaths could have been included in this reference, but that they constituted the real subject of reference seems rather unlikely.

*The Essenes Might Have Caused the Problem*

Paul may have had in mind the case of Jewish converts who were still clinging to these feast days. But the special days of

<sup>34</sup> See Joseph Huby, *Saint Paul, Épître aux Romains* (Paris, 1957), pp. 452, 453.

the week were more probably fast days. This suggestion is based on the context itself, in which abstinence is the predominant feature. It may even be that among the faithful who strictly abstained from flesh and wine—or besides them—there were others who did so only on certain days. Paul's phrase in v. 2, "one believes he may eat anything, while the weak man eats only vegetables" is curiously analogous to this statement in v. 5, "one man esteems one day as better than another, while another man esteems all days alike." He mentions the two cases together and later in the chapter he declares that a man should not be judged because of his eating (vs. 10-13), which may imply that Paul is referring to fast days. It appears quite probable from the context that Paul here is correlating the eating with the observance of days. Most likely, although it is impossible to ascertain it, the apostle is dealing with fast days in a context of either partial or total abstinence.<sup>35</sup>

Here also the Essenes might have caused the problem. It is certainly significant that besides abstaining from meat and wine—at least at times—they also were very specific in the matter of observing days. They sanctified certain days which were not observed by the general stream of the Jews. Although the Essenes' principal feasts were the same "... as in the rest of Israel, others have been added which seem to have been unique to the sect."<sup>36</sup>

Their liturgical calendar was different from the official priestly calendar in Jerusalem. Set up according to the calendar of Jubilees, it caused the major feasts to fall on the same day of the week, year after year. The year of the Jubilee Calendar had only 364 days, exactly 52 weeks. Each month counted 30 days. After every three months an extra day was added so that the weekly cycle would work out evenly. In other words, it was a synchronization of the weekly and yearly

<sup>35</sup> James Denney, *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, II, *Romans* (W. R. Nicoll, ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1961), 702; Huby, *op. cit.*, pp. 455, 456; Gaugler, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

<sup>36</sup> Marcel Simon, *Les sectes juives au temps de Jésus* (Paris, 1960), p. 62.



time periods, so that every year a particular date always fell on the same day of the month. All new moons and religious feasts fell on Sundays, Wednesdays, or Fridays.

Some have suggested that the calendar of Jubilees represented the ancient liturgical computation of the Temple itself, later abandoned at Jerusalem in favor of the lunar-solar calendar in use in the Hellenistic world. "It is not impossible that this substitution gave rise to the Essene secession."<sup>37</sup> As might be expected, there was, of course, a predilection for these particular days.

Some pertinent observations emerge now which could well tie in the matter of diet with that of "esteeming certain days above others." The Essenes scrupulously abstained from meat and wine. They added certain feast days to the regular Jewish calendar. The dissension over this very point existed in Jewry prior to the advent of Christianity. Could it be that the controversy was carried over into the Christian Church and finds itself reflected in Rom 14? In this case the practice of the weak may be compared with the early Christian custom indicated in the *Didache* of fasting twice every week.<sup>38</sup> Is it not significant and relevant at the same time that we have here a matter of diet *and* days connected in a controversial issue? Although this is not an established fact, this interpretation is a possibility which cannot be ignored. It seems, in fact, to be the most likely possibility in a context in which abstinence is a predominant feature. This is why I suggest that Paul is here referring to practices of abstinence and fasting on regular fixed dates.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63. A. Jaubert, *La date de la Cène, calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne* (Paris, 1957), pp. 51-56.

<sup>38</sup> The *Didache* (8:1) warns Christians not to fast with the hypocrites on the second and fifth days of the week, but rather on the fourth and sixth days.

<sup>39</sup> See F. J. Leenhardt, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London, 1961), pp. 348, 349. M. J. Lagrange declares, "Il est assez clair, d'après le contexte, qu'il s'agit d'abstinence." *Saint Paul, Épître aux Romains* (Paris, 1950), p. 325. There also remains the possibility that the apostle is referring here to another example of Pharisaic influence. There is little

*The Problem Was Not a Basic One*

The problem, obviously, was not a basic one, as the mild way in which Paul deals with these weak brethren indicates. The contrast between the tone of the letter to the Romans and the tone of the letters to the Galatians and to the Colossians is highly significant. The reason is clear. In Gal, for instance, Paul is dealing with Judaizers who are perverting the Gospel at its very center. Propagandists of a legalism which maintained that the observance of days and seasons was necessary to justification and acceptance with God, they were denounced as "false teachers" preaching "another gospel" (Gal 2:4; 1:8). Their views are a return to "spiritual slavery" (ch. 4:8,9) and Paul fears that he has labored in vain among them (ch. 4:11). The Colossians likewise adulterated the ground of salvation by dogmatic confidence. There is no evidence of such a fatal error in Rom 14. The Roman Christians were not "propagandists for a ceremonialism that was aimed at the heart of the cross."<sup>40</sup> The Galatians were involved in essential doctrinal issues; they were outside the Gospel in dogmatic terms. This explains Paul's language. The Romans always remained within the Gospel. The climate is radically different and explains Paul's tolerance and restraint. He was dealing here with unessentials.

The apostle is convinced that these differences of opinions regarding days have nothing to do with the fundamentals of Christian experience. They are indifferent matters. None of them is characteristic of an inadequate theory of life and

doubt that the Jews in general and the Pharisees in particular laid great emphasis on fasting as a religious practice in Bible times. Besides the biblical evidence, the Babylonian and the Palestinian Talmuds contain a sizable tractate called *Ta'anit* (Fasts) devoted to the Jewish fast-days and the practices peculiar to them. I feel, however, that this does not meet all the circumstances described in Rom 14, since Paul is dealing with Christians who not only observed certain days, but also abstained from meat and wine.

<sup>40</sup> John Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans*, II (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), 173.

religion. "He who observes the day, observes it in honor of the Lord. He also who eats, eats in honor of the Lord, since he gives thanks to God; while he who abstains, abstains in honor of the Lord and gives thanks to God" (Rom 14:6). Whether they observe holy days or not, whether they partake or refrain from food, these Christians' actions are regulated by the great principle of the lordship of Christ. There is no proof that the weak brethren differed from the strong on the great principle of justification by faith. All there is for some is weakness "in faith," that is to say an inadequate grasp of the great principle of salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, which brought some to an anxious desire to make their salvation more certain by the scrupulous fulfillment of formal rules. But however weak these brethren may have been they still are brethren, and remain part of the Christian fellowship. As Bultmann indicates, the Scriptures point to different degrees and possibilities of faith for individuals. There are "deficiencies in faith" (1 Th 3:10); "growth in faith" (2 Cor 10:15); "fullness of faith" (Rom 4:21; 14:5); and "weakness of faith" (Rom 14:1).<sup>41</sup> But all are characteristic, not of Judaizers or apostates, but of Christians. Therefore, our weak brother of Romans 14 is to be welcomed as a Christian.

*Matters Not Regulated by a Revelation from God.* The weight of evidence points to the fact that Paul is not dealing with the fourth-commandment Sabbath. The polyglot society at Rome helps one to understand somewhat better the complex situation existing in that Christian community. The Roman, Greek, Oriental, and Jew lived there. The slave, the free man, and the freedman lived there. All were confronted by the question of Christian ethics in a pagan society. While all had one and the same faith, all did not share one and the same philosophy of Christian life. Some, who were strong in the faith, could rely on the past and not let it disturb them. Others wanted added protection against the non-Christian environment. They felt

<sup>41</sup> Rudolf Bultmann and Arthur Weiser, *Faith* (London, 1961), pp. 88, 89.

the necessity for certain restrictions governing their Christian way of living.

Is it not significant that this epistle to the Romans which presents the Christian doctrine with such exceptional power and clarity should indicate that the teaching of faith and a healthy doctrine do not guarantee a healthy community? There are questions which concern matters morally indifferent, which are not regulated by a revelation from God. In these matters, Paul asserts, "let every one be fully convinced in his own mind"; fully convinced, that is to say fully settled, having sound reasons for one's actions. Since divergencies are to be expected in such a context, let the weak respect the position of the strong (ch. 14:3) as well as the strong bear the weak brother and welcome him to fellowship (chs. 14:1; 15:1, 7). Both, in fact, are doing what they do "in the Lord" or "unto him." Whether they keep certain days, whether they partake or refrain from food, their actions are to be regulated by the lordship of Christ, by the fact that they recognize him as Lord.

It is important, therefore, that in these matters every individual Christian stand true to the authority of his conscience. It is possible for Christians to have reached different levels in the education and strength of their conscience. And having thought through the same problem they might come up with different answers. Some things are unquestionably right, and others are unquestionably wrong. But there are still others regarding which the consciences of men differ. Here is precisely where none will interfere in an arrogant spirit. Let there be no bickering, disputing, or fault-finding. Men are neither saved nor lost by these matters. This is in essence the teaching of Paul in Rom 14.

The dispute between the strong and the weak over unessential matters is to be understood in such a way as to prefer the common edification of the Church over one's own objective right. This is how one shows the superior soundness of his faith, and it is precisely what only the strong in faith can do. The strong in faith do not become weak when they are able and

willing to resign all thoughts of asserting their objective right for the common upbuilding of the Church and the growth of the work of God. When they act in this way, they, rather, give evidence of their strength by the fact that they genuinely bear the weakness of the weak, making it their own and recognizing that all cannot at once rise to full strength. Together they accept the challenge that each should be fully persuaded in his own mind. This is using one's liberty, not for doing harm, but for the furtherance of the Church and of the work of God.

In these ethical unessentials, Paul identifies himself with the strong brother. From such a starting point we might have expected him to seek to persuade the weak that their scruples regarding eating or fasting were baseless, and so to avoid a schism. But Paul proceeds in an entirely different manner. In unessentials Paul contends for Christian freedom, for the right of both weak and strong. "One man esteems one day as better than another, while another man esteems all days alike." The chief thing is that "every one be fully convinced in his own mind." This is no arbitrary indulgence. It was in this way alone that in such matters the apostle could be true to the Gospel. Never was there a Christian more emancipated from un-Christian inhibition. "He was not even in bondage to his emancipation."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Bruce, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1963), p. 243.

LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS  
REGARDING THE TRANSLATION OF  
ISAIAH'S *SHEAR-JASHUB*: A REASSESSMENT

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Virtually all scholars agree that the name of Isaiah's son *שְׁאָר יֵשׁוּב* (Is 7:3) is a key element of the remnant motif of Isaiah of Jerusalem. It has been suggested by L. G. Rignell that this symbolic name is the "key term"<sup>1</sup> in chapter 7 of Is. O. Kaiser goes even beyond this by claiming that this name "certainly contains the programme of the entire Isaianic proclamation."<sup>2</sup> There is a continuing debate on how this symbolic name is to be translated. One of the most common translations is "A remnant shall return."<sup>3</sup> Some scholars place more stress upon the notion of conversion and translate "A remnant will repent."<sup>4</sup> Others understand the name as a

<sup>1</sup> L. G. Rignell, "Das Immanuelszeichen," *StTh*, XI (1957), 100.

<sup>2</sup> O. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, Kap. 1-12 (2d ed.; Göttingen, 1963), p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> Of the many supporters of this translation some may be mentioned: R. de Vaux, "Le 'Reste d'Israël' d'après les prophètes," *RB*, XLII (1933), 531; W. E. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im Alten Testament* (Inaugural-Diss.; Leipzig, 1939), p. 56; J. P. Hyatt, *Prophetic Religion* (Nashville, 1947), p. 103; H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election* (London, 1950), p. 74; J. Y. Muckle, *Isaiah 1-39* (London, 1960), p. 29; A. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York, 1962), p. 94; J. Mauchline, *Isaiah 1-39* (Torch Bible Commentary; London, 1962), p. 95; W. Harrelson, *Interpreting the Old Testament* (New York, 1964), p. 236; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 129; E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), I, 271; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 258. Here we may add those who translate "A remnant will return": E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London, 1958), p. 324; M. Buber, *The Prophetic Faith* (New York, 1960), p. 134; James M. Ward, *Amos and Isaiah: Prophets of the Word of God* (Nashville, 1969), p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Here we mention the following: B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (5th ed.; Göttingen, 1968), p. 71; G. Hölscher, *Die Ursprünge der jüdischen*

threat which emphasizes a solely ominous aspect without any hopeful notion and render it: "Only a remnant will return."<sup>5</sup> J. M. P. Smith emends יָשׁוּב to יָשָׁב and thus arrives at the translation "A remnant will abide."<sup>6</sup> Other scholars propose "A remnant returns."<sup>7</sup> All of these translations, however, have one linguistic consideration in common, *i.e.*, they consider this name as a verbal sentence name with the syntactical structure of subject in the first element and predicate in the second element.<sup>8</sup>

*Eschatologie* (Giessen, 1925), p. 4; N. Snaith, "The Language of the Old Testament," *The Interpreter's Bible* (New York, 1952), I, 225b; E. Balla, *Die Botschaft der Propheten* (Tübingen, 1958), p. 130; E. Jenni, "Remnant," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), IV, 33; Th. C. Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Essays in honor of James Muilenburg*, eds. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York, 1962), p. 138, n. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Sheldon H. Blank, "The Current Misinterpretation of Isaiah's She'ar Yashub," *JBL*, LXVII (1948), 211-215; E. W. Heaton, "The Root שָׁאָר and the Doctrine of the Remnant," *JTS*, N.S., III (1952), 37; idem, *The Old Testament Prophets* (Baltimore, 1961), p. 144; W. L. Holladay, *The Root שָׁבָח in the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1958), p. 146; C. R. North, "Shear-jashub," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), IV, 311; N. K. Gottwald, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth* (New York, 1964), p. 149; G. E. Wright, *Isaiah* (London, 1964), p. 37; J. Becker, *Isaias—der Prophet und sein Buch* (Stuttgarter Bibel-Studien, 30; Stuttgart, 1968), p. 46, n. 22; R. Kilian, *Die Verheissung Immanuels, Jes. 7, 14* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 16.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. P. Smith, "שָׁאָר יָשׁוּב," *ZAW*, XXXIV (1914), 220-227. Smith's textual emendation has not been accepted by scholars and must now be rejected in view of 1QIs<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York, 1965), p. 304; O. Procksch, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh, 1950), pp. 581-659; "Rest-kehrt-um," so also W. Eichrodt, *Der Heilige in Israel: Jesaja 1-12* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 82; J. Scharbert, *Die Propheten Israels bis 700 v. Chr.* (Köln, 1965), p. 230; R. E. Clements, *The Conscience of the Nation* (London, 1967), p. 68; H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern* (Leiden, 1964), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> The translations of Rignell, *op. cit.*, p. 102: "Um einen Rest handelt es sich wieder"; V. Herntrich, "λεῖμμα κτλ," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 1942), IV, 212: "Ein Rest kommt in den rechten Stand"; *Theological Dictionary to the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967), IV, 203: "A remnant will come to a right condition"; and J. Nelis, "Rest Israels," *Bibel-Lexikon*, ed. by H. Haag (2d ed.; Einsiedeln, 1968), col. 1473: "Ein Rest allein kommt lebend

L. Köhler has challenged the supposition that **שְׂאָר יְשׁוּב** should be understood as a verbal sentence name with the syntactical sequence of subject-predicate. He argues that it is instead a "nackter Relativsatz" which should be translated "Der Rest, der umkehrt" ("the remnant that returns").<sup>9</sup> This suggestion has been adopted by G. Fohrer<sup>10</sup> and G. Sauer.<sup>11</sup> Köhler bases his argument upon the consideration that in Hebrew syntax the subject cannot be placed at will before or after the predicate in the independent simple clause. Therefore he assumes "that this rule of the sequence of words is also valid for names."<sup>12</sup> In support of his view he refers to the entries of the letter *yoḏ* in the index of M. Noth's<sup>13</sup> basic investigation of Hebrew onomastica. J. Lindblom, on the other hand, rejects Köhler's suggestion as too complicated a syntactical construction and regards **שְׂאָר יְשׁוּב** as a "composed nominal sentence"<sup>14</sup> in which the first element is the subject and the second element **יְשׁוּב** is a verbal sentence forming the predicate. He translates

davon." All these translations are interpreting paraphrases which do not merit the quality of preserving the relative brevity and pointedness of the Hebrew name.

<sup>9</sup> L. Köhler, "שְׂאָר יְשׁוּב und der nackte Relativsatz; Syntactica II," *VT*, III (1953), 85; the English translation is found in Köhler, *Old Testament Theology*, transl. by A. S. Todd (Philadelphia, 1957), p. 231.

<sup>10</sup> G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Zürcher Bibelkommentar; 2d ed.; Zürich, 1966), I, 106; see also his "Die Gattung der Berichte über symbolische Handlungen der Propheten," in *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie* ("Beihefte zur ZAW," IC, Berlin, 1967), p. 97.

<sup>11</sup> G. Sauer, "Symbolischer Name," *Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch*, eds. B. Reicke and L. Rost (Göttingen, 1966), III, col. 1905; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* ("Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament," X:1, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965), p. 27, also translates "Rest, der umkehrt."

<sup>12</sup> Köhler, *VT*, III (1953), 85.

<sup>13</sup> M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart, 1928). Noth outlined Semitic onomastica based on criteria of grammar and syntax and classified Semitic names into sentence names (verbal and nominal), genitive construct names, one-word names, and hypocoristic names.

<sup>14</sup> J. Lindblom, *A Study on the Immanuel Section in Isaiah, Isa. vii, 1-ix, 6* (Lund, 1958), p. 9.



“a remnant, it will return,”<sup>15</sup> which means paraphrased “there will be a remnant, and this remnant will return.”<sup>16</sup> Lindblom argues that both elements of this name are of equal significance regardless of their position. O. Kaiser has adopted Lindblom’s suggestion.<sup>17</sup>

Having thus briefly outlined the major proposals for translating this symbolic name and their underlying linguistic argumentations, the remainder of this paper will be devoted to investigating the validity of these varying translations with an attempt to bring to bear on them the linguistic evidence of West Semitic sentence names with corresponding syntactical structures, especially those of recently published studies on Amorite and Ugaritic personal names.

The present writer works on the assumption that the name of Isaiah’s son belongs to the class of personal names that are designated as sentence names. As far as the present writer is aware, there is on this point universal agreement among scholars. For the sake of clarification it seems advisable to summarize the characteristic features of sentence names. Here we follow Noth’s fundamental work on Semitic onomastica whose proposals with regard to classification of names have been generally adopted by later scholars, including Huffmon and Gröndahl.<sup>18</sup> Customarily sentence names are divided into two types: (1) The first type is the nominal sentence name, which contains two elements, a subject and a nominal predicate, *i.e.*, a predicate which is not an inflected verbal form. The sequence of the two elements in West Semitic nominal sentence names varies: in Amorite the usual sequence of

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.*; Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 367, n. 144.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 424.

<sup>17</sup> O. Kaiser, “Sear jasub,” *Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch*, III, col. 1752.

<sup>18</sup> Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-20; cf. Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 59; H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 95, 96; F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome, 1967), pp. 45-48.

elements is predicate-subject,<sup>19</sup> which is contrary to normal Semitic word order of nominal sentences;<sup>20</sup> Ugaritic nominal sentence names lack a preference either way,<sup>21</sup> while for the rest of the West Semitic nominal sentence names the subject-predicate sequence seems to be the general rule.<sup>22</sup> (2) The second type is the verbal sentence name which also contains two elements, a subject and a predicate, the latter consisting of a finite verb usually in the perfect or imperfect.<sup>23</sup> As regards the Amorite verbal sentence names, with the verb in the perfect, the sequence is perfect-substantive, except of elements with a stative verb.<sup>24</sup> The evidence from Ugarit shows that the qtl-predicate has no preferred position.<sup>25</sup> In Phoenician the substantive-perfect position is more common,<sup>26</sup> while in South Arabic, which belongs to South Semitic, the contrary sequence is the more frequent one.<sup>27</sup> The picture as regards the sequence of elements is different in verbal sentence names with an imperfect verb. In Amorite the yaqtul-predicate (as well as the other "imperfect" forms) is mostly in the first position.<sup>28</sup> This is also true of the Ugaritic yqtl-predicate<sup>29</sup> and in South Arabic names.<sup>30</sup> The conclusion to be drawn from this

<sup>19</sup> See the fundamental work of Amorite personal names by Huffmon, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Hildesheim, 1961), II, 92-95, No. 47.

<sup>21</sup> See the basic study of Ugaritic personal names by Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 47.

<sup>22</sup> Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-31.

<sup>24</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-94; Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.; *idem*, "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen," *ZDPV*, LXV (1942), 26, 27; *idem*, "Mari und Israel: Eine Personennamenstudie," *Geschichte und Altes Testament. A. Alt zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1953), p. 140. Noth's statement to the contrary was premature.

<sup>25</sup> Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>26</sup> Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25, 26.

<sup>28</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-87.

<sup>29</sup> Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> Noth, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, II, 171, No. 93.

survey of the sequence of elements in Amorite, Ugaritic, Phoenician, and South Arabic sentence names is the following: there is no fixed and rigid structural pattern of sequence for the position of the two elements of nominal and verbal sentence names in these West and South Semitic languages. There are certain preferred positions, but there is no definitive pattern.<sup>31</sup>

We must turn our attention next to the sequence of elements in Hebrew sentence names. Noth has shown that in Hebrew onomastica the more common sequence of elements in nominal sentence names is subject-predicate with a ratio of 2:1 over against the predicate-subject sequence. With regard to verbal sentence names there is also no fixed and rigid pattern. In names which have a perfect-predicate there is no change from a subject-perfect sequence during the time of the united and divided monarchy to a perfect-subject sequence in post-exilic times. It is noteworthy, however, that in names with an imperfect-predicate—to which **יָשׁוּב** seems to correspond most closely—the more common word order is imperfect-subject. On the other hand, Noth lists a number of Hebrew names with the sequence of subject-imperfect: from the time of David **אֶלְיָהוּבָא**; the divided kingdom **יְהוֹאָחָז בֶּן־אֶלְיָשָׁב**, **יְהוֹאָחָז בֶּן־אֶלְיָשָׁב**; the exile **יְהוֹאָחָז בֶּן־אֶלְיָשָׁב**, **יְהוֹאָחָז בֶּן־אֶלְיָשָׁב**.<sup>32</sup> The pattern of this group of names is the following: (1) The first element acts as subject and contains the name of a deity or a theophorous element, and (2) the second element contains the predicate in the form of an imperfect verb. The syntactical structure of **יָשׁוּב אֶלְיָשָׁב** corresponds to these Hebrew names. Examples of personal sentence names with the same syntactical structure are also

<sup>31</sup> It has been suggested that the sequence of the two elements in sentences in Proto-Semitic may not have been fixed; see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 170, No. 92; W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Rome, 1952), No. 130b.

<sup>32</sup> Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21, 28; Lindblom, *A Study on the Immanuel Section of Isaiah*, p. 9, cites these names as examples for what he calls "composed nominal sentence" names. This is, however, misleading for the two-element nominal sentence names have a nominal predicate, which is not an inflected verb, while these names contain a predicate which consists of an inflected verb.

attested in Amorite,<sup>33</sup> Ugaritic,<sup>34</sup> and Phoenician<sup>35</sup> texts.

This evidence makes possible a reassessment of a number of linguistic and syntactical arguments which have been proposed with regard to the character of the syntactical structure of the name *שָׁאֵר יְשׁוּב* and its translation. First, Köhler's assumption that the fixed rule of predicate-subject for the simple clause in Hebrew syntax applies also for the sequence of word order in names is shown to be erroneous both on account of Hebrew and of Amorite, Ugaritic, Phoenician, etc., sentence names. There are preferred positions of elements, but there is no fixed predicate-subject sequence. As regards Hebrew verbal sentence names we have indicated the development in the sequence of elements from the subject-predicate to the predicate-subject sequence, neither of which, however, is at any time exclusive and absolute. Thus Köhler's argument that the only possible syntactical structure of *שָׁאֵר יְשׁוּב* is a "nackter Relativsatz" has lost its linguistic basis on account of Hebrew and other West Semitic onomastica. In addition, C. Brockelmann has pointed out that the normal sequence of verb-subject in the Hebrew sentence can be reversed for the sake of placing emphasis on the subject.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, Lindblom's contention that *שָׁאֵר יְשׁוּב* is a "composed nominal sentence"<sup>37</sup> in which the first element is the subject and the second element a "verbal sentence forming the predicate" must be rejected as a too hypothetical construction. If Lindblom's hypothesis were correct, it would be without parallel as far as the present evidence is concerned. The difficulty of conceiving *שָׁאֵר יְשׁוּב* as a "composed nominal sentence" name becomes even greater,

<sup>33</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-86.

<sup>34</sup> Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 40, 42.

<sup>35</sup> Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, 1936), pp. 106, 138, 150.

<sup>36</sup> Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, II, 170-172, Nos. 92-97.

<sup>37</sup> There are "one element nominal sentences" in Semitic languages according to Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, II, 35-41, but they are not joined to a verbal sentence for they consist of weakened emotional expressions. If such expressions are joined with another element they are then "two element nominal sentences."

when one is reminded that the predicate in nominal sentence names is *not* an inflected verbal form. But this is exactly the case with **יָשׁוּב** which is admittedly a Qal imperfect. The Hebrew examples cited by Lindblom in support of his hypothesis are the very names which Noth has correctly described as verbal sentence names.<sup>38</sup> Thus these Hebrew names do not support but militate against Lindblom's view. Thirdly, it has become apparent that there are no grammatical or syntactical reasons which militate against taking **יָשׁוּב שָׁאָר** as a verbal sentence name with the regular syntactical structure of its two normal elements—a noun and a verb—in the sequence of subject-imperfect. This conclusion is supported from the evidence of comparative Semitic names. Among the Amorite, Ugaritic, and Phoenician personal names there are verbal sentence names which have an identical syntactical structure.

Amorite and Ugaritic personal names may throw some additional light upon the semantic value of the Qal imperfect element **יָשׁוּב**. Huffmon points out that among Amorite verbal sentence names the West Semitic root *ṭwb* is "very productive of name elements."<sup>39</sup> The Hebrew root *šwb* of which *yāšūb* is the Qal imperfect derives from the Common Semitic root *ṭwb*.<sup>40</sup> There are seventeen verbal sentence names from Mari, four names from Alalakh VII,<sup>41</sup> and two from Chagar Bazar, which have one element derived from the root *šb* (*\*ṭwb*).<sup>42</sup> According to Huffmon fifteen of these Amorite verbal sentence names contain the Yaqtul G imperfect form:

From Mari: *Ya-šū-ba-an, Ya-šū-bi-im, Ya-šū-ub-a-šar, Ya-šū-ub-AN, Ya-šū-ub-<sup>a</sup>I-pu-uh,*

<sup>38</sup> *Supra*, n. 32.

<sup>39</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

<sup>40</sup> L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1958), p. 951.

<sup>41</sup> D. J. Wiseman, "Alalakh," in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D. W. Thomas (Oxford, 1967), p. 120, dates Alalakh VII to c. 1720-1650 B.C.

<sup>42</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, n. 40, 266.

*Ya-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan*, *Ya-šu-ub-ya-ha-ad*, *Ya-šu-ub-li-im*, *Ya-šu-ub-na-ar*,  
*Ya-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>Ma-[ ]*, *Ya-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>[ ]*,  
*Ya-šu-u[b-]*

From Alalakh VII: *Ya-šu-[u]b-ra-pi*, *Ya-šu-ub-[AN?]*

From Chagar Bazar: *Ya-šu-ub-<sup>d</sup>IM*<sup>43</sup>

Gröndahl has collected ten Ugaritic personal sentence names in which one element is a form of the Common Semitic root *twb*.<sup>44</sup> Of these the Yaqtul G imperfect in the verbal sentence name *Yašub-ilu*<sup>45</sup> is of importance because of its analogy to the second element of the Hebrew name under discussion. Two observations are in order: (1) The great majority<sup>46</sup> of these Amorite and Ugaritic names have as their second element either the name of a divinity,<sup>47</sup> a theophorous element, or a hypocoristic suffix.<sup>48</sup> This is significant in view of the fact that the oldest written evidence at hand for the Common Semitic root *twb* (Hebrew *šub*) appears in these Amorite verbal sentence names and connects this root almost exclusively with an element of a theophorous nature. The same observation must be made with regard to those Ugaritic sentence names which contain a form of the root *twb* in one of the elements. Grammarians of comparative Semitics have observed that the semantic

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266; for additional examples see Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 26, 30, and *idem*, "Neues Material zur 'Amoriter'-Frage," *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, IV (1928-29), 8.

<sup>44</sup> Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 63.

<sup>46</sup> Exceptions among the Amorite names are the defective *Ya-šu-u[b-]*, the second element of which is unknown, and *Šu-ub-na-lu-u* which has the precativ *-na-* and *-lu-u* of uncertain meaning, Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 224, 266. Among the Ugaritic names there are three names which have unexplained elements, Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 153, 200.

<sup>47</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 226, 243; Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, p. 210, considers *yaḥad* = "(the) unique (one)" as a theophorous or appellative element and *rapi* = "healer" as a "theophorous? element," p. 264. A hypocoristic suffix is present in *Ya-šu-ba-an* and with mimation in *Ya-šu-bi-im*, pp. 136, 132.

category to which the root *twb* belongs “describes a change of condition or transition from one situation to the opposite one.”<sup>49</sup> The meaning of the root *twb* is thus commonly given as “turn, return.”<sup>50</sup> The close connection of the forms of the root *twb* and the theophorous character of the other element in these earliest personal verbal sentence names gives additional support to the conclusion reached by W. L. Holladay that the appearances of the root *šub* in the Amorite personal names—now the Ugaritic personal names may be added—“are involved with ‘religious’ return. . . .”<sup>51</sup> This may throw light upon the semantic value of *yāšūb* in the name of Isaiah’s son. It gives additional support to the argument that a return to Yahweh, *i.e.*, a religious return rather than a physical return from exile, is indicated. One difference, of course, is that in the Amorite and Ugaritic names a divinity is to return to man, while in the name of Isaiah’s son a return on the part of a remnant is envisioned. (2) The sequence of elements in all the Amorite and Ugaritic names with a verbal form of *twb* is predicate-subject; the name *שָׂאֵר יָשׁוּב* exhibits the subject-predicate sequence of elements. This does not need to present difficulties, because as noted above not only Hebrew but also Amorite, Ugaritic, and Phoenician verbal sentence names appear with either sequence of elements. This being the case, one should be careful not to conclude on the basis of the observation that since the subject is contained in the first element the term “remnant” must therefore be understood as an ominous threat.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, it would be equally wrong to say that both elements are of equal significance.<sup>53</sup> The position of elements, *i.e.*, the sequence of subject-verb,

<sup>49</sup> S. Moscati, ed., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages* (Porta Linguarum Orientalium, VI; Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 189, No. 16.133; cf. von Soden, *op. cit.*, No. 104; Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 63, n. 291.

<sup>50</sup> Huffmon, *op. cit.*, p. 266; Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>51</sup> Holladay, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> For those who follow this line of reasoning, see *supra*, n. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Lindblom, *op. cit.*, p. 242: “. . . both terms are equally significant.”

has importance, because it places emphasis on the subject.<sup>54</sup>

This study has attempted to reassess the linguistic arguments that have been brought to bear on our understanding of the syntactical structure of the name **שְׂאֵר יִשׁוּב** and its translation with the aid of all applicable evidence of Semitic onomastica, especially the West Semitic evidence of the recently published Amorite and Ugaritic personal names. It has become apparent that the syntactical structure of the name of Isaiah's oldest son is neither a "nackter Relativsatz" nor a "composed nominal sentence." It has also been shown that there is no linguistic and syntactical basis for the contention that the first element, *i.e.*, the term "remnant," must be understood as a mere ominous threat without any hopeful content. The similarities and parallels of the syntactical structure of the name **שְׂאֵר יִשׁוּב** with the syntactical structure of the sentence names of Hebrew, Amorite, and Ugaritic onomastica led to the conclusion that this name is a *verbal sentence name* with a subject-predicate sequence of elements. This conclusion, based on linguistic and syntactical considerations,<sup>55</sup> strongly supports the translation of **שְׂאֵר יִשׁוּב** with "A-Remnant-*Shall-Return*," placing emphasis on the italicized "remnant."

<sup>54</sup> *Supra*, n. 36.

<sup>55</sup> For an evaluation of the possibilities of translating Hebrew imperfect names with a jussive, see the cautions and warnings of J. J. Stamm, "Hebräische Ersatznamen," in *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger* ("Assyriological Studies," No. 16; Chicago, 1965), pp. 414, 415.



## EGYPTIAN REFERENCES TO THE EDMITE DEITY QAUS

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A topographical list of Ramesses II at Karnak<sup>1</sup> contains four names prefixed by the consonants *q* and *ś* (Nos. 7, 11, 13, 21) and one prefixed by the letters *q* and *ṭ* (No. 8). This group of names is also inscribed in a list of Ramesses III at Medinet-Habu (Nos. 85, 89, 100, 101, 103).<sup>2</sup> S. Yeivin suggests<sup>3</sup> that these names "compounded with a prefixed *q*ṣwś" refer to "five ethnic names of five Kushite clans, each characterized by a different suffixed clan-name."<sup>4</sup> In my opinion it is more likely that the words under discussion are theophorous names prefixed by the divine name *Qōs*; Assyrian *Qauś*), the name of the Edomite national deity.<sup>5</sup> This interpretation is based on the following arguments:

(1) It is not possible to indentify the prefix *q-ś/ṭ* with the ethnic name *Qōs* since, on the one hand, this word is written in the Egyptian documents as *K(w)ś(w)* and, on the other hand, the West-Semitic consonant *ṣ* is not normally represented in Egyptian literature as *q*.<sup>6</sup> The Egyptian *ś* usually represents *w* or *ṣ*, but it may also represent the West-Semitic consonant

<sup>1</sup> J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* (Leiden, 1937), p. 158; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), pp. 220, 221.

<sup>2</sup> Simons, *op. cit.*, pp. 168, 169.

<sup>3</sup> S. Yeivin, "The Five Kushite Clans in Canaan," *Atiqot*, III (1961), 176-180.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> On *Qos-Qauś* see Th. C. Vriezen, *Oudtestamentische Studiën*, XIV (1965), 331-353.

<sup>6</sup> Yeivin tries to explain this difficulty by assuming that "the different signs may even have been used intentionally to differentiate between this Asiatic *Qōs* and the Kush of Egyptian texts, namely (originally), the southern part of Nubia," Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

ם.<sup>7</sup> Yeivin bases his interpretation on the assumption of a similarity between *q3wš3n3rwmm* (according to Yeivin's transcription of Ramesses II, No. 13; Ramesses III, No. 89) and "Cushan (Rishathaim, the King of) Aram (Naharaim)," saying: "The biblical parallel . . . makes it quite clear that, in spite of the consistent use of *q* and *š* in the prefix, the latter is most probably to be transcribed as כוש (=Kush)."<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, the Biblical "Cushan Rishathaim" is still enigmatic and subject to an abundance of old and modern interpretations.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, it is very doubtful whether one should read ארם and not נרם. As Yeivin himself says: "it would be highly surprising to find Aramean admixtures thus far in the SW, especially at this early date."<sup>10</sup>

(2) Seir, that is Edom (Gn 36), is mentioned in the inscriptions of Ramesses II and Ramesses III,<sup>11</sup> and there is clear

<sup>7</sup> See Helck, *op. cit.*, pp. 568 (Nos. 189, 192), 569 (No. 209), 590, 591. We have no explanation for the variants *qa*, *qu*(*q3w*), and *qi* (cf. the Assyrian *Qauš*). However, there is nothing in this to refute my argument. The "syllabic orthography" used by the Egyptians for foreign words and names is still a subject of controversy. See lately K. A. Kitchen, *BiOr*, XXVI (1969), 198-202.

<sup>8</sup> Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g., E. Taeubler, "Cushan-Rishathaim," *HCUA*, XX (1947), 137-142; A. Malamat, "Cushan Rishathaim and the Decline of the Near East Around 1200 B.C.," *JNES*, XIII (1954), 231-242.

<sup>10</sup> Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 19. Since the assumed parallel of *q3wš3n3rwmm* with כושן-ארם is used by Yeivin as a starting point for establishing the identity of *Qauš* with כוש we are not convinced that "it makes little difference whether we read this name as כושן-ארם or כוש-נרם." Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 177. "Aram" (*פ3rmm*) is explicitly mentioned in an inscription of Amenophis III (ca. 1406-1370), see E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III.*, "Bonner Biblische Beitrage," XXV (1966), 28, 29.

<sup>11</sup> W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," *JBL*, LXIII (1944), 228-231; B. Grdseloff, "Édom, d'après les sources égyptiennes," *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte*, I (1947), 69-99; Kitchen, "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II," *JEA*, L (1964), 47-70. The view that one should make a distinction between the land of Seir and the land of Edom contradicts the established tradition of Gn 36 (cf. J. R. Bartlett, "The Land of Seir and the Brotherhood of Edom," *JThS*, XX [1969], 1-20). In any case, this distinction does not contradict the

“evidence for the activity of Ramesses II (or at least of his forces) in both Edom and Moab.”<sup>12</sup> Edom is explicitly mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi VI, of the late 19th Dynasty.<sup>13</sup> Archaeological findings in Transjordan<sup>14</sup> have vindicated the assumption that the Edomites were already in southern Transjordan during the reign of Ramesses II. Hence it is not surprising to find a reference to the Edomite deity in the inscriptions of Ramesses II and Ramesses III.

(3) The interpretation of the five names as representing five chiefs or clans<sup>15</sup> accords with the information in the Egyptian sources, relating to the way of life and social organization of the dwellers in the land of Seir/Edom. Papyrus Harris I mentions “the people of Seir among the Bedouin tribes”<sup>16</sup> and an Egyptian frontier official reports to his lord thus: “[We] have finished letting the Bedouin tribes (Ššsw) of Edom pass the fortress (of) Mer-ne-Ptah.”<sup>17</sup> It follows that “the Edomites were partly sedentary . . . but still nomadic enough to abandon their homes in or near Seir and seek refuge in Egypt during a severe drought . . . the Egyptians regarded the peoples of Seir as still essentially nomadic.”<sup>18</sup>

The name *qšwššršš* (according to Yeivin’s transcription of Ramesses II, No. 7; Ramesses III, No. 102)<sup>19</sup> is a semantic equivalent of רעואל one of the chiefs mentioned in the genealogical list of Esau (Gn 36:17). The second element *Ra-‘a* is probably equivalent to the Semitic word רעה *ro‘eh*, namely, evidence that Ramesses II or his forces were in south Transjordan. See *infra*, n. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Kitchen, *JEA*, L (1964), 67.

<sup>13</sup> J. B. Pritchard, *ANET*, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 145-149.

<sup>15</sup> Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>16</sup> *ANET*, p. 262.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>18</sup> Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 229. Also Grdseloff states: “Ainsi vers 1200 avant J. C. les Édômites du Mont Séir habitent encore sous la tente . . . leur organisation particulariste en clans indépendants les uns des autres.” Grdseloff, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>19</sup> Simons: *q-š-r-‘a*; Helck: *qa-ša-ra-‘a*.

“shepherd, herdsman,”<sup>20</sup> which accords with the pastoral life of Edom.

On the basis of this evidence we may reasonably assume that the names under discussion represent Edomite chiefs or clans,<sup>21</sup> each one bearing a name composed of the theophoric קוֹס.

To sum up: there are good reasons for considering the prefixes *q-s/t* as naming the divine deity קוֹס. From Egyptian documents we may infer that the Egyptians were active in south Transjordan against Edomite tribes, which is another good reason for assuming that the five names in question are theophorous names of Edomite chiefs or clans.

<sup>20</sup> Yeivin, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

<sup>21</sup> Compare with the term *ʿallūp* (Gn 36) which stands for clan or group. See E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (New York, 1962), p. 282.

AN UNRECOGNIZED VASSAL KING  
OF BABYLON IN THE EARLY ACHAEMENID PERIOD

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*Introduction\**

One by one the problems posed by the changes in the royal title used in the legal and economic texts from Babylonia during the Achaemenid period have been resolved through the studies of several investigators. Cameron connected the elimination of the designation "King of Babylon" from the titulary with Xerxes' reaction to the revolts of Bel-shimanni and Shamash-eriba.<sup>1</sup> This change in Xerxes' title occurred in his 5th year, and from that time on to the end of Achaemenid control over Babylonia, "King of Lands" was the standard title used in the economic documents of all of his successors. Dubber-

\*The following abbreviations are used in this article in addition to those listed on the back cover: A = Asiatic collection in the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago; *AnOr* = *Analecta Orientalia*; *BE* = *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts*; BM = British Museum; *BR* = San Nicolo, M., *Babylonische Rechts-Urkunden des ausgehenden 8. und des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1951); *BRLM* = *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (1912, 1913); *CCK* = Wiseman, D. J., *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings* (1956); *MAOG* = *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*; *NBRVT* = Krückmann, O., *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte* (1933); *NT* = Nippur Text; *PDBC* = Parker, R. A. and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 75* (1956); *PHB* = Brinkman, J. A., *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.* (1968); *SANET* = *The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. by J. B. Pritchard (1969); *SSB* = Kugler, F. X., *Sternkunde und Sternendienst in Babel* (1907-1935); *TCL XII-XIII* = Contenau, G., *Contrats Neo-Babyloniens* (1927-1929); *UET IV* = Figulla, H. H., *Ur Excavations, Texts IV* (1949); *VAS* = *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* (1907-1917).

<sup>1</sup> G. G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia," *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 324.

stein clarified the matter of the titles on the tablets that point out the existence of a coregency between Cyrus and Cambyses.<sup>2</sup> The accession of Darius I and the events connected with it present an especially complex problem in this period. While studies on this subject continue,<sup>3</sup> Poebel's collection of the economic texts dated to Bardiya, Nebuchadrezzar III, Nebuchadrezzar IV, and Darius' accession year<sup>4</sup> remains the most extensive and useful correlation of these texts with the events chronicled in the Behistun inscription. Poebel's texts are listed by both date and royal title, and the importance of the addition of the title "King of Babylon" to Bardiya's titulary is stressed in his work.<sup>5</sup>

Although the number of texts available that are dated to the rival claimants to the throne mentioned above is not large, and there are some exceptions to the rule in the use of their titulary, it still is clear from the data collected by Cameron, Poebel, and Goetze<sup>6</sup> that the standard title the Babylonian scribes used in dating documents to them all was "King of Babylon, King of Lands." It is also clear from the large corpus of materials available<sup>7</sup> that "King of Babylon, King of Lands" was the standard titulary used in the economic documents throughout the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius I with but one significant exception. The one exception is the change in the titulary that took place early in the reign of Cyrus. The documentation for this problem in the titulary is presented

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Dubberstein, "The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses," *AJSL*, LV (1938), 417-419.

<sup>3</sup> R. T. Hallock, "The 'One Year' of Darius I," *JNES*, XIX (1960), 36-39.

<sup>4</sup> A. Poebel, "The Duration of the Reign of Smerdis, the Magian, and the Reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV," *AJSL*, LVI (1939), 121-145.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 122-126.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123; Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 235. "There is at Yale a group of [17] texts [dated to Nebuchadnezzar IV] . . . giving the king the title *šar Bābīlī ū māṭāti*." A. Goetze, "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's Babylonian Chronology," *JNES*, III (1944), 45.

<sup>7</sup> One part of this corpus of texts is discussed in the forthcoming Part III of this article.

below. This interesting and little-noted transition in the royal title at the end of Cyrus' 1st regnal year in Babylon is the first line of cuneiform evidence offered in support of the hypothesis proposed here—that a king vassal to Cyrus occupied the throne in Babylon for a short time after the Persian conquest. The second line of evidence discussed—a re-examination of the Nabonidus Chronicle—is complementary to the first, for it is suggested here that the resolution of the problem of the political implications of the early change in Cyrus' titulary may be found in that document when a few minor misinterpretations are corrected.

### I. *The General Evidence from the Economic Texts*

To gain an understanding of the significance of the royal titles in the texts of the Achaemenid period, it is worthwhile to review the precedents in scribal practice in this regard. This involves a survey of the titulary in the Babylonian economic texts through the better part of the first millennium B.C. A preliminary survey of this type is presented here to emphasize the nature of the evidence in the study of the early Achaemenid titulary that follows. The titles dealt with in this section are taken from legal, administrative, economic, and some religious (offering) texts from the large corpus known of ordinary, everyday Neo-Babylonian business documents. The royal titles in the business documents customarily appear in the date formula that is usually found at the end of the text. These titles contrast to some extent with the more expansive and laudatory titles employed in the royal inscriptions. Various titles of the king are attested in the royal inscriptions for centuries during which the Babylonian scribes simply used the title "King" (*šarru/LUGAL*) after the personal name of the monarch mentioned in the business documents. According to the evidence currently available, it was not until the middle of the 8th century that any of the other royal titles came into use in the economic texts. From that point on, the titulary and the changes it underwent serve us as useful pieces of historical

information that help, at times, to determine or confirm some aspects of the political situation. The observations made here on the use of the royal titles in the first millennium B.C. are naturally quite tentative. More final conclusions on the subject must await the appearance of further relevant texts that are known but not yet published, and possibly the recovery of more such texts from the Near East.

At the outset we are confronted with the perennial problem of the chance survival and recovery of the materials, for documentation of this type from the early part of the first millennium is very sparse. In spite of the comprehensive nature of his examination of the sources, Brinkman was able to collect only two legal texts and fourteen administrative texts that date from the middle of the 11th century to the middle of the 8th century (before Nabonassar).<sup>8</sup> However, the documentation that we do have points out the fact that the standard title in the business documents through this period, where attested, was simply "King"—written either LUGAL or LUGAL.E, but never LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>9</sup> An interesting exception in this group is the title from a legal text that comes from the end of the 9th century. It is known from a Neo-Babylonian copy recovered in the excavations at Nippur (4 NT 3). The tablet bears the title "King of the Lands of Sumer and Akkad," written LUGAL

<sup>8</sup> *PHB*, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 116, 123, 224, etc. The problem of when and how E<sup>ki</sup> came into use as a designation for Babylon is of some interest here as a peripheral part of the subject under study. Brinkman suggests that "This formula . . . was handed down from the economic text tradition of the Kassite period and probably derived ultimately from a misunderstanding of LUGAL.E in the date formulae of the Old Babylonian period. LUGAL.E continued to be used as an epithet for Babylonian kings down into the early days of the Chaldean dynasty, when the Neo-Babylonian scribes seem to have reinterpreted E as a geographical name referring to Babylon and to have added the determinative KI behind it. . . . When E first came to stand for 'Babylon' is uncertain, but the adding of the determinative seems to have originated in the late seventh century." In n. 1021 Brinkman notes that E<sup>ki</sup> is first attested in a text from Borsippa dated to the first year of Nebuchadrezzar II. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168.



KUR.KUR *šu-me-ri ù ak-kad-i*.<sup>10</sup> The title is a very old one, of course, but its appearance in the titulary of a legal text here is unusual, and the form in which it is written is not the most common. The writing resembles that of the title commonly used later, "King of Lands" (LUGAL KUR.KUR), which may have influenced the copyist.

The first statistically significant group of texts available comes from the reign of Nabonassar (747-734). It consists of 18 administrative texts (*BRLM* 4-21) that date from year one to 14. Long ago Kugler noted that the title "King of Babylon" came into use in the business documents for the first time with these texts.<sup>11</sup> This is not to say, however, that it came into standard use at that time. Actually, only one (*BRLM* 10) of the 18 texts contains this title in its complete form of LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>. One other text (*BRLM* 20) has essentially the same thing, lacking only the determinative KI. These are the only texts in the group that use the title "King of Babylon." Of the remaining texts, the title LUGAL is found in ten, four more have LUGAL.E, and in two the personal name of the king is written without any accompanying title. The few administrative texts from the brief reign of Tiglath-pileser III on the Babylonian throne (728-727) are similar to the preceding texts in that the title "King of Babylon" is not used in them. They customarily use the king's name in the date formula without any royal title (*TCL* XII, 1-3).

Unfortunately, the survey of the titles from the texts of Merodach-baladan II presented here is incomplete. These remarks are based upon information from only one-third of the 18 business documents known from his reign.<sup>12</sup> However,

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>11</sup> *SSB*, II. Buch, 11. Teil, 2. Heft, p. 403.

<sup>12</sup> I wish to acknowledge here that I am deeply indebted to Professor J. A. Brinkman for the use of his unpublished bibliography of the Babylonian economic texts from the period 721-626 B.C. His future publication of these materials will undoubtedly shed considerable illumination on this portion of ancient Near Eastern history. The statistics of comparison here and elsewhere in Part I of this study are based upon that bibliography.

it does appear that his reign was a very important juncture in terms of the transitions in the titulary, for the data suggest that it was during his reign that the title "King of Babylon" came into regular use in the economic texts. Five of the six texts surveyed apply that title to him. The title from the other text is cited by Brinkman,<sup>13</sup> and since it comes from the period after the Assyrians had expelled Merodach-baladan from Babylon, it naturally differs from the titles in the texts that were written while he ruled there. Perhaps the most important text in the Merodach-baladan group in this respect is the first one (*BM* 98562). It is dated to the 17th day of the 8th month of his 1st year and it carries the title "King of Babylon" (*LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>*).<sup>14</sup> The reason for this change in the titulary is not clear. Possibly the texts took up the title at this time to stress Merodach-baladan's claim to the throne, since he was not a legitimate successor to Shalmaneser V, or perhaps it came into use to emphasize the contrast between him and the two Assyrian kings who occupied the throne of Babylon just before him.

One of the texts that turned up in the recent excavations at Nippur contains a title that is very pertinent at this point. It is dated to the 24th day of the 6th month in the accession year of Sargon II, and the titulary in the text is "King of Babylon," written *LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup>* (2 NT 280).<sup>15</sup> Aside from the

<sup>13</sup> "UET 4 206 (= UET 1 261) is dated 11-X, year 22 of [Mar]duk-apla-iddina, *mār ri-du-tu*. *Mār (bīt) rīdūti* in both Assyria and Babylonia ordinarily denotes the crown prince of the ruling monarch, but there is no question of that meaning here. The twenty-second year of Merodach-baladan (if we count consecutively from his first official regnal year in 721) would fall in 700, the year of his last stand in the south against Sennacherib. A possible interpretation might be advanced that the people of Ur, though realizing that Merodach-baladan no longer legitimately bore the title king (since 703), still wished to append some royal title after the name of the individual so long in charge of their city and chose this anomalous designation rather than that of king." Brinkman, *Merodach-baladan II*, *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964), p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to Professor D. J. Wiseman for supplying me with the title from this tablet in a letter dated Dec. 10, 1969.

<sup>15</sup> Brinkman kindly called this tablet and its title to my attention.

rarity of such documents dated to Sargon, the titulary in this text is rather unique. It is the only case that was encountered in this study of the titularies of the Babylonian business documents from the 8th and 7th centuries in which the Assyrian king directly carries the title to the Babylonian throne. In addition, the form of the name used for Babylon in the titulary is quite unusual in this context. The name of Babylon in these titularies is most frequently written TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>, and E<sup>ki</sup> is fairly common, but KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> is rarely used in this connection in Neo-Babylonian texts. It is more commonly employed in the royal inscriptions, especially those from Assyria.

Very few texts are known from the four short reigns between Sargon II and Sennacherib. However, Bel-ibni, Ashur-nadin-shumi, and Mushezib-Marduk are represented by at least one text each in which they carry the title "King of Babylon." The problems involved in the relationship of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon to Babylon and the kingship there lie outside the scope of this study. In passing, we can only observe the titles used by the Babylonian scribes who wrote the business documents of that era. The title "King of Babylon" is conspicuous by its absence from these texts, but the problem of a relative scarcity of materials occurs again in this period. Only three texts of this type are known from the time of Sennacherib, and the titles of the two that were checked both refer to him as "King of Assyria." Texts dated to Esarhaddon are a bit more plentiful. As in the case of Sennacherib, two of these texts use the title "King of Assyria," but five more simply have "King." An additional interesting and significant title occurs in an unpublished text in the Oriental Institute (A 3674) that is dated to the 8th year of Esarhaddon. Although the first sign of the title is damaged, it is evident that the title in the text is "King of Lands" (LUGAL KUR.KUR). This is the earliest instance recognized in this study in which this designation is used in the titulary of a Babylonian business document.

The accession of Shamash-shum-ukin to the throne of Baby-

lon begins a new period in terms of the study of this subject, for this is the first reign from which a fairly large number of texts are available to document the titulary. Excluding the texts with illegible titles, one-half of the texts known from his reign were checked (40 out of 80). Geographically speaking, the majority of these 40 texts come from Babylon and Borsippa, but Ur, Uruk, and Nippur are also adequately represented among them. Chronologically the texts range from his 2d to his 20th year. Since "King of Babylon" is the only title found in the date formulae of all 40 of the texts that were checked, we have a fairly clear picture of the titulary used for him. From this it may be concluded that the standard titulary used for Shamash-shum-ukin in the economic texts from the various cities of Babylonia throughout the period when he controlled them was "King of Babylon."<sup>16</sup>

Almost 100 business documents are known from the reign of Kandalanu, and one-fourth of them were surveyed for their titularies. In general, these titles are similar to those in the Shamash-shum-ukin texts. Twenty-one of the Kandalanu texts checked have the titulary "King of Babylon," the title is damaged and illegible in two more, and one text does not have any title written after the king's name. However, all of these titles are found in texts that come from Babylon or Borsippa. Only 14 of the 100 texts from Kandalanu's reign are definitely known to come from any other location than Babylon and its neighboring cities, and they all come from Uruk. Almost all of these texts from Uruk are unpublished; consequently Kandalanu's title in the economic texts from that site is not well known. It is significant, however, that the Uruk texts are dated all the way through his reign; as Dubberstein observes, "Other texts show Kandalanu the recognized ruler of Uruk from his second to his twenty-first year."<sup>17</sup> At any rate, it may safely be said that the economic texts from

<sup>16</sup> For his period of control over them see Dubberstein, "Assyrian-Babylonian Chronology (669-612 B.C.)," *JNES*, III (1944), 38, 39.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

the cities of the north regularly apply the standard titular "King of Babylon" to him.

The problem of the Uruk texts of Kandalanu is related to the matter of the texts that are dated to Ashurbanipal. These texts can be divided into two groups on the basis of which Babylonian king they are contemporary with, Shamash-shum-ukin or Kandalanu. The first group of Ashurbanipal texts, those contemporary with the reign of Shamash-shum-ukin, can be subdivided further using the point at which war broke out between Babylonia and Assyria as the dividing line. Only five Babylonian business documents are known that are dated to Ashurbanipal during the first 15 years he ruled in Assyria. The first two are dated to his accession year and his 5th year,<sup>18</sup> but they are unpublished so the titularies used in them are not known. The next text comes from Ashurbanipal's 8th year (2 NT 282), but unfortunately the title is illegible. Surprisingly enough, the last two texts from this early period come from Babylon itself.<sup>19</sup> One is dated to his 8th year and the other to his 9th, and the royal title in both of them is simply "King" (LUGAL). These five texts are the only ones known from the early period of documents dated to Ashurbanipal—texts are rare and titles even rarer.

War broke out in the 16th year of Shamash-shum-ukin (the 17th year of Ashurbanipal),<sup>20</sup> and the flow of texts dated to Ashurbanipal begins to increase shortly thereafter, which gives evidence of the Assyrian conquests in the south. Texts begin to appear regularly about his 18th year. Because of the importance of the titles in these texts, they are presented in tabular form below. The first one-third of the texts in this list are contemporary with the last years of Shamash-shum-ukin, the remainder parallel Kandalanu. The list lacks about a dozen known Ashurbanipal texts, but most of these are unpublished and consequently their titularies are not available to be included here.

<sup>18</sup> Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>19</sup> *MAOG*, III:I-2 (1927), 33, 34.

<sup>20</sup> Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

TABLE I  
 ROYAL TITLES FROM THE  
 ECONOMIC TEXTS OF ASHURBANIPAL

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Provenience</i>	<i>Title</i>
<i>BR</i> 53	18	VI	21	Uruk	King of Lands
<i>RA</i> XV 83	19	III	14	Uruk	King of Lands
<i>BM</i> 113929	19	III	23	Uruk	King of Lands
<i>BR</i> 13	20	I	20	Uruk	name only
<i>BM</i> 113928	20	I	29	Ur	King of Lands
<i>AnOr</i> IX 4	20	XII	1	Uruk	King of Lands
2 NT 286	21	XII	25	Nippur	King of Assyria
<i>AnOr</i> IX 13	22	I	20	Uruk	King of Lands
4 NT 19	22	—	8	Nippur	King of Lands
<i>BE</i> VIII 1	26	X	—	Nippur	title damaged
2 NT 288	28	VIII	10	Nippur	King of Lands
2 NT 289	31	VII	9	Nippur	King of the World
<i>TCL</i> XII 5	31	XII	26	Nippur	King of Assyria
<i>BR</i> 58	34	VII	15	Nippur	King of Lands
2 NT 342	36	I	27	Nippur	name only
<i>NBRVT</i> 2/3 132	36	VI	17	Nippur	King of the World
<i>BR</i> 24	36	—	—	Nippur	title damaged
<i>BR</i> 59	32 + x	XII	15	Nippur	King of Lands
<i>UET</i> IV 23	—	I	26	Ur	King of Lands
<i>BE</i> VIII 159	—	II	—	Nippur	King of Lands

The first notable feature of the list is the fact that six of the first eight texts come from Uruk, but none come from Uruk after that. Dubberstein's comment on these texts is, "These documents indicate that Assur-bani-apal held Uruk from the time of its capture in the spring of 649 until after the final Assyrian victory in the summer of 648. Thereupon Kandalanu was appointed king of Babylon, and Uruk remained under his control until he was succeeded in 626 by Nabopolassar."<sup>21</sup> At the time these observations were made, the earliest of these Uruk texts known to me was *BR* 13, dated to the 1st month of Ashurbanipal's 20th year. However, from the list we know of three earlier texts from Uruk, two from his 19th year and another from his 18th. There is also another such text not

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40.

included in the list that dates to the 2d month of his 18th year,<sup>22</sup> which is four months earlier than the first text listed above. On the basis of this additional information, it may now be suggested that Ashurbanipal was already in control of part (if not all) of southern Babylonia as early as the spring of 651—less than six months after the war started.<sup>23</sup>

The transition point at which Ashurbanipal gave Uruk over to Kandalanu can also be determined a bit more precisely. Kandalanu's 1st regnal year covered the same Babylonian calendar year as Ashurbanipal's 22d, 647/6.<sup>24</sup> The last Uruk text in the list above is dated to the 20th day of the 1st month of Ashurbanipal's 22d year. The last known Ashurbanipal text from Uruk is unpublished. It is dated to the 12th day of the 4th month in the same 22d year, but it has not been included in the list because the titulary in it is not known. The first published text from the reign of Kandalanu is dated to the 6th day of the 10th month in his 1st year, and it comes from Babylon (*VAS V*, 3). However, there is an unpublished Kandalanu text that is dated to the 22d day of the 6th month of his 1st year, and coincidentally it comes from Uruk.<sup>25</sup> It would appear from this information that it was some time after Kandalanu was already established on the throne of Babylon—between the 4th and 6th months of his 1st regnal year—that Uruk changed hands and was added to his realm.

The extent of the territory directly under Kandalanu's rule beyond Babylon and its neighboring cities is not well known. Dubberstein points out that "If the evidence of the economic texts may be trusted, the rule of Kandalanu was somewhat

<sup>22</sup> Listed in Brinkman's unpublished bibliography for the period.

<sup>23</sup> "War broke out between Babylonia and Assyria on the nineteenth day, tenth month, sixteenth year of Shamash-shum-ukin's reign [seventeenth year of Assur-bani-apal], January 2 or 31, 651 B.C." Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 39. The tablet referred to in n. 22 was written just three months after the outbreak of the war (II, 15), and the first tablet in Table I is dated four months after that (VI, 21).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>25</sup> Both of these references are taken from Brinkman's unpublished bibliography.

less extensive than that of Shamash-shum-ukin.”<sup>26</sup> Thus far only Uruk and Nippur have supplied information that is relevant in this regard. As already noted, Uruk went over to the rule of Kandalanu not long after the war ended. Nippur, on the other hand, continued to be connected with the Assyrian king. The list above and the data discussed from the Kandalanu texts combine to point out the fact that “All known texts of this period originating at Nippur are dated to Assur-bani-apal; none recognizes Kandalanu.”<sup>27</sup> However, Nippur remained an Assyrian stronghold in Babylonia even for a number of years after Ashurbanipal’s death, so the situation there is not very useful to us in trying to clarify the relationship of the rest of central and southern Babylonia to Kandalanu during his reign.

Assyriological opinion has alternated from time to time as to whether Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu were two separate individuals or one and the same with the latter name serving as Ashurbanipal’s Babylonian throne name. It is readily apparent from the preceding remarks that the interpretation accepted in this study is the one that looks on them as two separate individuals. Furthermore, it is suggested here that their respective titles in the economic texts add another small piece of evidence in support of this view. Even though the Ashurbanipal texts and the Kandalanu texts are contemporaneous, they are quite distinct in several respects: 1) Chronology—there is a sharp transition point between the two kings in the Uruk texts; 2) Geography—Nippur is set in contrast with Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, and Uruk; 3) Titulary—the titles of the two kings are never confused in the texts. The standard title that Kandalanu regularly carries there is “King of Babylon.” Three different titles are present in the Ashurbanipal texts listed above, but “King of Babylon” is not one of them. “King of the World” (*šar kiššati/šú*) is found in two titularies, “King of Assyria” also appears twice, but a dozen texts have the title

<sup>26</sup> Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.



"King of Lands"—which makes it essentially the standard titulary used for Ashurbanipal in Babylonia.

The titulary produced by combining the standard titularies of these two kings is "Kandalanu, King of Babylon, Ashurbanipal, King of Lands," but since this composite title is not attested in any one text, it can still be argued that the two names apply to the same individual and that they were used with their appropriate titles only in the geographic area to which they pertained. However, the contrast here is considerably more evident when comparison is made with analogic materials from the Achaemenid period.<sup>28</sup> Such a composite titulary is attested at that time in nine texts dated to year one of "Cambyses, King of Babylon, Cyrus, King of Lands." In this case the two names with their respective titles unquestionably represent two individuals. The picture this titulary presents is that of Cyrus the king of the Persian empire as suzerain with his son Cambyses the king of Babylon vassal to him. There are also texts from the same year that are dated to each of them individually. Furthermore, in the cases in which the same individual held title to both offices, without exception only one personal name is used with the two titles, *i.e.*, "Cyrus (Cambyses, Darius, Xerxes), King of Babylon, King of Lands."

It seems reasonable to assume that these titles were used in essentially the same sense in the 7th century as they were in the 6th. It is very possible, even probable, that the 6th-century scribes patterned their use of these titles after the practice of their predecessors. If this assumption is correct, then the data from these titularies go a considerable distance toward confirming the idea that Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu were two different persons. More than this, their titles in the economic texts may also say something about the relationship between them. It is well known, especially from the vassal treaties,<sup>29</sup> that Esarhaddon's intention was to have his kingdom divided

<sup>28</sup> Discussed in Part II of this study that will appear in the next number of the *AUSS*.

<sup>29</sup> D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq*, XX (1958), 1-99; see also *SANET*, pp. 98-105.

between Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin, with the Assyrian throne going to the former and the throne of Babylon to the latter. In practice this arrangement did not work out well. It culminated in war between them which concluded with the subjugation of Babylon to Assyria once more. As in the case of Cyrus and Cambyses, the titles "Ashurbanipal, King of Lands," and "Kandalanu, King of Babylon" nicely express the suzerain-vassal relationship between them that was not necessarily in effect in the previous case of Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin. Ashurbanipal's title "King of Lands" (= king of the Assyrian empire) serves to emphasize the subordinate position of Kandalanu, a position to which Ashurbanipal undoubtedly relegated him in the hopes of preventing a repetition of the Shamash-shum-ukin affair.

By way of contrast with Ashurbanipal's title "King of Lands," the standard title in the Babylonian business documents dated to Ashur-etil-ilani, Sin-shum-lishir, and Sin-shar-ishkun is simply "King of Assyria." One-half of the dozen economic texts known, that date to Ashur-etil-ilani, were checked for this study. The title is damaged in two of these texts (*BE* VIII 4,6), and no title is written after the king's name in one (*BR* 63), but three texts have "King of Assyria" (*BR* 60, 61, 80). The one text checked for Sin-shum-lishir (*BE* VIII 141) also has "King of Assyria" in the titulary. All seven of these texts come from Nippur. About 50 Sin-shar-ishkun texts are known and one-third of them were surveyed for their titles. Fourteen have the titulary "King of Assyria." Ten of the texts with this title come from Nippur and the other four come from Babylon (accession year), Sippar (2d year), and Uruk (6th and 7th years). Two exceptions to the rule were encountered. The title "King of the World" appears in an accession-year text from Sippar (*BM* 57149) and, interestingly enough, one Nippur text has Ashurbanipal's old title "King of Lands" (2 NT 299). Outside of the Ashurbanipal texts and one text from the time of Esarhaddon, this is the only other text from the 7th century encountered in this study that

has the title "King of Lands." The change in the title from Ashurbanipal to the later Assyrian kings may have come about because of Assyria's decline at the time. The title "King of Assyria" could always be used as long as there was an Assyria, even if the title to an empire ("King of Lands") was no longer appropriate.

More important for our consideration here is what happened to the titulary in Babylon, and the point is that it remained unchanged. A minor problem here is the small gap that occurred between Kandalanu and Nabopolassar. Kandalanu died sometime between May and November, 627.<sup>30</sup> According to the Chronicle, Nabopolassar "sat upon the throne in Babylon" on the 26th day of the 8th month, November 22/23 626.<sup>31</sup> The Chronicle refers to this interval with the remark "for one year there was no king in the land."<sup>32</sup> Three interesting business documents are known that date to this short period. The first is dated to the 8th month (day missing) of the 21st year "after Kandalanu" (BM 36514).<sup>33</sup> Obviously, this text was written after Kandalanu's death in what normally would have been the accession period of the next king on the throne. However, since nobody succeeded to the Babylonian throne in that calendar year it remained simply the period "after Kandalanu." The part of the line after Kandalanu's name in this text is broken away, but it probably was not long enough to include the title "King of Babylon." A similar text from this same period (BM 40039)<sup>34</sup> is dated a year later, to the 2d day of the 8th month of the 22d year "after Kandalanu," or just three and one-half weeks before Nabopolassar ascended the throne. It is interesting to note that Kandalanu's name still carries the title "King of Babylon" with it in the date formula of this text even though it is posthumous.

<sup>30</sup> *CCK*, p. 90.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 93.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89 and Pl. XXI.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89 and Pl. XIX.

The third text from the interregnum (BM 49656)<sup>35</sup> poses a different problem. This text comes from the temple records of Sippar and it is dated to the 22d day of the 6th month in the accession year of Nabopolassar "King of Babylon." It can readily be seen that this text calls Nabopolassar the king of Babylonia two months before the date the Chronicle says that he sat upon the throne of Babylon. Wiseman's solution to the problem presented by this text is "that Nabopolassar was acknowledged king at least at Sippar which had become independent of Assyria before the final battle at Babylon . . . the recognition of Nabopolassar may have been precipitated by the necessity for Sippar to take sides in the final phase of the struggle for Babylon."<sup>36</sup> This date formula with its royal title provides an important parallel to the problem presented by the titles in the earliest texts dated to Cyrus.<sup>37</sup> An even earlier text is known from Nabopolassar's reign.<sup>38</sup> It is dated to the 2d month of his accession year, or four months before BM 49656, but I do not have the titulary from that text.

The really important feature of Nabopolassar's titulary in the economic texts is the fact that it continues the title "King of Babylon" passed down from Kandalanu and Shamash-shum-ukin. As a matter of fact, the standard titulary for all the Chaldean kings from Nabopolassar to Nabonidus, attested in well over 2000 texts, is the same—"King of Babylon." In other words, aside from the minor problem just discussed, a textual continuum exists from the beginning of Shamash-shum-ukin's reign to the end of Nabonidus' reign—a period of almost 130 years (667-539)—with the standard titulary of "King of Babylon." This fact should be borne in mind when the titulary of Cyrus for 539-537 B.C. is examined in the next section of this study. Thereafter, from 537 (the 2d year of Cyrus) to 481 (the 5th year of Xerxes), it is clear that the standard

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 94 and Pl. XXI.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> Discussed in a later installment of this paper.

<sup>38</sup> *PDBC*, p. 11.

titulary used in the economic texts was "King of Babylon, King of Lands." At the end of that period, as has been mentioned in the introduction, the title "King of Babylon" was dropped from the titulary, which was reduced to "King of Lands." This title continued in use through the remainder of the Achaemenid period, and even into the reigns of the first two kings of Hellenistic times (TCL XIII 247-249). However, with the breakup of Alexander's kingdom, the pretense to an empire could no longer be maintained and the title "King of Lands" was also dropped. The title that appears most commonly in the Babylonian business documents thereafter is "King." Thus, in essence, the titulary had turned one full cycle from the 8th century when it started out as "King," to the 4th century when it ended up as "King." Various innovations appear in the economic texts from Hellenistic times; accession-year reckoning disappears from Babylonian usage with Alexander,<sup>39</sup> dating to the Seleucid era begins with Seleucus I, coregencies show up the Seleucid titularies (A and B, "Kings"), and the title "King of Kings" was subsequently introduced into the titularies of the period, but these subjects cannot be treated here since detailed work on the Seleucid period lies outside the scope of this investigation.

(To be continued)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Bainton, Roland H., *Erasmus of Christendom*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. 308 pp. \$ 6.95.

The latest work from the pen of Roland H. Bainton, the Titus Street Professor Emeritus of Ecclesiastical History at Yale University, is a biography of Desiderius Erasmus. Within eleven chapters the author portrays not only the most significant periods and events in the life of the Dutch humanist, but he also highlights the essentials of Erasmus' literary productions and makes known the intent of the author's thoughts and interpretations by assembling choice excerpts from his works and letters. The learned but at the same time charming and not seldom humorous pen of Bainton makes the book both highly informative and most pleasant reading.

It is significant that the book bears the title, *Erasmus of Christendom*. Disowned in his own lifetime by both the Catholics and the Protestants, Erasmus has only recently obtained a rightful place among the Christian theologians in the formative and formulative decades of the early 16th century. Bainton has taken Erasmus out of the hands of the rationalists, who in the past have made the main contributions to Erasman studies, but left a somewhat one-sided impression of the thoughts and intentions of the man. In the source material presented, Erasmus reveals himself as a Christian theologian who seeks to solve theological and ethical problems within church and society by finding solutions based on Scripture and centered in Christ. No ecclesiastical institution should stand between the needy and the Good Samaritan. Erasmus appears not as an academic theorist or a cynical satirist, which often has been the case in the past, but he is seen as a Christian pragmatist who is devoted to his Master in service for his fellow men and is untiring in his quest for the *restitutio christianismi*.

High among the surviving amenities of academic life is the unselfishness with which scholars still give their hard-won knowledge to improve or to make possible the works of others. The bibliography in Bainton's book corroborates this fact. In the preface Bainton mentions that lately a flood of monographs has corrected that portrait of Erasmus which the rationalists had drawn, but "the results have not been gathered into a single volume." Now, Bainton has rendered this great service. As in his distinguished biography of Luther, *Here I Stand*, he shows his extraordinary qualities in mastering the prodigious amount of literature written about his hero. Compared with the two best-known earlier Erasmus biographies, Bainton's is superior to that of Preserved Smith, but supplementary to that of Johan Huizinga. Albert Hyma's study of the young Erasmus is still useful, and the same should be said of P. S. Allen's *The Age of Erasmus*.

Erasmus never laid out his *philosophia Christi* in a great systematic work as did Calvin in *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* or Melancthon in *Loci communes*, but in *Erasmus of Christendom* the Christocentrism of the Dutch humanist has found its proper place. However, when it comes to a scholarly systematizing of Erasmus' *philosophia Christi*, the honor must go to Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls. Under the auspices of *Theologische Zeitschrift* (sponsored by the theological Faculty of the University of Basel), edited by Bo Reicke, Kohls' very pertinent two-volume work, *Die Theologie des Erasmus*, was printed in 1966. With great profit Bainton could have utilized the findings of this German scholar.

In the future Bainton's name will be closely linked to that of Erasmus not merely because of his biography but on account of the kinship between the two men. Something of what he writes about Erasmus may also be written about Bainton himself and about his response to the transformation of the world in which he and we live.

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VIGGO OLSEN

Brandon, S. G. F., *Religion in Ancient History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. xiv + 412 pp. \$ 12.50.

The author's significance as a thinker is the greater because he has not isolated himself from intellectual discussions with other human beings who may not be academic scholars but whose minds are no less acute than his. Not only has he courageously served as chaplain (1939-1942) and chief chaplain (1942-1951) to the British armed forces, but he has lectured in Natural and Comparative Religion at Oxford University (1954-1957), in Philosophy and History of Religion at Liverpool University (1964), and is currently (since 1951) Professor of Comparative Religion at the University of Manchester. Since World War II, he has familiarized a cultivated public with the vast literary treasures in the history and religion of the ancient world; he has also helped educate a conservative English clergy and laity to the merits of archaeological research and Biblical criticism which seek to confirm, correct, and supplement the history and narrative of early church history.

The present volume under review has grown out of a series of essays on the subject of comparative religion in ancient history which the author has published in the past decade for the popular journals *History Today* and *Horizon*, and for the scholarly *Bulletin of The John Rylands Library*. At the level of description and exposition, this book is a true model of research. He has located and defined the basic problems of the religions of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Israel, Greece, Iran, and early Christianity, and his profound knowledge of the entailed issues, coupled with a searching power of analysis, has enabled him to establish original analogies and distinctions. The result is

impressive, although it may be objected that Brandon's abundant *aide-mémoire* passages are slightly irritating; and the product, illustrated with attractive plates and supported by a rich bibliography, is a first-rate introduction to the religious heritage of Western civilization.

The method selected by Brandon is interesting. The first chapter provides the background by giving an informative, though brief, account of the origin of religion in theory and archaeology. Chapter II is an attempt to study the cosmogonies of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and particularly the Hebrews in their geographic and historical settings stressing the similarities and differences in the respective traditions. The subjects of chs. III and IV, which deal with the personification of death and the religious, quasi-magical significance of time as a positive and negative deity are treated at length by the author in his well-documented book *History, Time and Deity* (1965). Similarly, if one is familiar with Brandon's works, *Man and His Destiny in the Great Religions* (1962) and *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (1963), he will find nothing new in Chapters V and VI, which treat the idea of the soul in the philosophies of the East and the West. Brandon, here and in Chapter X (a discussion of the Gilgamesh Epic), places too little reliance on the interrelationship between religion and nature in the ancient world. For example, the calm, natural flow of the Nile conditioned the Egyptian belief that the gods were not violent and that nature was an established order guaranteed by the divine Pharaoh, whereas the harsh, unpredictable flow of the Tigris-Euphrates established the Mesopotamian *Wellanschauung* which saw man as a pawn of the gods, constantly attempting to avert the evil decree by astrology and liver divination.

Next is a discussion of a deeply rooted idea in man's cultural history, the posthumous moral judgment, a subject on which the author is an acknowledged pioneer; his *The Judgment of the Dead* (1969) is the only comprehensive study of the subject in English. One misses the various rabbinic *midrashim* which deal with the area, and Brandon is apparently unaware of the medieval illuminated *Shabbat Shekalim Yosevim* (e.g., the Venice edition of the *Sefer Minhagim* of 1593) which depict a bird-like profile of a judge with scales of justice (shades of the Egyptian Horus or Thoth?) which may have eschatological meaning. Also, one wonders why there is no reference here to the studies of Cullmann, Cadbury, Jaeger, and Wolfson, who have dealt extensively with the theme of death in Western civilization.

His presentation in Chapter IX of the Egyptian Osiris legend as the classic prototype of the savior-god and its influence on Pauline theology is closely argued in Brandon's characteristic lucid manner. Akhenaten's theological revolution is presented in Chapter X and understood as part of the new imperial age. On one hand it was an attempt to uproot the omnipotent power of the priesthood of Amun-Rē, and on the other it was the manifestation of Aton's universalism characterizing the new imperialism of a people whose world view



was no longer restricted by the Nile River valley. Strangely, an analysis of "The Hymn to the Aton" (cf. *ANET*, 369-371) and Ps 104, which is a *desideratum* for the beginning student, is lacking here.

The following chapters are devoted to an interpretation of the distinctive Hebrew-Jewish world view which has had a lasting effect on Christianity—that the ineffable, unqualified God of Israel is absolute and that history itself is impregnated with the divine will of YHWH. A learned description of Zoroastrianism and its influence in Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and the Hermetic and Gnostic literature concludes the first part of this book.

Most of the essays included in the latter half of the book reconstruct the legends, sacred history, philosophy, and events of the early Christian centuries, and are known to us by the author's published works of recent years: *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (1957; 1968<sup>2</sup>); *Jesus and the Zealots* (1967-68); *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth* (1968). Brandon, writing without theological bias, is at his best in exploring the facts behind the gospel narratives. He evaluates critically the political, social, and economic situation of the first-century Palestine as related by Josephus, and concludes—correctly as far as this reviewer is concerned—that the synoptic portrayal of a pacific Jesus is a *clever* attempt by the Gentile Church to win Roman favor by clearing Pilate from his share in the crucifixion. No one can write such an account without inviting disagreement. The critic who has a profound knowledge of the literary sources in Hebrew and Aramaic feels that Brandon's emendation can be further strengthened by sifting through the pertinent rabbinic material (cf. S. Zeitlin, *Who Crucified Jesus?* [1942], and H. H. Cohen, *The Trial and Death of Jesus of Nazareth* [Hebrew, 1968]) which, *inter alia*, posit the belief of two Beth Dins at the time of Jesus—the political court which tried Jesus, and the Sanhedrin with which Pharisaic tradition was involved, a theory first formulated by Brandon's fellow countryman, A. Büchler. On the other hand, not all scholars believe that the original Markan account was written in Rome *ca.* 70 c.e., or that the Zealots were noble patriots defending the yoke of the Kingdom of God against the tyranny of Rome. Furthermore, the author's often-quoted theory that the disappearance of the Jewish-Christians from the scene of history coincides with the crushing defeat of the Jews at the hands of the Romans in 70 is logically persuasive, but rationally unconvincing in light of the *Minim* prayer composed by Palestinian *amoraim* in the early 2d century. Nevertheless, the second part of the volume is, within its own limits, invaluable as an interpretation of basic problems of literary criticism and as an example of mature research.

This is the kind of study concerning which every specialist might have reservations related to his own field, but will be impressed with the erudite scholarship in the other areas. In the preface Brandon makes it clear that he is interested in reaching in a non-technical manner the intelligent student who is interested in the fascinating human-interest subject of comparative religion in the ancient world.

He accomplishes his task admirably well, and his text can be used for great profit by the advanced scholar as well.

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ZEV GARBER

Bruce, F. F., and E. G. Rupp, eds., *Holy Book and Holy Tradition*.  
Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company,  
1968. 244 pp. \$5.95.

At a time when there is such vigorous debate and variance of opinion regarding the relationship between Scripture and tradition and the place of either in the life of the church, the appearance of such a volume as this is particularly welcome. The essays included are, with one exception, the papers read at an International Colloquium on the topic "Holy Book and Holy Tradition," held in the Faculty of Theology of the University of Manchester, November 1966.

Altogether there are twelve papers which seem to fall into two major divisions. The first seven deal with a variety of aspects on the assigned topic—from Christian icons to Islamic tradition—whereas the last five are all primarily concerned with contemporary issues. Specifically the papers belonging to the first group include the following: "The Holy Book, the Holy Tradition and the Holy Icon" by S. G. F. Brandon; "Religious Tradition and Sacred Books in Ancient Egypt" by C. J. Bleeker; "Holy Book and Holy Tradition in Iran: The Problem of the Sassanid Avesta" by Geo. Widengren; "Oral Torah and Written Records" by Jacob Weingreen; "Scripture and Tradition in the New Testament" by F. F. Bruce; "The Ancient Church and Rabbinical Tradition" by Marcel Simon; "Scripture, Tradition and Sacrament in the Middle Ages and in Luther" by Berndt Moeller. The usefulness of the volume is expanded by the provision of plates and figures, an index and good documentation in the footnotes.

One article that particularly interested this writer was that by Weingreen in which he argues persuasively that the adjective "oral" in reference to oral Torah "must be redefined as referring only to its circulation and transmission and not as the means of preservation." This redefinition, of course, would require some rethinking among those scholars who hold that memory was regarded as a much more reliable mode of preservation than written records, at least with regard to the sacred writings of the Israelites. Another stimulating essay is the one by Bruce in which he demonstrates how an established interpretive tradition pervades all strata of the NT. He explains further that however variously this interpretive tradition be treated by the different NT writers, the "core of the tradition is common property." He also expresses the opinion that "the main lines of the tradition were laid down by Jesus Himself."

The five concluding articles dealing with present-day issues are all

helpful, especially those by Ellen Fleesean-Van Leer and Maurice Bévenot. In the first of these two, a Protestant explores the possibility of a rapprochement between Protestants and Catholics in the area of Scripture and tradition by examining the present Catholic position as represented primarily in the dogmatic constitution *De divina revelatione* of the second Vatican Council promulgated in 1965, and comparing this with the Protestant point of view as represented in the report of the second section of the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order, Montreal 1963, entitled, "Scripture, Tradition and Traditions." In the second a Catholic analyzes the "new look" in the Catholic Church as reflected in the "constitution" and attempts to define such concepts as "tradition" and "infallibility" in the light of contemporary debate. A comparison of the two approaches is enlightening and underscores some of the real differences that persist.

It would be easy in any volume of this type to suggest papers that should have been included and were not, and other similar shortcomings. However, to do so would be to miss the intent of the book, which, it appears, is as much to stimulate further debate as to inform. When so regarded, both student and layman will find it a thoroughly worthwhile volume.

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MALCOLM MAXWELL

Damboriena, Prudencio, *Tongues as of Fire: Pentecostalism in Contemporary Christianity*. Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1969. viii + 256 pp. \$7.50.

As useful as a study of Pentecostal history might be, it does not lead to the discovery of a church united in doctrine or even organization. To the contrary, it is a movement split into hundreds of small and large groups, which in spite of this fact thrive and expand among many nations.

Damboriena's book *Tongues as of Fire* is an attempt to place Pentecostalism within contemporary Christianity. Thus, he provides a well-documented historical background which enables the reader to understand Pentecostal thought and the world from which it developed, specifically in the United States. It furnishes many data of which the average Christian, inside or outside of Pentecostal groups, is not fully aware. The absence of dogmatic principle is attributed to the fact that each believer considers himself inspired by the Holy Spirit (p. 65), and to whom supernatural experience is of greater importance than the church (p. 72). Basic scriptural ordinances such as baptism and the Lord's Supper have been assigned subordinate roles (pp. 76, 77). Teachings like these will constitute serious problems for those Christians who search for a solid Biblical foundation for their religious convictions.

The book is not only a historical review. It reveals the intense reli-

gious forces which recur in history, because they are part of human nature and man's quest for light and life. There remains, however, one question in this reviewer's mind. It might not have been the intention of the author to enter into a theological discussion concerning the gift of tongues, but it appears that most readers of Damboriena's study will feel that the truly essential problems have not been solved. The value of his book would be considerably enhanced if he had extended his investigation into the philological, exegetical, and analytical aspects of teachings which are claimed by millions to be divine truth. The author has voiced his doubts in regard to Pentecostal claims according to which they also possess the gift of healing (pp. 125, 126). His observations on the "techniques of healing" offer an insight into the methods used by faith-healers which shows that it is difficult to distinguish between realities of faith and the shrewdness of charlatans. A text-study would become a tool enabling the reader to form an intelligent opinion as to the validity of the Pentecostal position.

Here are some of the questions this reviewer has been asked many times: Can a Biblical scholar defend the position that the "foreign tongues" as recorded in the second chapter of Acts were identical with the ecstatic utterances of 1 Cor 14, even though the former were understood without a translator, while the latter needed an interpreter?

In spite of our careless use of English terminology, is there any justification for denying the different nature and function of a translator as compared with those of an interpreter? Yet, Pentecostals for obvious reasons refuse to make such a distinction even if it means an outright contradiction with philology and scriptural usage (pp. 116, 120). For a century Biblical scholars have made that distinction without the intention of creating a controversy with certain religious groups.

Finally, how can one come to a fair understanding of Pentecostalism and speaking with tongues without an adequate comprehension of 1 Cor 14? If the apostle Paul saw the need for a point-by-point definition of the gift in his days, we can only benefit by a careful study of that chapter.

*Tongues as of Five* is a valuable study in which scholarship is mingled with a considerable share of ecumenical good will. It contains a fine collection of historical and other explanatory material as well as a selected bibliography. Except for the absence of a critical investigation into the validity of tongues through a corresponding exegesis of relevant texts, *Tongues as of Five* is to be highly recommended as a valuable source of information.

Chicago, Illinois

C. G. TULAND

Dodd, C. H., *More New Testament Studies*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968. 157 pp. \$4.50.

As the title implies, Dodd's *More New Testament Studies* is a companion volume to his earlier *New Testament Studies* published in 1953.

Like the earlier volume, *More New Testament Studies* is a collection of essays on various NT issues. With one exception, these have been produced since 1953, and all but one have been previously published in various *Festschriften*. One essay has been "partly re-written, with additional matter." Elsewhere, "revision has been slight." Two of the essays examine passages in the Synoptics and are entitled "The Beatitudes: A Form Critical Study" and "The Fall of Jerusalem and the 'Abomination of Desolation.'" Three others deal with passages in John: "A Hidden Parable in the Fourth Gospel," "Behind a Johannine Dialogue" (Jn 8:31-58), and "The Prophecy of Caiaphas: John xi. 47-53." One explores the relationship between "The 'Primitive Catechism'" and the sayings of Jesus. Another entitled "The Historical Problem of the Death of Jesus" deals with this problem as "an episode in the history of the Roman province of Judaea" apart from its theological interpretation. The longest essay in the collection studies each of those NT passages which refer to "The Appearances of the Risen Christ" to his followers, while the final article examines the meaning and significance of Paul's reference to *Ennomos Christou* (1 Cor 9:19-22). Name and text indexes are supplied as well as frequent comments and documentation in the footnotes.

As can be seen, these articles cover a wide range of issues with particular emphasis on Gospel criticism. A unifying concern which helps to hold the volume together is the use of form-critical methods to search out the earliest elements in the tradition. As is typical of much of British scholarship in this area, Dodd avoids the extreme skepticism and dogmatism sometimes associated with Continental scholarship and even frequently arrives at remarkably conservative conclusions. Indeed, Dodd is more cautious than many scholars and occasionally reminds his readers that this or that suggestion is conjecture. In the same vein it is interesting to note wherein Dodd has modified positions he has held earlier. For example, in his *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (1953), pp. 134-136, he emphasized the difference between the Synoptic parables and the so-called allegories of the Fourth Gospel. In the present work (p. 30, n. 1) he admits that he had spoken earlier in "too absolute terms." He then proceeds to describe what he feels is an example of a true parable in the Gospel of John (Jn 5:19-30).

One of the most helpful articles, in the present writer's opinion, is that on "*Ennomos Christou*" in which Dodd declares that in Paul's view, to "fulfil the law of Christ" means "a good deal more than simply to act 'in a Christian spirit.'" Rather, it connotes "the intention to carry out—in a different setting and in altered circumstances, it is true—the precepts which Jesus Christ was believed to have given to his disciples, and which they handed down in the Church." While Dodd does not want to confine the connotation of *ho nomos tou Christou* to the "comparatively restricted body of traditional Sayings of Jesus," he feels that even for Paul whatever the Lord had "commanded" and "ordained" remained "the solid, historical and creative nucleus of the whole."

An obvious problem in a collection of only slightly revised essays such as this, in which the earliest was written now some 23 years ago, is that it does not reflect as adequately as it might the progress that has been made since the essays were originally produced. Nevertheless, every article in this collection reflects a wealth of knowledge and the vigor and originality for which Dodd is so justly famous. Even laymen who may not understand or appreciate the intricacies of form criticism will find Dodd's interpretation of the various Scripture passages to be full of insight, and his portrayal of the milieu in which they originated to be knowledgeable and helpful.

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MALCOLM MAXWELL

Harrison, Everett F., *A Short Life of Christ*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968. 288 pp. \$ 5.95.

The word "short" in the title is obviously added to indicate that the book does not deal with the minute day-by-day activities of Christ. It is short in that it deals "with the leading events that carry us along in a fairly obvious sequence from the beginning to the end" (p. 8). The author seems to imply that one of the reasons for this approach is found in the results of form criticism. However, if this is the case it may be his only acknowledgment to the influence of form criticism in his book, for throughout he seems completely to ignore it. He also makes allusions to redaction criticism, but takes no account of it in the book itself.

The book seems to be oriented not so much simply to explicate the life of Christ but to solve problems connected with the life of Christ, *e.g.*, the historicity of Jesus, the time and place of his birth (the authenticity of Quirinius' census), the historicity of the virgin birth, the historicity of the accounts of his infancy and boyhood, the historicity of the "Lamb of God" pronouncement by the Baptist at the time of baptism, etc. Clearly what Harrison is saying is that everything that is recorded in the Gospels happened in the time and context in which it is recorded. Form criticism has no value at all. The Gospels do not really show any influence of the post-resurrection experience of the Church. If the Gospels were written before the resurrection, they would probably have been written as we have them today.

Much of this book could have been written a hundred years ago. The chapter on temptation shows little advance over Fairbairn's written in 1907. Nothing is said about the differences between the accounts in the Synoptics. All is harmonized as though it were one account. While the author commends in the preface the fact that modern scholars tend to see the Evangelists' work as a whole, no appreciation is shown of this in the actual treatment of each subject.

The chapter on miracles emphasizes not only their historicity but their revelational value. This is an advance over the past.

Harrison goes against the tide when he affirms the historicity of all the accounts and descriptions of the Pharisees in the Gospels, including Mt 23. He does concede this one alleviating explanation: the word "hypocrite" did not have the same stigma it has today. Otherwise, he refuses to yield any ground.

His treatment of the later events of the life of Christ is traditional. One wonders why such a book is necessary today in view of the fact that so many such books are already in existence. Perhaps it was felt that proof was needed that such a book could still be produced in this day and age in the face of form criticism and redaction criticism.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Harrison, Roland Kenneth, *Introduction to the Old Testament with a Comprehensive Review of Old Testament Studies and a Special Supplement on the Apocrypha*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1969. vi + 1,325 pp. \$ 12.50.

Roland Kenneth Harrison, currently Professor of OT at Wycliffe College, University of Toronto, has produced an "OT Introduction" of monumental size, containing 1,325 pages of text with almost 4,000 footnotes. Written from a conservative standpoint, it deals with a great variety of topics that are hardly ever found within the covers of one book. In addition to treating subjects usually found in an "Introduction to the OT," such as the history of source criticism, and the history of the OT canon, the authorship, composition, and unity of the various OT books, he also deals with subjects not generally found in books of this nature, such as OT archaeology, Ancient Near Eastern chronology, history of Israel, OT religion and theology.

This reviewer was first of all overwhelmed by the sheer amount of material discussed in this book, and initially gained the impression that it contains the answer to every conceivable question that can be raised with regard to the OT. A more careful study, however, shows that several subjects are treated far too cursorily and superficially. To do full justice to every topic treated would have been a superhuman task which no scholar can fulfill in this time and age. It must readily be admitted that in this age of specialization no scholar can at the same time be an expert in every discipline of OT scholarship, be it history, archaeology, chronology, textual criticism, theology, etc. For example, Near Eastern archaeology in itself is such a vast discipline that no writer can do justice to it in 60 pages, just as the problems of Ancient Near Eastern chronology, and the results of the studies carried out over decades in this area of scholarship, cannot satisfactorily be presented on 52 pages, as the author attempts to do. These are only two examples of insufficient depth of treatment given to important subjects by the author.

However, Harrison shows an intimate familiarity with the literature

of many subjects which he treats, and as a conservative scholar is at pains to give his readers a fair account of the views he is unable to share. He presents a good review of the history of Pentateuchal criticism, though he rejects many of its conclusions and holds the Pentateuch to be substantially Mosaic in origin. He favors the unity of Is, and believes that the name Cyrus in Is is a later addition to the text. Dan is defended as a 6th-century book, and Est is considered to be essentially historical. The final editing of Pr is dated *ca.* 600 B.C., while Ec is dated with E. J. Young in the time of Mal, *ca.* 400 B.C. Yet the reader is not always given a clear presentation of the author's views. While he refutes many of the results of higher criticism and points out flaws in the arguments, reasonings, and conclusions of higher critics, he seems to be reluctant to state his own position and views in clear-cut words. Often he concludes the discussion of an OT book short of telling his reader what he himself believes as far as the authorship of a certain book is concerned or where and when it was originally written. While this reviewer easily admits that an unequivocal answer cannot be given to every question concerning the authorship and origin of every OT book, he would have liked the author to marshal possible arguments that favor his conservative and traditional views instead of merely destroying the underpinnings of his opponents' arguments and reasonings. This the author seldom does, a definite weakness in the book under review.

On the other hand, the indisputable merits of this great work should not be overlooked. The OT student has easy access to many recently produced works on the OT Introductions written by liberal scholars, but he must look far and wide before finding a work in this field that presents in a fair and scholarly way the views of a conservative Bible scholar. Here Harrison's book meets a real need and fills a gap. We are grateful for his courage to have given us such a work, as well as his zeal and industry to have produced such a monumental work. Also we owe the publisher thanks for having made it available for a comparatively modest price in this age of rising costs.

Andrews University

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Hunter, Archibald M., *Bible and Gospel*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969. vii + 146 pp. \$2.25.

Archibald Hunter and William Barclay are two of the leading popularizers of Biblical studies. Much of the contents of this book was originally presented by Hunter "as 'lecturettes' at evening services in Aberdeen churches" (p. vii). The book is divided into three sections dealing with an introduction to the Bible, the Gospels and the Person and Work of Christ, and the New Quest of the Historical Jesus, respectively.

Writing from the viewpoint of moderate British Biblical scholarship, Hunter takes the middle road between fundamental conservatism and



radical German scholarship. Thus in the temptation Jesus did not struggle with "a flesh and blood devil," but had "a searching spiritual experience." The Bible is not "a scientific textbook," it teaches you "how to go to heaven, not how the heavens go." While believing in the miracles of Jesus, he concedes that some are not as well attested as others, and that in some cases it is possible to "rationalize" them since the people of Jesus' day had no doctrine of "secondary causes." For instance, the darkness that fell over the whole land at the time of Jesus' death could be due to "a black Sirocco wind laden with thick dust from the Judean desert." On the resurrection, Hunter maintains fervently the necessity of the empty tomb. He approves the new quest, but feels we ought to go further. There cannot be a gap between the kerygma and the historical Jesus.

Merely to indicate Hunter's position in the above cases is to misrepresent the contents of the book. Throughout he is concerned to make the Bible come alive for the modern-day Christian. He is determined, however, that this be done in the framework of the present scholarly understanding of the Bible. And for this we can only commend him.

We could criticize the book as inadequate and insufficient in its treatment of the subjects it deals with and as lacking in originality, but this would be unfair when we realize that the purpose of the book is for the man in the street. For this purpose the book is a splendid achievement.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Jeremias, Joachim, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period*. Translated by F. H. and C. H. Cave. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969. xvi + 405 pp. \$ 9.00.

An English edition of Jeremias' well-known work on the economic, social, and cultural conditions in Jerusalem in the first Christian century has long been overdue. The first German edition appeared between 1923 and 1937 in four installments. They are identical with the four parts of the new English edition. The first fascicle, issued in 1923, was entitled "Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse." It was an expansion of Jeremias' doctoral dissertation "Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse der Stadt Jerusalem unter römischer Herrschaft bis zur Zerstörung durch Titus" which had been published during the preceding year (Leipzig, 1922). The succeeding three fascicles dealt with "Die sozialen Verhältnisse, A: Reich und arm" (1924); "Die sozialen Verhältnisse, B: Hoch und niedrig" (1929); and "Die Reinerhaltung des Volkstums" (1937). A second practically unchanged German edition of the complete work appeared in 1958 and a slightly revised third edition in 1962. In 1967 a French translation was published, and two years later, an English rendering—the work under review.

The author grew up as a youth in Jerusalem where his father, the theologian and Assyriologist Friedrich Jeremias, had been pastor of the Erlöserkirche. This experience gave the author a unique background for his studies on Jerusalem. The sources used for his book were almost exclusively of a literary nature, and consisted of the OT, the NT, Josephus, and the Rabbinical writings. To a lesser degree archaeological evidence was used, but this evidence was not very plentiful half a century ago, although even then more could have been used, as some of Jeremias' critics pointed out. However, by making use of every scrap of literary evidence, Jeremias produced a work that was hailed as a masterpiece of scholarship. That it has lost little of its value in the intervening years is proved by the fact that it has already experienced two more editions in German, and also editions in French and English.

Part One deals with the "Economic Conditions in the City of Jerusalem." First of all it is concerned with the industries that existed for the production of goods and food. Then attention is paid to the artisans connected with the building trade. Furthermore, the commerce, foreign and domestic, of the Jewish capital city is discussed, as well as the foreign visitors, who were mainly pilgrims visiting the Holy City during the religious festivals.—Part Two, entitled "Economic Status" in the English edition (German: "Die sozialen Verhältnisse"), deals with the wealthy citizens, the middle class, and the poor, and has a chapter that discusses among other subjects the cost of living in normal and abnormal times, taxation, charity, and the income from the pilgrim traffic.—Part Three, entitled "Social Status," is devoted to a study of the clergy, the lay nobility, the Scribes, and the Pharisees.—Part Four bears the title "The Maintenance of Racial Purity." Here the legitimacy of ancestry, the importance of genealogical purity, and the civil rights of full-blooded Israelites are discussed, but also the despised trades, among which one finds such professions as dung-collectors and physicians, tax collectors and bath attendants, to mention only a few. Other chapters in this part treat the Jewish and Gentile slaves, illegitimate Israelites, the Samaritans, and finally the position of women.

This brief survey of the contents of this important book, which no serious student of NT history can afford to ignore, shows what a wealth of information it contains. The several decades that have passed since the first edition of Jeremias' book appeared have hardly changed the picture which he paints by using the literary evidence that was available when it was first written. On the other hand, one has the uneasy feeling that some new information furnished by archaeological discoveries made in recent years is missing. For example, no use seems to have been made of the Dead Sea scrolls. Although it must be admitted that the Dead Sea scrolls do not shed much light on the economic or social conditions in Jerusalem during the first century A.D., they have brought into focus the Essenes, a sect of which some members did occasionally play a role in Jerusalem, as Josephus attests. This sect is practically ignored in Jeremias' book, as the Index indicates, for it

refers to only five passages in the book where the Essenes are briefly mentioned.

The "Translators' Note" (p. xi) mentions extensive revisions, especially of the first part, made by the author for this edition. But a comparison with the earlier German editions shows very few changes or additions. For example, the list of abbreviations (pp. xiv, xv) which practically amounts to a bibliography of works used or referred to by the author contains no work published later than 1938. In looking for new information, the reader will find that on p. 71 reference is made to the discovery of a burial place of a family from Cyrene in the Kidron Valley, and that Jeremias mentions on p. 11 his recent work dealing with the discoveries at the Pool of Bethesda. There are a few more places which contain references to new literature or to more recent discussions of the subject matter treated, but such places are few and far between. Practically all new literature on the subjects discussed is ignored.

One major change in Jeremias' position must be mentioned. It concerns "The Number of Pilgrims at the Passover" (pp. 77-84). In his earlier editions, Jeremias had considered the figures given by Josephus and Tacitus for the people who were trapped in Jerusalem during the siege in A.D. 70 as so fantastic that they cannot be regarded as historically useful. By very judicious reasoning, he had reached the conclusion that Jerusalem's normal population, including the citizens who lived outside the city walls in suburbs, had consisted of about 55,000 people. He furthermore had believed that up to 125,000 pilgrims had flocked into the city during the annual feasts, so that 180,000 people may have been in Jerusalem at festal seasons. Gustaf Dalman, one of the greatest experts on NT Jerusalem, agreed with Jeremias with regard to these figures (*ZDPV*, XLVI[1923], 232), and Jeremias' population estimates have been used by many NT scholars for almost half a century. Now, however, the author has come to the conclusion that 55,000 is too high a figure for the population of Jerusalem, and has reduced it to 25-30,000 (p. 84).

In spite of the fact that this reviewer would have wished that Jeremias had brought this important work up to date in every respect, his criticism should not minimize the usefulness of this extremely valuable treatise. A warm word of thanks is expressed to the altruistic translators, first to M. E. Dahl who, according to the inner title page, contributed an earlier draft translation, and finally to the translator couple, F. H. and C. H. Cave.

Andrews University

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Kraeling, Emil G., *The Prophets*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969. 304 pp. \$ 6.95.

This volume has its basis in a well-received article on the Hebrew prophets written by Professor Kraeling for *Life* magazine's Special

Double Issue on the Bible (December, 1964). The author was encouraged to expand his article, and the present work, a popular attempt to paint the lives of the prophets with tools of critical scholarship against the canvas of the ancient world, is the result. He uses an historical approach and groups the prophets into three chronological stages: the Assyrian era (Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Nahum); the Babylonian era (the later Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah); and the Persian and Greek eras (Haggai, Zechariah, Trito-Isaiah, Obadiah, Malachi, Joel, Deutero-Zechariah, Trito-Zechariah, Jonah, and Daniel). In such an appreciation only a selection of the lives of certain prophets is made, the Biblical text is treated according to the historical data, and the uninitiated reader whom the author is most interested in reaching is left with the impression that prophetic literature is poor history and not, as most scholars read the Biblical account, a self-understanding record of Israel's destiny in world history.

The well-versed student of the prophets will soon discover that most of Kraeling's ideas here treated in a rather fragmentary way are better developed in his *Commentary on the Prophets*, Vols. I and II (1966), which *nota bene* are geared to a general audience. His investigation, written in a stimulating, provocative manner, makes fascinating reading, but it is not without its faults. In his discussion of the background of Hebrew prophecy he dismisses the Mari contribution in less than a paragraph, and this is regrettable. His interpretation of the prophetic experience provides no reference to the pioneering works of Hölscher, Jepsen, Knight, Bentzen and the Scandinavian school. Nor does he make reference to Heschel's theology of pathos, certainly a most significant contemporary contribution to our understanding of the prophet's psyche. Omission of these works minimizes the author's contribution in this area. Though form criticism has been an active tool of serious Biblical scholars since the beginning of the century, Kraeling, who has written *The Old Testament Since the Reformation* (1955; 1969<sup>2</sup>), a *chef d'oeuvre* in the history of Biblical criticism, uses the method sparingly. Questions pertaining to the prophetic use of *Form, Gattung, Sitz im Leben*, in addition to the more subtle problems of *Gattungsgeschichte, Überlieferungsgeschichte, Redaktionsgeschichte*, are visibly wanting in this text. Thus, to take an example among many, in portraying Hosea's final call to repentance (Chapter 14), Kraeling does not realize that the parallelism in Hos 14:3 is not synonymous but complementary, and that the phrase denotes Israel's inability to depend upon a political alliance with Assyria for security, or war-chariots obtained from Egypt (cf. a similar location of horses with Egypt in Dt 17:16; 1 Ki 10:28; Is 30:16, and Is 31:3 identified correctly later on by Kraeling [p. 105]). Furthermore, his understanding of Hos 14:4-8 as a prophecy of return expressed in "terms drawn from the sight of a lovely countryside" echoing the garden of Eden and having the power of Milton's "Paradise Regained" is just a little too hippy and flowery for this reviewer, who interprets the passage as

an Israelite polemic against the fertility cult of Canaan in favor of Yahwistic salvation history.

Kraeling's chapters on the individual prophets offer little in original research but are a compendium of earlier scholarship. His tendency not to identify the scholars with whom he is in agreement and disagreement is annoying. The reader will appreciate his imaginative reconstruction of the prophets and how they emerged to castigate Israel for its sins, to declare the doctrine of repentance, to sound the alarm of divine punishment, and to promise that God's inexhaustible love and divine pardon is ever-present for the salvation of Israel. On the other hand, a more systematic and rigorous attempt to evaluate current Biblical inquiry on the relationship of the prophet to legal or cultic prototypes, or the prophet's function in the ongoing life and thought of the Israelite tradition, would have been desirable and helpful. Rarely does the author bother the reader with text-critical notes, particularly textual variants of MT, or for that matter the MT itself! The use made of philological evidence is questionable; there is confusion in the use of Hebrew laryngeals. To explain oracles of the prophets with an eye on the NT is anachronistic and irritating for one interested in serious scholarship. The statement that this book is popular and that the treatment of the prophets is necessarily limited does not justify disregard of problems, *e.g.*, the riddle of Hosea's erring wife Gomer. Certainly some detailed résumé of the problem should have been attempted here, and not the argument that the intricacies involved would be tedious and of small value. Finally, there is a dismal dearth of bibliographical materials, and the relatively few footnotes are of an explanatory nature.

It is fair to say that the scholar will read this book of Kraeling, a first-rate scholar who has taught for many years at Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, with mixed emotions. He will respect his popularization of Biblical findings and learn something from them, but in the end he will find the presentation denominationally oriented and lacking in sound critical treatment.

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Ladd, George Eldon, *The Pattern of New Testament Truth*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968. 119 pp. \$3.75.

This book represents a series of four lectures delivered at North Park Seminary in Chicago in 1966. In their written form the lectures still have the limitations imposed on them by the needs of a listening audience.

Ladd's thesis is that in spite of the diversities found in the NT there is in fact a basic unifying pattern which may be easily seen running

through it. This pattern is not a NT creation, but rather is derived by the NT authors from the OT. After an introductory chapter in which the pattern is shown to be present in the OT, and to be the complete opposite to "the Greek view" of things, in three short chapters Ladd traces the controlling role played by it in the Synoptic, Johannine, and Pauline view of things. Here Ladd is mainly preoccupied to affirm that the thought patterns of these three NT perspectives are not Greek but Hebraic, and therefore true.

Ladd's conclusion is that "the Synoptic Gospels, John, and Paul share a common basic theological perspective, which stands in continuity to Old Testament theology in contrast to Greek dualism. Greek thought . . . conceived of a cosmic dualism and an analogous anthropological dualism. . . . The Hebrew view can be said in a real sense to believe in two worlds: heaven and earth. God dwells in heaven and man on earth. . . . Thus the basic Hebrew dualism is eschatological" (p. 108).

Not only is Ladd interested in denying that the Greek view is Biblical, but he is also interested in criticizing contemporary existentialist exegesis of the NT. In order to do the latter he takes recourse to rather unfortunate phrasing and name dropping (probably the best, or worst, example of each appears on p. 46), as well as the confusion of issues (also exemplified on p. 46: form criticism does not downgrade the reliability of the Gospels, as claimed by Ladd, but rather takes historical science seriously and makes necessary the establishment of the relationship between history and theology on a basis other than an exclusive one-to-one relationship).

A more serious question that arises from the book is the relationship of the pattern to the truth of the NT. Ladd identifies the pattern to the truth on a one-to-one basis. For him it is important to deny that the Greek view played a role in the conceptualization of the Gospel. It is the OT eschatological perspective that gives to the NT unity and truth. This reviewer would wish to agree with the author that indeed the OT mentality is the dominant factor in the conceptualization of the NT Gospel. But he would also like to maintain a dynamic tension between the pattern of a particular mentality and the truth of the Gospel. Mental patterns are culturally conditioned and therefore can only be equated to truth at a great loss to truth.

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Neher, André, *The Prophetic Existence*. Translated by William Wolf.  
London: Thomas Yoseloff, Ltd., 1969. 355 pp. \$10.00.

In post-Biblical Jewish literature there exist two minds about interpreting the prophetic experience. One sees the prophet in an ahistorical state, conditioned by ethics and restricted to the transnat-

ural will of God. The other position interprets prophecy to be impregnated with historical meaning circumscribed by the revelation of the divine will of YHWH in Biblical time, space, and land. Jewish scholarship like that of Philo of Alexandria, the Talmudim, Josephus, Saadia, Bahya, Ibn Gabirol, Judah ha-Levi, Maimonides, and in the twentieth century Rosenzweig, Buber, Heschel, and Kaufmann, has written volumes on the conditions of prophecy and on the psychological, esoteric, emotional, and existential applications of the prophetic pathos. Professor Neher "decided in favor of the *finite* view of Biblical prophecy and not for the *infinite* perspective." His book, steeped in Jewish tradition, explores the historical and metaphysical language of prophecy, and following the researches of Heschel, Rowley, and to a certain extent Lindblom and Guillaume, successfully portrays the prophets as uncanny spokesmen for YHWH whose messages evoke actions of guilt and commitment.

Few surprises await the scholar—to be expected in a work designed for general consumption. The opening section portrays non-Israelite prophecy as background for the study of Israel's prophetic genius. Significant attention is given to the Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Greek mantic literature, but the bibliography is hopelessly sporadic and outdated. For example, no reference is made to prophetic texts from Mari discovered after 1955, when Neher's book was first published, and one misses reference to the important researches of von Soden, Lods, Kupper, and Malamat. The next chapters speak on Biblical time as mystical, future-oriented, characterized by a conscientious effort to reach the prophetic ethic, a "Thou-I" relationship in which the initiative is entirely on the side of God. Following the lead of Kittel, Jacob, Cassuto, von Rad, and others, Neher scrutinizes the weaknesses of the Wellhausen construction of Biblical prophetism, and affirms a validity of prophetic development along canonical lines from Abraham to Malachi. The final section addresses itself to prophecy as a way of life, and the author is to be commended for a most useful introduction to prophetic history, existence, symbolism, and vision. The critical reader will note that there is a noticeable lack of form-critical methodology in dealing with textual problems, and that Neher, following rabbinic tradition, dates prophetic oracles without weighing the options of modern scholarship, *e.g.*, the book of Joel is dated to the seventh century B.C.E. without a line of supporting evidence. Furthermore, there is an apparent lack of concern for history of prophetic types, traditions, and redactions.

Neher's premise that revelation and communication are the components of prophecy and that a man is a *navi* not because of his outward behavior or writing habits, but by reason of his existential relationship with God and man, has its advantages. He is able to portray Abraham and Moses as the categorical imperatives of Hebrew prophetism. His knowledge of the Hebrew text and his intimacy with rabbinic tradition enable him to establish original research into the Biblical concepts of Covenant, Word, and Spirit, seldom discovered by scholars

outside the Hebrew tradition. Following the leads of Dhorme, Maybaum, and M. Weber, he adds fresh insight to our understanding of Levitism, and his succinct statements on matrimonial symbolism as employed by the prophets, and on Noachism, are among the best this reviewer has seen in print. But Neher's approach has its shortcomings. It permits him sometimes to develop hypothetical emendations which are not critically sound or logically convincing. His value judgment that the greatness of a prophetic existence is to be measured against the *navi's* cultic experience is an outstanding example of this fault.

This is the kind of book every traditionalist will find occasion to have recourse to, and its shortcomings can be overcome without much difficulty. The index and notes are quite bare; the translation by Wolf is excellent but suffers at junctures from the French original (*e.g.*, Haguiga on p. 246 should read Hagiga), and there are typographical lapses as on p. 329, where the first quotation is from Ex 32:32, and the second from Num 11:16.

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Scharlemann, Robert P., *Reflection and Doubt in the Thought of Paul Tillich*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969. xx + 220 pp.  
\$ 6.00.

The publication, posthumously, of Paul Tillich's lectures on historical theology, *Perspectives on 19th & 20th Century Protestant Theology* (New York, 1967), will hopefully demonstrate the historical-philosophical basis of Tillich's thought and also discourage baleful psychologizing of Tillichian terminology. That Tillich's philosophical theology is not ahistorical or strictly existential, Robert Scharlemann, professor of theology at the University of Iowa, makes clear in this study.

The author uses "the method of constructive analysis" (p. 183) to show that Tillich's theological system provides a "solution to the problem of the presence of God for historically conscious thinking" (p. 3) which was raised by the speculative idealists of the 19th century (*i.e.*, Hegel and Schleiermacher).

Exhibiting from the outset his constructive aim, the author introduces the terms "critical reflection" and "doubting response" in the title of the first chapter to indicate the point of convergence where thinking is conscious of its temporality. This terminology is derived from a synthesis of Tillich's own formulations in his *Systematic Theology* (Chicago, 1951, 1957, 1963) and his *Das System der Wissenschaften nach Gegenständen und Methoden* of 1923 (reprinted in *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. I [Stuttgart, 1959]). In the remainder of the first chapter, Scharlemann traces the five stages through which reflection and response have moved in the process of becoming historically conscious.

Two other terms important for Scharlemann's constructive ana-



lysis are "subjectival" and "objectival." "Critical reflection" and "doubting response" are two sides of an identical act which takes place in the "subjectival" as it grasps the objectivity of the "objectival" or is grasped by the subjectivity of the "objectival."

In the second chapter, "Self, World, and God," it is seen that the categories of "subjectival" and "objectival" correspond to the self-world polarity which, according to Scharlemann, is "the basic ontological structure" (p. 22) in Tillich's system. We shall see later that "subjectival" and "objectival" are categories which also embrace other polar concepts in Tillich's systematic thought.

Continuing to constructively synthesize Tillich's earlier and later theological systems, Scharlemann contends that "God cannot be thought without the self-world polarity, but he cannot be identified with it either" (p. 35). Here is where Tillich breaks with the absolute systems of 19th century idealism by maintaining "the infinite gap between God and the self-world structure of finite being" (p. 29).

After describing the "methodological development" (p. 42) of Tillich's doctrine of God, Scharlemann takes up a discussion of "subjectivity and objectivity in the objectival" (p. 60). At this point the wider aspects of the subjectival-objectival polarity become apparent. In this context also, Tillich's correlation of ontological concepts and religious symbols may be understood.

Objectival subjectivity which elicits response (faith or doubt) and objectival objectivity which evokes reflection are the ontological concepts that must be correlated with the religious symbol of God. "The ultimate by which we are grasped and the ultimate which we grasp—God and being—are united in the depth of objectivity and subjectivity" (p. 75).

The distinction between concepts and symbols in Tillich's theology should be noted by those critics who ask, "How can we pray to the ground of our being?" "Ground of being" is an ontological concept which must be correlated with the religious symbol of "God."

The manner in which subjectival subjectivity and objectival subjectivity are correlated is another question that Scharlemann deals with in Ch. 4. He states explicitly: "The relation of subjectival subject and objectival subject, in Christian theology, is that of our relation to the picture of Jesus as the Christ" (p. 93). The framework for this picture is existence which is distinguished from essence in Tillich's thought. Existence is a state of estrangement from essence. Thus, in the Biblical picture of Jesus as the Christ, "The New Being is encountered in a man in my world who, though under the conditions of existence, transcends them. He represents both the state of existence and that of essential being" (p. 95). This picture, according to Scharlemann, is the paradoxical reality which solves the problem of "critical reflection" and "doubting response" for historically conscious thought. Jesus as the Christ is the objectival subject which has power to remove the doubt from response and correlatively be grasped in the act of reflection.

The author extends his constructive use of the method of correlation in Ch. 5, where it is applied to the aspects of structure and depth present in culture. This is an application that Tillich does not make of his own method. Ch. 6 treads upon more familiar territory in the treatment of Tillich's correlation of philosophical questions and theological answers. Ch. 7 explores Tillich's direct formulations of the solution that the Biblical picture of Jesus as the Christ (*i.e.*, paradoxical reality) provides for the problem of historically conscious thinking. Ch. 8 contains a concluding evaluation in which the main themes of the book are summarized.

Portions of the book's contents were explicated in class lectures and seminar discussions attended by this reviewer. Thus it is difficult to be critical owing to the charismatic presentations and personality of the author. However, it may be pertinent to note Scharlemann's failure to include in his constructive analysis Tillich's sermons. Would such an analysis sustain the manifold correlations Scharlemann makes, or would it lead to a greater emphasis on religious symbols as it did for David H. Kelsey in his study of *The Fabric of Paul Tillich's Theology* (New Haven, Conn., 1967)?

At the close of this study of the inner dynamics of Tillich's systematic thought, the author gives promise of a new theological system based on Tillich's system, but breaking away from it. Perhaps the research into the seminal sources of Tillich's thought which Scharlemann engaged in at the University of Göttingen during the Fall of 1969 will lead to the construction of such a system.

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## TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

### CONSONANTS

כ	=	ḵ	ד	=	ḏ	י	=	y	ס	=	s	ך	=	r
ב	=	b	ה	=	ḥ	ט	=	ḥ	ע	=	ʿ	ש	=	š
ג	=	g	ו	=	w	ל	=	l	פ	=	p	ז	=	z
ה	=	h	ז	=	z	מ	=	m	צ	=	ṣ	ח	=	ḥ
ו	=	v	ח	=	ḥ	נ	=	n	ק	=	q	ת	=	t
ז	=	z	ט	=	ṭ									

### MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

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

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<p><i>AAS</i> Annales archéol. de Syrie  <i>AASOR</i> Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.  <i>ADAJ</i> Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan  <i>AER</i> American Ecclesiastical Review  <i>AfO</i> Archiv für Orientforschung  <i>AfP</i> Archiv für Papyrusforschung  <i>AJA</i> Amer. Journal of Archaeology  <i>AJSL</i> Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Literature  <i>ALBO</i> Analecta Lovan. Bibl. et Orient.  <i>ANET</i> Ancient Near Eastern Texts, J. B. Pritchard, ed., 2d ed., 1955  <i>ANF</i> The Ante-Nicene Fathers  <i>AO</i> Acta Orientalia  <i>ARG</i> Archiv für Reformationsgesch.  <i>ARW</i> Archiv für Religionswissenschaft  <i>ASAE</i> Annales, Serv. des Ant. de l'Ég.  <i>ASB</i> Acta Sanctorum (ed. Bolland)  <i>AThR</i> Anglican Theological Review  <i>AUSS</i> Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies  <i>BA</i> Biblical Archaeologist  <i>BASOR</i> Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.  <i>Bib</i> Biblica  <i>BIES</i> Bulletin, Israel Expl. Soc.  <i>BIFAO</i> Bulletin, Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.  <i>BiOr</i> Bibliotheca Orientalis</p>	<p><i>BJPES</i> Bulletin, Jewish Pal. Expl. Soc  <i>BJRL</i> Bulletin, John Rylands Library  <i>BMB</i> Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth  <i>BQR</i> Baptist Quarterly Review  <i>BR</i> Biblical Research (Chicago)  <i>BRG</i> Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum  <i>BS</i> Bibliotheca Sacra  <i>BSHPF</i> Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français  <i>BT</i> Bible Translator  <i>BZ</i> Biblische Zeitschrift  <i>CBQ</i> Catholic Biblical Quarterly  <i>CC</i> Christian Century  <i>CdE</i> Chronique d'Égypte  <i>CH</i> Church History  <i>CIL</i> Corpus Inscript. Latinarum  <i>CIS</i> Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum  <i>CJTh</i> Canadian Journal of Theology  <i>CSEL</i> Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.  <i>CT</i> Christianity Today  <i>ER</i> Ecumenical Review  <i>ETHL</i> Ephemer. Theol. Lovanienses  <i>ET</i> Expository Times  <i>HJ</i> Hibbert Journal  <i>HThR</i> Harvard Theological Review  <i>HUCA</i> Hebrew Union College Annual</p>
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<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal	<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique
<i>IG</i>	Inscriptiones Graecae	<i>RE</i>	Review and Expositor
<i>Int</i>	Interpretation	<i>RdE</i>	Revue d'Égyptologie
<i>JACH</i>	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum	<i>RHE</i>	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
<i>JAOS</i>	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.	<i>RHPR</i>	Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.
<i>JBL</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature	<i>RHR</i>	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
<i>JBR</i>	Journal of Bible and Religion	<i>RL</i>	Religion in Life
<i>JCS</i>	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Arch.	<i>RQ</i>	Revue de Qumrân
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies	<i>RSR</i>	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	<i>RSV</i>	Revised Standard Version
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review	<i>SJTh</i>	Scottish Journal of Theology
<i>JR</i>	Journal of Religion	<i>STh</i>	Studia Theologica
<i>JSS</i>	Journal of Semitic Studies	<i>ThEH</i>	Theologische Existenz heute
<i>JThS</i>	Journal of Theol. Studies	<i>ThQ</i>	Theologische Quartalschrift
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version	<i>ThT</i>	Theology Today
<i>LQ</i>	Lutheran Quarterly	<i>ThLZ</i>	Theologische Literaturzeitung
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica	<i>ThR</i>	Theologische Rundschau
<i>MPG</i>	Migne, Patrologia Graeca	<i>Trad</i>	Traditio
<i>MPL</i>	Migne, Patrologia Latina	<i>ThS</i>	Theological Studies
<i>MQR</i>	Mennonite Quarterly Review	<i>ThZ</i>	Theologische Zeitschrift
<i>NKZ</i>	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift	<i>VC</i>	Verbum Caro
<i>NPNF</i>	Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers	<i>VD</i>	Verbum Domini
<i>NRT<sup>h</sup></i>	Nouvelle Revue Théologique	<i>VCh</i>	Vigiliae Christianae
<i>NT</i>	Novum Testamentum	<i>VT</i>	Vetus Testamentum
<i>NTA</i>	New Testament Abstracts	<i>WThJ</i>	Westminster Theol. Journal
<i>NTS</i>	New Testament Studies	<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes
<i>Num</i>	Numen	<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
<i>OCh</i>	Oriens Christianus	<i>ZAS</i>	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	<i>ZAW</i>	Zeitsch. für die allttes. Wiss.
<i>Or</i>	Orientalia	<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft
<i>OTS</i>	Oudtestamentische Studien	<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.
<i>PEQ</i>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	<i>ZKG</i>	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
<i>PJB</i>	Palästina-Jahrbuch	<i>ZHTh</i>	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
<i>PRE</i>	Realencyklopädie für protes- tantische Theologie und Kirche	<i>ZKTh</i>	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
<i>QDAP</i>	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.	<i>ZNW</i>	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wiss.
<i>RA</i>	Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.	<i>ZDTh</i>	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
<i>RAC</i>	Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana	<i>ZThK</i>	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche