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TRANSLATION OF WORDS WITH THE STEM *DIK-* IN ROMANS

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In Rom Paul's thought is closely bound up with the meaning of a family of words based upon the stem δικ-: δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιόω, δικαίωσις, δικαίωμα, and δικαιοκρισία. A check of English versions of Rom will show, however, that translators have come up with a bewildering array of renditions. Δικαιόω is variously translated as "justify," "free," "acquit," "vindicate," "absolve," "declare righteous," "pronounce free from guilt," "make upright," and "put right with God." For δικαιοσύνη we find "righteousness," "justice," "right conduct," "uprightness," "virtue," "integrity," "holiness," "justification," "rightness of heart," and "righteous purposes."

The most consistent renditions are given by the Rheims Bible, a translation from the Vulgate. Since Jerome had used Latin words on the stem *iust-*, the Rheims Bible followed suit with the English words "just," "justice," "justify," and "justification." This selection of words has the advantage of using English words containing one stem to translate Greek words containing one stem, thereby enabling the reader to see that all these words belong to one family. The great disadvantage of this translation from the point of view of this paper and of most Protestant thought is that it connotes an ethical rather than a forensic meaning.[1] These terms

[1] According to Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* ("The International Critical Commentary"; New York, 1920), p. 460, "few words of the N.T. vocabulary have been more frequently or more thoroughly discussed than those of this group." The ethical, causative, or factitive sense of δικαιόω (God makes the sinner righteous, upright, morally perfect, at least potentially and in germ) is defended by the following, among

suggest that in justification God actually makes the sinner righteous instead of declaring him righteous. It has been pointed out that "Augustine really got off the track simply because he didn't know enough Greek; he failed to realize that the term δικαιόω means 'I declare righteous.' He preferred the Latin *iustificare*, which does mean *iustum facere*: to make righteous." [2]

The *New World Translation* [3] uses words based upon the Saxon stem *right*—and is about as consistent in this respect

others: E. P. Gould, "St. Paul's Use of δικαιοῦν," *The American Journal of Theology*, I (1897), 149-158; Marvin R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament* (New York, 1911), III, 37-40, 52-53, 57; H. Rosman, "Iustificare (δικαιοῦν) est verbum causativum," *VD*, XXI (1941), 144-147; Edgar J. Goodspeed, *Problems of New Testament Translation* (Chicago, 1945), pp. 143-146, and "Some Greek Notes," *JBL*, LXXIII (1954), 86-91 (reply to Metzger's review, below); S. Schmidt, "S. Pauli 'iustitia Dei' notione iustitiae, quae in VT et apud S. Paulum habetur, dilucidata," *VD* XXXVII (1959), 97-105; and J. Giavini, "Justificatio et judicium apud S. Paulum (Studium vocabularii)," *VD*, XLVI (1968), 169-174. Among those who advocate the forensic sense of δικαιόω (God declares the sinner righteous; cancels charges against the believer in the heavenly court; pronounces a verdict of "not guilty" upon guilty persons) are: Wm. Arnold Stevens, "On the Forensic Meaning of δικαιοσύνη," *The American Journal of Theology*, I (1897), 443-450; Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, trans. by William Montgomery (New York, 1931), pp. 205-226 (Schweitzer finds two doctrines of redemption in Paul, a forensic doctrine of righteousness through faith in Christ's atoning death, and an ethical doctrine of righteousness through dying and rising with Christ. In 1 Cor 6:11, however, δικαιόω is used in connection with the latter doctrine to mean "make righteous" [p. 261]. Goodspeed and others fail to distinguish between Paul's two doctrines of redemption); C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans* (New York, 1932), pp. 51-53, 57; Bruce M. Metzger, Review of Goodspeed, *Problems of New Testament Translation*, *Theology Today*, II (1946), 562; Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, trans. by Kendrick Grobel (New York, 1954), I, 270-285. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Pauline Theology," in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), II, 817, finds that at times the forensic meaning of δικαιόω "seems to be the only sense intended in Paul's letters . . . ; but many instances are ambiguous."

[2] John F. Johnson, "Luther on Justification," *Concordia Theological Monthly*, XXXVIII (1967), 417.

[3] (New York, 1961).

as modern English permits. It renders δίκαιος by "righteous" and δικαιοσύνη by "righteousness," but when it comes to the other words of this group it must, because of the poverty of English at this point, use such combinations as "declare righteous." And when translating δικαίωμα (5:18), the *New World Translation* reverts to the Latin stem *just*—and renders "act of justification," thus breaking its consistency and switching from forensic to ethical connotations. In Rom 6:7 δικαιόω is translated as "acquit."

Other translators use such a hodgepodge of terms that none but the initiated would ever suspect that Paul is using words of the same stock, and we are thrown "into a jumble of ambiguities, where we have as good chance of mental confusion as the worst enemy of truth could desire." [4]

So far as I know, the first writer to struggle with this problem of English translation was Horace Bushnell. He complains that "the mere English reader will not know, that the three words" occurring in 3:25f., "*righteousness, just,* and *justifier of*—noun, adjective, and participle—are all words of the same root in the original, and, of course, are as closely related in meaning, as they can be in so many different parts of speech, that are grammatical offshoots of the same word." [5]

Noting that English has no Hiphil (causative) form of the verb "to be right," Bushnell suggests "the true version":

> To declare (that is, demonstrate, inwardly impress) his righteousness, for the remission, by God's forbearance, of sins heretofore committed; to declare (demonstrate,) I say, for this present time, his righteousness, that he might be righteous (stand full before us in the evident glory of his righteousness) and the justifier (righteousser) of him that believeth in Jesus.[6]

Although I disagree with Bushnell's ethical rather than forensic understanding of justification, at least he is seeking to find English words on the root *right* with which to translate the Greek words on the root δικ-. Thus he has coined the

[4] Horace Bushnell, *The Vicarious Sacrifice* (New York, 1883), II, 179.
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 406f.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 421.

word "righteousser" to replace "justifier," but confesses that "righteousser" is "very ungrammatical," "outlandish," and a "mock-English substitute for the word 'justifier.' " [7]

Bushnell also uses his "outlandish" word in the participial form: ". . . the righteoussing goes on, even as the sun goes on shining when it makes the day . . ." [8]

Bushnell notes that "there probably is not another version in the world that does not translate these three words all by words of the same stock, and it is a verbal wrong and corruption not to do it." [9] A check of some German, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian versions indicates that Bushnell's surmise was remarkably correct. Hence we have another incentive for seeking a homogeneous English translation.

C. H. Dodd in his commentary on Rom is also concerned about this particular problem of translation and the inadequate way in which Moffatt handled it. On 3:24f. Dodd remarks that "the terms *righteous, just*; *righteousness, justice*; *justify*; all represent Greek words from one single root. In rendering them into English we are embarrassed by the fact that there is no English verb corresponding to the adjective *righteous*, while, on the other hand, the adjective *just*, corresponding

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 409-422.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[9] *Ibid.*, II, 179f. Contextual critics warn that words on the same stem are not necessarily related in meaning because they do not have the same history. Although this may be true of similar words in different texts separated in time and by authorship, it does not apply to this study because Rom is one writing on one theme (δικαιοσύνη) by one theologian who consciously uses words of the same family (often closely together) to convey his meaning, and it is our responsibility as translators to impart this meaning by recapturing in English the word-play in Greek. Even James Barr, who, in *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (New York, 1961), pp. 218f., cautions against "obscuring the value of a word in a context by imposing upon it the totality of its uses," admits "that the small compass of the NT, both in literary bulk and in the duration of the period which produced it, adds a plausibility to the endeavor to take it as one piece, which could hardly be considered so likely for any literature of greater bulk and spread over a larger time."

to the verb *justify*, is a much less adequate translation of the Greek adjective than *righteous*." [10]

Dodd points out that in reading 3:25bf. "we must bear in mind that *righteous* and *just* are only different English renderings of the same Greek word; and so are *righteousness* and *justice*. Dr. Moffatt has chosen here to use *just* and *justice*, although in vss. 21 and 22 he had used *righteousness*, presumably because only so could the connection of these words with *justify* be made clear. But the *justice* of God in vs. 26 is the same thing as the *righteousness of God* in vss. 21-22." [11] Unlike Bushnell, Dodd does not supply us with a solution to this deficiency in English.

These difficulties are also discussed by Raymond T. Stamm, who notes that the English renditions "justify" and "righteousness" prevent "the English reader from seeing the connection between the two words." Furthermore,

> unfortunately this Latin word [justification] does not make plain Paul's underlying religious experience, which was a change of status through faith from a wrong to a "right" relationship with God. It conceals from the English reader the fact that the Greek word also means "righteousness." The RSV retains it because it has become fixed in the language of the church, but the translators recognize the difficulty in the marginal note on [Gal 2:] 16a (observe also the ASV mg., "accounted righteous"). [12]

In his lectures and in his translation of Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament*, Grobel

> ventured to revive and to use . . . an obsolete Middle English verb "rightwise(n)"—the true English counterpart of the adjective "righteous" (Anglo-Saxon: rightwīs) and the noun "righteousness" (Anglo-Saxon: rightwīsnes). The only alternative seems to be to use consistently the Latin cognates just, justify, and justification—but they are alive in English with other very misleading meanings. [13]

[10] Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[12] R. T. Stamm, "The Epistle to the Galatians," *The Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville, 1953), 549, 484.

[13] Kendrick Grobel, *op. cit.*, I, 253, 278, 274, 271. Mrs. Grobel knows of no other writing which her late husband did on this subject.

Thus Grobel translates as follows:

> . . . him who rightwises the ungodly (4:5).
> . . . for our justification (rightwising) (4:25; 5:18).
> Rightwised therefore by faith we have peace with God (5:1).
> . . . salvation ("being saved") lies in the future awaiting the "rightwised" (cf. 5:9).

In this manner, then, Grobel is able to give consistent and meaningful renditions of δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιόω and δικαίωσις. Grobel's solution is preferable to Bushnell's, for Bushnell had only the noun "righteousser" to add to our vocabulary and no verb. Not only is "righteousser" an "outlandish, mock-English substitute," as Bushnell himself indicated, but it connotes the ethical rather than the forensic meaning.

"Rightwise," on the other hand, being a verb, can be used to translate not only the Greek verb and verbal forms but also the noun δικαίωσις, by using the participial form, "rightwising." Moreover, "rightwise" is a word with a history, albeit obsolete in general usage today.[14] Most important, it suggests the necessary forensic sense, the change from a wrong to a *right* status before the celestial court.

Building upon Grobel's suggestions, I find that "rightwise" can be used as follows to render every instance of δικαιόω in Rom:

a) where δικαιόω appears as a finite verb, it can be translated by "rightwise" (2:13; 3:4, 20, 24, 28, 30; 4:2; 5:1, 9; 6:7; 8:30), *e.g.*, 2:13:

[14] *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1933), VIII, 677, lists "rightwis(h)e," "rightwyse" as an obsolete transitive verb, meaning "to set right; to justify; to do justice to; to make righteous." The *E. E. Psalter* of 1300 uses "rightwised" (18:10) and "rightwises" (81:3). *The Hampole Psalter* (1340) reads, "He calles me, he rightwises me and glorifies me" (61:6). No usage is cited from the Tyndale, Great, Geneva, Bishops', or Rheims Bibles; in Rom these translations use "justyfye," "justify," or "justifie." *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass., 1895), p. 1242, gives "rightwise" as an obsolete transitive verb meaning "to make righteous," but offers no examples of usage. Following Grobel, I use this verb in the forensic sense.

"For not the hearers of the law are righteous before God, but the doers of the law shall be rightwised."

At first glance 3:4 appears to be an exception, since it would seem strange to speak of men "rightwising" God:

"That thou mayest be justified in thy words . . ." (RSV).

Yet that is precisely the meaning here: "that thou might be pronounced righteous [that is, rightwised] by the judgment of mankind." [15]

Likewise "rightwise" at first appears inadequate at 6:7, where RSV translates: "For he who has died is freed from sin." Yet

> the sense of δεδικαίωται is still forensic: "is declared righteous, acquitted from guilt." The idea is that of a master claiming legal possession of a slave: proof being put in that the slave is dead, the verdict must needs be that the claims of law are satisfied and that he is no longer answerable; sin loses its suit.[16]

Hence the verse should be translated: "For he who has died is rightwised from sin."

b) where δικαιόω appears as a participle referring to God it can be rendered by the substantive, "Rightwiser":

"God is the Rightwiser of him who has faith in Jesus" (3:26).

"But to him who does not work but trusts the Rightwiser of the ungodly, his faith is counted as righteousness (4:5). God is the Rightwiser" (8:33).

I have noted that Grobel translated δικαίωσις (4:25; 5:18) as "rightwising." This rendition is preferable to the numerous others used by the various translations. At this point, however, I would like to exhume another obsolete word, "rightwiseness" (Middle English), which means "righteousness." [17]

[15] William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* ("The International Critical Commentary"; 5th ed., Edinburgh, 1964), p. 72.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[17] *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language* (1895), p. 1242.

I would use it as the equivalent of δικαίωσις, referring both to the state of those who have been rightwised (pronounced righteous, acquitted, absolved from guilt) and to God's act of rightwising (pronouncing righteous, acquitting, absolving) the sinner: "He was raised for our rightwiseness" (4:25).

"The free gift came unto all men unto rightwiseness of life" (5:18), that is, life is the "result of the state of things into which the Christian enters when he is declared 'righteous' or receives his sentence of absolution." [18]

As for the noun δικαίωμα, it is used five times in Rom (1:32; 2:26; 5:16; 5:18; 8:4) and in two senses:

a) δικαίωμα can refer to a declaration that a thing is righteous (δίκαιος), which has led to the meaning of ordinance, statute (1:32; 2:26; 8:4). Here I would propose the translation, "righteous requirement":

"Although they know God's righteous requirement . . ." (1:32).

"Therefore if the circumcision keep the righteous requirements of the law . . ." (2:26).

"In order that the righteous requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us . . ." (8:4).

b) δικαίωμα can also refer to a declaration that a person is righteous (δίκαιος), which has led to the Pauline usage meaning God's verdict declaring sinners righteous. For this sense I propose the translation, "rightwising act":

> For on the one hand judgment followed one man's act and resulted in a verdict of condemnation, but on the other hand the free gift followed many trespasses and ended in God's rightwising act (5:16). Therefore as through one transgression the judgment came unto all men unto condemnation, so also through one rightwising act the free gift came unto all men unto rightwiseness of life (5:18).

In both 5:16 and 5:18 δικαίωμα means "the sentence by which God declares men righteous on account of Christ's death." [19]

Finally, there is the word δικαιοκρισία (2:5), which may simply be rendered as "righteous judgment," or, "righteous

[18] Sanday and Headlam, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

judge," assuming that the term denotes "not so much the character of the judgment as the character of the Judge": [20]

> While you with that callous impenitent heart of yours are heaping up arrears of Wrath, which will burst upon you in the Day of Wrath, when God will stand revealed in His character as the Righteous Judge.[21]

In sum, I am suggesting that in the classroom and in scholarly works in English the six words in Romans on the root δικ- be rendered as follows:

δίκαιος = righteous
δικαιοσύνη = righteousness
δικαιόω = rightwise and Rightwiser
δικαίωσις = rightwiseness
δικαίωμα = righteous requirement (1:32; 2:26; 8:4) and rightwising act (5:16, 18)
δικαιοκρισία = righteous judgment or Righteous Judge.

> For in it the *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνη) of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, "He who through faith is *righteous* (δίκαιος) shall live (1:17)." Although they know God's *righteous requirement* (δικαίωμα) that those who do such things deserve to die, they not only do them but approve those who practice them (1:32). But by your hard and impenitent heart you are storing up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath when God's *righteous judgment* (δικαιοκρισία) will be revealed (2:5). For no human being will be *rightwised* (δικαιόω) in his sight by the works of the law, since through the law comes knowledge of sin (3:20). This was to show God's *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνη) at this time, that he might be *righteous* (δίκαιος) and the *Rightwiser* (δικαιόω) of him who has faith in Jesus (3:26). But to him who does not work but trusts the *Rightwiser* (δικαιόω) of the ungodly, his faith is counted as *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνη) (4:5). Therefore as through one transgression the judgment came unto all men unto condemnation, so also through one *rightwising act* (δικαίωμα) the free gift came unto all men unto *rightwiseness* (δικαίωσις) of life (5:18).

Such a homogeneous translation will make it plain to the English reader that we are dealing with one stock of words in Greek and at the same time bring out the proper forensic

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

meaning of these terms. It should serve to bring English abreast of other languages in this respect, and hopefully it will deliver us from that "jumble of ambiguities, where we have as good chance of mental confusion as the worst enemy of truth could desire."

AN UNRECOGNIZED VASSAL KING OF BABYLON IN THE EARLY ACHAEMENID PERIOD II *

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The first part of this study published in the preceding issue of *AUSS* detailed some of the changes the royal titulary in the Babylonian economic texts underwent during the first millennium B.C. Since that installment of this study went to the publisher in its final form, additional information on the subject came to the writer's attention by way of some criticisms and suggestions made on the unpublished manuscript by J. A. Brinkman of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in a personal communication of May 25, 1970. I have already expressed my indebtedness to Professor Brinkman for the use of his unpublished bibliography for the Babylonian economic texts of the 7th century B.C., and now I am further indebted to him for supplying me with additional titles from that bibliography that were not available to me at the time the first part of this study was written. The additional comments presented here on the subject of the preceding section are drawn from Professor Brinkman's observations and have been added here to correct and conclude the foregoing discussion before the major problem of this section, the early titulary of Cyrus, is taken up.

In one of the earlier texts, the legal text from the 9th century (4 NT 3), both LUGAL and the first KUR should have been placed in brackets as the title is more damaged than was previously indicated. The title from another text (BM 38113) should be added to those already discussed from the reign of Nabonassar. Although the title in this text is damaged ([LUGAL TIN.T]IR ^{ki}), it is evident that the title "King of Babylon" was used here as it was in two other texts dated to him. While it is correct to say that this title appears in the date formulae of the economic texts for the first time during Nabonassar's reign, even with this additional instance it cannot yet be said that it came into regular use at that time, since the 16 texts that use only the title "King" still outnumber the three that have the lengthier title. On the other hand, four more texts from the reign of Merodach-Baladan II with the title "King of Babylon" (LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}) can be added to the six already mentioned. This means that over half of

* The first part of this article was published in *AUSS*, IX (1971), 51-67.

the business documents from his reign employ that titulary, and although the number of such texts is not large, it does say something for the importance of his reign as a transition point in the use of that title in this type of text.

The title in the text dated to Sargon II mentioned in the preceding discussion (2 NT 280) is all the more interesting in view of the additional information concerning it. It may be recalled that this text was singled out as the only known example of a business document from Babylonia dated to an Assyrian king that has the title "King of Babylon" associated with his name. From his examination of the cast of the text in the Oriental Institute Professor Brinkman informs me in his previously mentioned communication that, "...the RA (??) and the ki (?) in the title are damaged. The space looks much too small for a RA." In addition to these questionable sign values is the fact that, as far as I am aware, this form of the name for Babylon (KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki}) is otherwise unattested in the titularies used in the date formulae of the Babylonian business documents. It seems rather unlikely, therefore, that the titulary in this text dated to Sargon contained the title "King of Babylon." If this assumption is correct, then there is not a single case known among the titularies in the economic texts from Babylonia in which the title "King of Babylon" was used for any Assyrian monarch who ruled there directly or indirectly.

Four more references from texts dated to the short-reigned kings between Sargon and Sennacherib may be added to the few titles cited for them in the foregoing discussion. These new titles supply three more instances in which the title "King of Babylon" was used, twice for Bel-ibni and once for Ashur-nadin-shumi. The fourth text has the title "King of the World" for Bel-ibni. In addition, there is an arki date for Nergal-ushezib that contains the title "King of Babylon." A note in the preceding section referred to the fact that the earliest known reference to the use of E^{ki} as a geographical reference for Babylon dated to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar II. Professor Brinkman now informs me that since publishing *PHB* he has found such a reference that dates to the reign of Nabopolassar.

II. *The evidence for a Coregency of Cyrus and Cambyses from the Economic Texts*

It is important to settle the matter of this coregency before considering the problem of the early titulary of Cyrus because interpreters in the past have connected the two. The older view of the coregency of Cyrus and Cambyses placed it at the beginning of the reign of Cyrus.[40] Apparently, the reason

[40] G. B. Gray, "The Persian Empire and the West" (*CAH*, IV), p. 14; *BHT*, p. 106.

for this was the fact that all of the known coregency texts are dated to year one, and it was assumed that this meant the first regnal year of Cyrus. Since no coregency texts are known that date to any other year, it was assumed on this basis that Cambyses was removed from the kingship of Babylon after a year of reign or less, and that he did not return to that office until eight years later after the death of Cyrus. No explanation ever was advanced that adequately explained such a strange procession of events, therefore the subject remained in this confused state until Dubberstein clarified the significance of the data from the business documents.[41]

The pertinent textual materials involve the dates and titles in 29 texts that fall into two categories. The first group of nine texts includes eight that date to the 1st year of "Cambyses, King of Babylon, Cyrus, King of Lands," written with any one of several minor variations (*Cambyses* 35, 36, 42, 46, 72, 81, 98; *VAS* VI 108). The other text in the first group has the formula reversed. It is dated to the 1st year of "Cyrus, King of Lands, Cambyses, King of Babylon" (*Cyrus* 16). The second group includes 20 texts that are all dated to the 1st year of "Cambyses, King of Babylon" without the customary additional title "King of Lands" used throughout his reign. It is possible that some of these 20 texts could be scribal variants in texts that belong to the 1st regular regnal year of Cambyses (529/8), but it is not possible that all of them could be. The statistical significance of these 20 texts becomes more obvious when they are compared with the texts from the first years of Cyrus and Darius I. Only two texts from the 1st year of Cyrus with the title "King of Babylon" alone were encountered in this survey of the Achaemenid titulary (*Cyrus* 18, *RECC* 5), and only one from the 1st year of Darius (*VAS* VI 118). It is clear, then, that as a group these texts belong to a special

[41] Dubberstein, *AJSL*, LV (1938), 417-419.

circumstance, *i.e.*, the coregency pointed out by the other nine texts with the more specific titulary. The problems posed by the titles can find the following solution according to Dubberstein's hypothesis, which is quoted here at length:

> The Greek sources [Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias] which assert that Cyrus appointed his son Cambyses his successor before his last campaign and subsequent death apparently embody a correct tradition. At the New Year's festival, the official beginning of the New Year, in March-April, 530 B.C., Cambyses became the official *king of Babylon* while Cyrus retained the broader title *king of Lands*. Already three days later documents were dated to *Cambyses, king of Babylon*. Other scribes, conscious of the pre-eminence of Cyrus, continued to date by him giving the full titulary. A few scribes invented the new formulas already discussed which gave recognition and the respective titles to both Cambyses and Cyrus, and the new era was naturally dated as year *one* of the combined reign begun officially on the first day of the year.
>
> . . . News of his [Cyrus'] death reached Babylonia in the autumn of 530 B.C., for in September documents are dated to the *accession year* of *Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of Lands*. Yet the confusion inaugurated by the unusual dual-kingship continued, and some documents were still dated to the two rulers, or at Babylon still to Cambyses, as *king of Babylon*. Illustrative of the situation is a document dated in the eleventh month (Šabâṭu), February, 529, to *year one, accession year of Cambyses, king of Babylon and Lands*. Apparently the bewildered scribe dated by the old dual-king system, and also by the new accession-year dating. However, by the New Year, March-April, 529, the adjustment had taken place. Cyrus had been dead some months, Cambyses was ruler of the empire, hence logically beginning in March-April, 529, all documents were dated to the first year of *Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of Lands*, to be followed by his second and following years.
>
> . . . To postulate a dual reign at the beginning of Cyrus' reign instead of at the end has no support in the texts or in tradition, and is apparently opposed by the dual dating already quoted, *year one, accession year of Cambyses, king of Babylon and Lands*.[42]

This view of the coregency has also been incorporated into the chronological work that Dubberstein wrote in co-operation with R. A. Parker.[43] I am not aware of any objection in the literature to this proposal of Dubberstein since it appeared

[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *PDBC*, p. 14.

in print in 1938,[43a] although the older view shows up sometimes in works by writers that have not noted his brief comment on it.

A few observations might be added here in support of this interpretation. The year one in the date formula is more directly connected with Cambyses than it is with Cyrus, since eight of the nine joint titularies have his name first. This does not prove that these texts come from the end of Cyrus' reign instead of the beginning; it merely implies that the date applies to the coregency itself rather than to any specific regnal year of either Cyrus or Cambyses. Additional confirmation of this is found in the fact that the order of the names in the date formula could be reversed.

Dubberstein has also called attention to the fact that Cambyses is referred to as the crown prince (*mār šarri*) in texts that come from the reign of Cyrus. The last of these dates to the 6th day of the last month of Cyrus' 8th year

[43a] Since section II of this study was accepted for publication I had called to my attention the very pertinent remarks of M. San Nicolò in *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil- und Tempelverwaltung* (Munich, 1941), pp. 51-53. San Nicolò noted that the name of an official from Sippar that appears in one of the coregency texts disappears from the other business documents by the end of the seventh year of Cyrus, and another person appears in his place early in the eighth year. Assuming that these observations are correct, the location of the Cyrus-Cambyses coregency at the end of Cyrus' reign as proposed by Dubberstein and utilized above must be rejected. However, it should be carefully noted that this conclusion does not necessarily vitiate the main line of argument here since the only definite conclusion that can be made on the basis of this information is that the coregency did not occur during the eighth and ninth years of Cyrus' reign in Babylonia. A further more precise location of the coregency during the other seven years of Cyrus' reign must await a more detailed examination of the chronological distribution of the other personal names in all 29 of the texts that are dated in terms of the coregency. Unfortunately, the writer does not have access to the primary sources necessary to perform such an examination currently, therefore it must be deferred for the present. It may be noted in passing that no reaction to San Nicolò's observations, either positive or negative, was made by Dubberstein in the second edition of *PDBC*.

(*Cyrus* 325), in other words, less than a month before Cambyses' installation as coregent at the beginning of the 1st month of Cyrus' 9th year. In the normal order of things, Cambyses would have progressed from crown prince to coregent to sole king. The idea that he was coregent first, then was demoted to crown prince, then became king again is both irregular and inexplicable. The fact that only year one of the coregency is attested in the texts is far better explained by the idea that Cyrus died before year two of the coregency began than by the suggestion that Cambyses was demoted. Additional support for the normal order of promotions might be found in the passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle that describes Cambyses' entrance into the temple at the time of the New Year's festival (III, 24). The older view of the coregency would see this as a reference to the installation of Cambyses as king of Babylon at the beginning of Cyrus' reign. According to Smith's translation,[44] though, a crown prince is referred to three lines later (III, 27) who at this time could only be Cambyses. This would seem to eliminate the possibility that the previous reference in the text is a description of his enthronement. However, line 27 is damaged and Smith's reading is not definite. D. J. Wiseman's opinion from a recent examination of the tablet is, "I am not convinced that this should be read *mār šarri*, but wonder if it could be *mar Uruk*^{ki}, 'x the son of Uruk.'" [45] Since the reading is doubtful, it should not be stressed as an argument against a coregency in the first year of Cyrus. There is also some question about the chronology of the events at this point in the Nabonidus Chronicle.[46] Cambyses' entrance into the temple may have occurred a year later than formerly supposed, which would put it at the end of the coregency proposed for Cyrus' 1st year instead of at the beginning.

The text that is most useful in establishing the chronology

[44] *BHT*, pp. 114, 118, 122.
[45] Personal communication, Dec. 10, 1969.
[46] Discussed in the following installment of this article.

of this coregency is the one pointed out by Dubberstein in his explanation of the situation, *NBRVT* 92. It is dated to "year one, accession year of Cambyses, king of Babylon and Lands," and Krückmann's copy of the text clearly indicates that is the way the date formula should be read. The interpretation proposed by Dubberstein for this date formula is supported by a parallel construction found in three texts from the accession year of Darius II. They read: [47] 1) "4th month, day 25 (?), 41st year, accession year, Darius, king of Lands" (BM 33342); 2) "41st year, accession year, 12th month, day 14, Darius, king of Lands" (*NBRVT* 216); 3) "41st year, accession year, 12th month, day 20, Darius, king of Lands" (BE VIII 127). These dates obviously refer to the 41st and last year of Artaxerxes I which preceded (in the same year) the accession period of Darius II. Applying these parallels to *NBRVT* 92, it seems evident that the year one should be located in the same year as, but prior to, the accession year of Cambyses. However, the accession year of Cambyses came in the same calendar year as Cyrus' 9th, therefore the year one of *NBRVT* 92 must refer to some other situation, *i.e.*, the coregency. There is very little possibility of a scribal error here because the orthography for year one and year nine are considerably different. Thus, the parallels from the three accession-year texts of Darius II provide additional support to the aforementioned interpretation of the date formula of *NBRVT* 92, and this in turn helps to fix the location of the coregency with Cambyses at the end of Cyrus' reign.

III. *The Titulary of Cyrus from* 539-537 *According to the Contract Tablets*

By placing the coregency of Cyrus and Cambyses at the end of Cyrus' reign, another problem in the early Achaemenid titulary has been accentuated. According to the older view of the coregency, three groups of texts were involved here, not just two. The third group of texts consists of those

[47] *PDBC*, p. 18.

from the early part of Cyrus' reign that show a gap in his titulary, a period of just over a year during which he did not carry the title "King of Babylon." Gray's comment illustrates this viewpoint.

> . . . perhaps in view of the necessity for his [Cyrus] absence from Babylon, after the first few months, in the first month of the first full year of his reign, he for a time made his son Cambyses king of Babylon, keeping for himself the more comprehensive title King of Lands; but before the close of his first year he had, for reasons unknown, resumed for himself the double title "King of Babylon, King of Lands," which is henceforward attested for every year down to the ninth and last, though occasionally during this period one or other of the two titles is used alone.[48]

Kugler noted this change in Cyrus' titulary.[49] Olmstead did too, although he did not connect it to Cyrus' coregency with Cambyses. He observed,

> . . . By Oct. 26 [539] at the latest, the scribes were dating by the new ruler [Cyrus] as "king of the lands." This remained the official titulary during the remainder of the "accession year" and for a part of the first full year of reign.
>
> . . . During his first full year of reign, "king of Babylon" came regularly to be prefixed in his dating formula to "king of the lands." [50]

These three observers are substantially in agreement that the title used for Cyrus in the Babylonian business documents during his accession year and for most of his 1st regnal year was "King of Lands." Then, toward the end of his 1st year, the scribes began to use the compound titulary "King of Babylon, King of Lands" in the tablets they dated to him, and they continued to apply that titulary to him down to the end of his reign. Superficially, the suggestion that the

[48] Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[49] "Mit Cyrus beginnt die Reihe der Herrscher, die sich *šar mātāti* 'König der Länder' nennen. Cyrus führt diesen Titel fast ausschliesslich während seines Akzessionsjahres und den zehn folgenden Monaten seines ersten Jahres, wo sein Sohn Kambyses als 'König von Babel' Unterkönig war; in der Folgezeit heisst er in den Geschäftsurkunden 'König von Babel, König der Länder.' Den gleichen Titel haben seine Nachfolger Kambyses und Darius I. inne." *SSB*, p. 403.

[50] A. T. Olmstead, *The History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 50, 51.

coregency texts should be placed in this gap appears reasonable, but when the coregency with Cambyses is placed at the end of Cyrus' reign, for reasons already discussed, then another explanation must be sought for this third group of texts.

Although the reasons for the use of these titles and the changes in them have not been made clear yet, the statements on the basic data made by these writers appear to be essentially correct. A compilation of the titles from the texts in question is found in Table II. The majority of the texts listed from the 1st year after the fall of Babylon (before the title change took place) come from southern Babylonia, but there are some texts of that period available from the northern cities. The texts in the list from Tremayne (*RECC*), Contenau (*TCL* XIII), and Dougherty (*GCCI* II), all come from Uruk, and three of the four unpublished Yale texts are from Nippur, but Babylon (*Cyrus* 8, 12), Borsippa (*NBRVT* 21), and Sippar (BM 56154) are also represented, giving a fair cross-section of the major cities of 6th-century Babylonia.

TABLE II

BABYLONIAN CONTRACT TABLET TITLES FOR CYRUS, 539 TO 537

I. *Accession Year*

October 12, 539 *to March* 23, 538

Reference	*Year*	*Month*	*Day*	*Title*
BM 56154	Acc.	VII	23	King of Babylon, King of Lands
Cyrus 1	Acc.	VII	—	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBRVT 21	Acc.	[VII?]	25	King of Babylon, [King of Lands?]
Cyrus 2	Acc.	VIII	24	King of Lands
Cyrus 4	Acc.	IX	24	King of Lands
RECC 1	Acc.	X	21	King of Lands
RECC 2	Acc.	XI	21	King of Lands
RECC 3	Acc.	XII	8	King of Lands
Cyrus 7	Acc.	XII	10	King of Lands
RECC 4	Acc.	XII	17	King of Lands
Cyrus 8	Acc.	XII	21	King of Lands
Cyrus 9	Acc.	XII	—	King of Lands
Cyrus 10	Acc.	——	—	King of Lands

II. *First Regnal Year*

March 24, 538 *to March* 11, 537

Reference	*Year*	*Month*	*Day*	*Title*	
RECC 5	1	I	4	King of Babylon	
Cyrus 12	1	I	7		King of Lands
BLC C 1	1	I	30		King of Lands
RECC 10	1	II	1		King of Lands
BRLM 58	1	II	8		King of Lands
Cyrus 15	1	II	25		King of Lands
RECC 8	1	II	30		King of Lands
RECC 9	1	III	5		King of Lands
RECC 6	1	IV	29		King of Lands
TCL XIII 124	1	V	1		King of Lands
GCCI II 102	1	VI	1		King of Lands
RECC 7	1	VI	—		King of Lands
TCL XIII 125	1	VIII	8		King of Lands
NBC 4761	1	VIII	12		King of Lands
CUL 357	1	VIII	23		King of Lands
BRLM 57	1	IX	20		King of Lands
MLC 1824	1	——	3		King of Lands
RECC 13	1	——	14		King of Lands
NBC 4713	1	——	22		King of Lands
RECC 16	1	——	—		King of Lands
Cyrus 18	1	X	—	King of Babylon	
Cyrus 22	1	XI	16	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
Cyrus 23	1	XI	17	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
NBRU 37	1	XI	18		King of Lands
NBC 4664	1	XI	19		King of Lands
Cyrus 24	1	XI	26	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
Cyrus 25	1	XI	27	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
VAS III 35	1	XI	28	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
Cyrus 26	1	XI	29	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
Cyrus 27	1	XII	2		King of Lands
Cyrus 30	1	XII	18	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
Cyrus 29	1	XII	26		King of Lands
VAS III 60	1	XII	28	King of Babylon,	King of Lands
Cyrus 31	1	——	—	King of Babylon,	King of Lands

Notes on Selected Texts in Table II

BM 56154: I am indebted to D. J. Wiseman for the information utilized here from this unpublished tablet.[51] It comes from Sippar and is dated to the 7th month of the accession year. The day number is slightly damaged; signs for the 23 are clear (), but it could have had two more for 25. This makes it the earliest known Babylonian

[51] Personal communication, Jan. 10, 1969.

business document dated to Cyrus, and it uses the dual titulary for him—"King of Babylon" is clear, but "King of Lands" is damaged.

Cyrus 1: The day number is missing from this text, and the month sign is partly damaged and has been questioned.[52] However, since Tashritu has generally been accepted for the sign in question,[53] the text is located in the list according to that date. The fact that this tablet carries the dual titulary may possibly support the 7th-month date. The name of the city of origin is also missing.

NBRVT 21: The month sign in this text from Borsippa is illegible, but instead of placing it at the end of the list for the year according to custom, it has been located with the earlier texts because the titulary suggests it might belong there. Krückmann's copy shows a damaged area without any legible signs after the title "King of Babylon" in the last line. The damaged area may be too small for the full form of "King of Lands," but it probably could have accommodated the common variant ". . . and Lands" (*u* KUR.KUR), so it cannot definitely be determined whether the other title was present or not.

Cyrus 10: It is possible that "King of Babylon" was present in this text at the end of line 19, but this is doubtful in view of the amount of space available there, so it has been listed by the one title that is legible, "King of Lands."

Cyrus 15: The number of the year in this text is partly damaged, but year one may be accepted because the single sign is horizontal. If the number were two or three it would have been written with vertical strokes. The title listed for this text is taken from the KUR sign that appears at the edge of the damaged area. If this sign is correct, then the full title was "King of Lands" (KUR.KUR) only, for the titles are always written "King of Babylon, King of Lands" in order, and never the reverse. However, if the sign in question is actually TIN instead of KUR, and the two are fairly close, then Babylon (TIN.TIR^{ki}) could have been present.

BLC C 1: This text is in the Bodleian Library collection and R. C. Thompson listed it in his catalogue of that collection which is now housed in the Ashmolean Museum.[54] I am indebted to O. R. Gurney of Oxford for his recent examination of the tablet on my behalf. The last two lines of the text read,

. . . . . *Ku-ra-áš*
[LUGAL] KUR.KUR.MEŠ [ ]

Professor Gurney says that "the last line is broken, but there is no

[52] Wiseman says, "I do not believe Strassmaier was right in reading the month. This part of the text is very broken and all I can see is (some traces) but this is very uncertain." *Ibid.*

[53] *PDBC*, p. 14.

[54] R. C. Thompson, *Catalogue of Late Babylonian Tablets in the Bodleian Library* (duplicated but unpublished?).

room for LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}." [55] The fact that the title "King of Lands" follows immediately after Cyrus' name confirms that it was the only title written in the text.

Cyrus 18: This text was misdated by Strassmaier to the 30th day of the 5th month of Cyrus' 1st year. It is evident that the contract extended from the 10th month of the 1st year to the 5th month of the next year, the 2d. Line two of this text with the year number and the title of Cyrus is most directly connected with the 10th month in line one, not with the 5th month in line three.

NBC 4664, 4713, 4761; MLC 1824: In connection with these texts I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of Professor W. W. Hallo, curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection, who granted permission to me to examine these and other tablets in the collection, and also lent his valuable assistance in reading some of the damaged and difficult signs encountered in them. All the elements of the date and title in NBC 4664 and NBC 4761 are clear and definite and they both come from Nippur. The day and the year in the date formulae of MLC 1824 and NBC 4713 are definite, but their respective month signs are damaged. The 7th month appears the most likely in MLC 1824, but it could possibly be the 2d month or the 5th. The traces remaining in NBC 4713 seem to indicate the 8th or 9th month as the most likely possibility in that text. Since the month signs in both texts are not definite, no month date has been noted for them in Table II. The titles in both texts are definite and MLC 1824 comes from Nippur, but the name of the city of origin is damaged in NBC 4713.

As in the case of *NBRVT* 21 in the accession year, the three published (*RECC* 13, 16; *Cyrus* 31) and the two unpublished (MLC 1824; NBC 4713) tablets from the 1st year of Cyrus in which the month is not certain have been located in the list according to their titles rather than at the end of the list for the year. The damaged signs in the unpublished texts point in that direction, and this procedure seems justified statistically on the basis of comparison with the materials from the other eight years of Cyrus. A published text of considerable importance in regard to the titulary of Cyrus in his 1st year was re-examined at Yale (*RECC* 5), and it was found that the date and title published by Tremayne for this text are unquestionably correct.

Notes on Significant Texts Not Included in Table II

Inquiry should be made at this point into the reasons why some texts from the accession year and 1st year of Cyrus are not included in Table II. Three unpublished texts from this period came to my attention in the course of this survey that are not included in the list. Two texts in the Yale Collection (MCL 1007, 578) date to the accession year and 1st year of Cyrus respectively, but the titles in both texts are damaged and illegible. Another text in the collection at Chicago

[55] Personal communication, Dec. 6, 1969.

is dated to the 1st year of Cyrus (2 NT 179), but I was unable to locate the cast of this tablet. I did not find any unpublished texts from the accession year or 1st year of Cyrus listed in the card catalogue of the University Museum in Philadephia. All of the published texts in this category come from Strassmaier's collection (*Cyrus*), for all of the texts from this period that were located in other sources appear in the list. Ten of the first 30 texts of Strassmaier have been omitted because of problems with one of the three main elements in the date formula—the date, the king's name, or the titulary.

Six texts were omitted because of trouble identifying the name of the king to whom they were dated. In four of these (*Cyrus* 6, 14, 20, 21) not even a trace of the king's name is left. Strassmaier labeled them all with a question mark after the name of Cyrus. In another case (*Cyrus* 13) only a few faint traces of the king's name remain, so it is not much better than the others, and again the text was assigned to Cyrus by Strassmaier with a question mark. *Cyrus* 11 is the last of the six texts in which the problem has to do with the king's name. The problem here is that the signs copied by Strassmaier do not make up a commonly known variant form of Cyrus' name. Professor Wiseman was kind enough to collate this text for me recently and he reads the name "^{m}*Ma-ku-*. . ." and comments that "If [the name is] Cyrus it is written badly." [56] This text has been omitted from Table II because the name is doubtful, but it is difficult to see what other king's name these signs could make up, so it might belong there after all.

Three texts have been omitted from the list because of problems with the titulary. In two of these (*Cyrus* 5, 17) the title is completely missing. The third text (*Cyrus* 3) is more complicated. In this case Strassmaier copied LUGAL TIN followed by a damaged area at the end of line 29. The name Babylon (TIN.TIR^{ki}) stands alone in line 30. It is suggested here that the name of Babylon in the last line is not part of the titulary but that it indicates the place where the tablet was written. It appears that the balance of the titulary has been lost in the damage at the end of the preceding line, but if the TIN sign is correct then it contained "King of Babylon" at least. The case is very similar to that of *Cyrus* 15 and it may very well belong in the list, but since the title is both doubtful and atypical it has been omitted.

The last text of the ten omitted poses a problem in dating (*Cyrus* 19). The number of the year in the text is not definite because the determinative KAM is not present at the end of line 5. Strassmaier's copy of the text is not crosshatched here but lack of the determinative seems to indicate damage to this part of the tablet. One or two more vertical wedges may have been present, in which case the year number would have been 2 or 3. Without the determinative at the end of the year number, it is impossible to be sure whether it was dated to the 1st, 2d, or 3d year of Cyrus. The problem presented by this text

[56] Personal communication, Dec. 10, 1969.

is the reverse of the dating problem in *Cyrus* 15. In the former case the year is definite because the sign is horizontal, but in this case the year remains in doubt because the wedge is vertical; consequently it has not been included in Table II.

The next logical step to take in this study following the foregoing detailed examination of the individual texts in Table II is to look at the overall picture they present. Two main features of Cyrus' titulary stand out from these materials. The first notable feature is the fact that the title given Cyrus in 29 out of 30 texts collected from the 8th month of his accession year through the 9th month of his 1st year is "King of Lands." Only one definite exception comes from this period (*RECC* 5). This exceptional text with the title "King of Babylon" will be discussed later along with the three that stand at the beginning of the list. The important point here is not whether one, two, or six texts carry exceptional titles, but, what was the standard titulary of Cyrus during this period? The titles in Table II give us the answer to this question. Clearly, "King of Lands" was the standard titulary used for Cyrus in the Babylonian business documents throughout these 14 months.

The second main feature of the titles in Table II is the transition in the titulary. The only text from the 10th month of Cyrus' 1st year gives him the title "King of Babylon," and in the 11th month the dual titulary "King of Babylon, King of Lands" begins its regular appearance. The ratio of the titles in the texts from the closing months of Cyrus' 1st year is sharply reversed from that which obtained before. Nine texts from these three months contain the titulary "King of Babylon, King of Lands," while only four use "King of Lands," the title that was in regular use until that time.

This change in the titulary raises the question, how consistent were the Babylonian scribes in their use of these titles? Did they call Cyrus "King of Babylon" sometimes, "King of Lands" on other occasions, and use both titles in still other texts, all in a rather haphazard fashion? Or was there a

definite pattern to their use of these titles for Cyrus? To answer this question the titles from some 575 texts that date from the 2d year of Cyrus through the 1st year of Cambyses have been examined. The list is not as exhaustive as I have attempted to be in Table II, but it contains usable titles from the major published sources most readily available. At any rate, these 575 texts provide us with an adequate sampling of the titles used at that time to answer the question of scribal consistency. Excluding his 9th year with the coregency texts, the titles of Cyrus examined fall into the following statistical pattern:

TABLE III

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TITULARIES USED IN 414 BABYLONIAN TEXTS FROM THE SECOND TO THE EIGHTH YEAR OF CYRUS, 537 TO 530

Regnal Year	*King of Babylon*	*King of Lands*	*King of Babylon King of Lands*	*Total*
2	4	13	53	70
3	1	7	78	86
4	1	2	49	52
5	0	0	46	46
6	1	0	42	43
7	1	0	49	50
8	4	0	63	67
Total	12	22	380	414

This tabulation of the titles from the 2d year of Cyrus on gives a clear picture of his standard titulary in Babylonia for the rest of his reign. In addition, the titles from the 1st year of Cambyses show that the same titulary continued on into his reign. The titulary "King of Babylon, King of Lands" was found in over 90% of the 400 cases checked, which makes it unquestionably the standard royal titulary in the economic texts from Cyrus' reign. Since this titulary that was standard for the rest of his reign is the same as the one found most commonly in the texts from the last three months of his 1st year, it seems reasonable to conclude that the two stand

in direct continuity and that this titulary first came into regular use at that time. This conclusion emphasizes the discontinuity of this standard titulary with the one in the texts from his accession year and the first nine months of his 1st year, "King of Lands" alone. Further stress is placed upon this discontinuity by comparison with the texts dated to the early part of Cambyses' reign. Ten texts from the accession year of Cyrus carry the title "King of Lands," but only three were found among the accession-year texts of Cambyses (*Cambyses* 4, 18, 22), and while some 20 texts from the 1st year of Cyrus have this title, only one such text was encountered from the 1st year of Cambyses (*Cambyses* 30).

The 13 occurrences of the title "King of Lands" in Cyrus' 2d year may be questioned. It may be asked if this means that the same political situation that obtained in his 1st year, whatever it may have been, was still operating during his 2d year. Several factors seem to indicate that it was not. First and least important is the fact that the title "King of Lands" is on the decline. There are simply less occurrences attested, and taking the succeeding years into account, they are on a decrescendo curve. Second and more important is the fact that the occurrences of this title in the 2d year are distributed sporadically. They are scattered through 9 months of the year and do not fit any pattern, *i.e.*, they are not grouped in any one contiguous part of the calendar year. Third and most important is the fact that another title was much more commonly used at the time, for the dual titulary is attested in 53 texts from the same 2d year during which this single title appears only 13 times. This contrasts with the situation in the preceding period during which, in essence, the use of no other title is attested. For these three reasons it is concluded here that the 13 occurrences of the title "King of Lands" in the 2d year are not politically significant, but that they probably represent incomplete scribal accommodation to the new dual titulary from the former single title, *i.e.*, they are simply scribal variants. The same may be said

for the 12 occurrences of the title "King of Babylon" during the seven years surveyed. In this case the variant nature of the occurrences of this title is even more evident because of their random distribution. In view of the evidence, the question about the consistency of the scribes in the use of these titles may be answered positively. While variants do appear occasionally, they are relatively uncommon and are not statistically significant enough to detract from the clear picture of the standard titulary in use.

The next question to arise is, whether it is possible that the future publication of currently unpublished materials will change this picture of Cyrus' titulary to any significant degree? The presumptive answer to this question is found in Table IV, which represents the usable titles from unpublished texts that date to the first 4 years of Cyrus that were

TABLE IV

TITLES FROM UNPUBLISHED TEXTS
FROM THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF CYRUS

Reference	*Year*	*Month*	*Title*
NBC 4761	1	VIII	King of Lands
NBC 4664	1	XI	King of Lands
MLC 1824	1	——	King of Lands
NBC 4713	1	——	King of Lands
UM 29-15-553	2	IX	King of Babylon, King of Lands
YBC 7048	2	XI	King of Lands
MLC 492	2	XI	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 8342	2	——	King of Babylon, King of Lands
UM 29-15-551	2	——	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NCBT 1135	3	II	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 8396	3	IV	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NCBT 685	3	VIII	King of Babylon, King of Lands
1 NT 283	3	X	King of Lands
A 3699	3	XII	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 6220	3	——	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 6182	4	II	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 8379	4	V	King of Lands
NBC 8361	4	VIb	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 4650	4	XI	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NBC 4663	4	——	King of Babylon, King of Lands
NCBT 1237	4	——	King of Babylon, King of Lands

encountered in the course of this survey. The 4th year was arbitrarily selected for the cut-off point, as that portion of the texts dated to Cyrus seemed to provide an adequate sampling of the materials. The titles are taken from tablets in the collections at Chicago, Pennsylvania, and Yale Universities, and I wish to thank Professors Gelb, Sjoberg, and Hallo, curators of the respective collections, for permission to examine the catalogues and selected tablets under their auspices.

The titles in Table IV reveal essentially the same pattern of distribution as those from the published sources found in Table II. The title in all of the texts from the first year is "King of Lands." Fourteen texts from the next three years have the dual titulary, while the title "King of Lands" is found again in the three exceptions from this period. All of these unpublished texts have also been placed in Table II. A few more exceptional titles may turn up in other unpublished tablets from the early years of Cyrus. However, since the description of his titulary in the economic texts outlined above is based upon a fairly significant statistical foundation, it is not expected that enough variants would turn up to materially change the picture of his titulary presented here.

Another small piece of evidence also points up the contrast between the title of Cyrus in the texts from his 1st year and the dual titulary used during the rest of his reign. This documentation comes from the fact that the royal titulary appears sometimes in dates that were cited in oaths or statements in the texts. Several examples of this may be seen in the texts from the Achaemenid period published by Contenau (*TCL* XIII 124, 132, 134, 137), and two of them are quoted below as illustrations of this usage. The translations utilized here are the work of E. W. Moore,[57] and italics have been added to emphasize the titles used. An example of the use

[57] *NBBAD*, Nos. 124 and 134.

of the earlier title of Cyrus in such a context comes from a text dated to his 1st year in which a statement is made about the delivery of some oil to Eanna in Uruk (*TCL* XIII 124),

> The wardens and council in whose presence Rîmût, son of Nâdinu, descendant of the weaver, spoke, saying: "As for the fine oil which on the 3d day of Tammuz [*4th month*], *the 1st year of Cyrus, king of the lands,* from Êsagila on the ship of the *kusîtu* to Eanna I took, up to the time when at Êanna it arrived, no-one had touched it..." Erech, the first day of Ab [*5th month*], *the 1st year of Cyrus, king of the lands.*

The dates and titles in this text contrast with those found in a legal text dated to the 4th year of Cyrus in which an individual's testimony in a sheep-stealing case is recorded (*TCL* XIII 134),

> Kînâ, son of Nabû-aḫ-iddina, herdsman of the Bêlit of Erech, spoke saying: "In Elul of *the 2d year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands,* one abandoned (?) mother sheep Mushêzib-Bêl, son of Nûrêa, in Marad gave me, saying: 'Take (it) and give (it) to Êanna.' Gimillu, son of Innin-shum-ibni, took it from my hands. To Êanna he did not give it."...Erech, Marchesvan, the 25th day, *the 4th year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, king of the lands.*

It is evident from the preceding discussion that the early title of Cyrus, "King of Lands," contrasts clearly with the dual titulary used for him afterwards. It also contrasts, perhaps even more sharply, with the title used for the kings who ruled Babylonia before him. In Part I of this study it was pointed out that a very large number of texts attest to the fact that "King of Babylon" was the standard and only titulary used for all of the Chaldean kings of Babylon from Nabopolassar to Nabonidus. More than that, the texts show that the regular use of these titles goes beyond the Chaldean kings, back through the reign of Kandalanu, at least to the time of Shamash-shum-ukin in the first half of the 7th century. In this case then, the title "King of Lands" used in the accession-year and 1st-year texts of Cyrus represents a sharp departure from the standard practice in the texts dated to the kings who ruled Babylonia for more than a century before him. This striking situation was not

changed until late in his 1st year when the title "King of Babylon" was added to his earlier title "King of Lands" to make up the dual titulary used for the rest of his reign.

The contrast between the titles "King of Babylon" and "King of Lands" is evident not only from the texts dated to Nabonidus and Cyrus individually, but also from a tablet that has the names of the two kings and their titles directly juxtaposed. This interesting tablet (*RECC* 8) comes from Uruk. It records the audit of temple offerings that were received during the last three years of Nabonidus, and since the audit was made in the 1st year of Cyrus, the names of both kings are present in the text. Tremayne, who published the text, described it as follows:

> A splendid specimen of the auditing of accounts in the Persian period.... Shuzubu, whose records were being checked up, was in charge of the animals which were received from temple offerings and sacrifice. The period of business covered the last three years of the reign of Nabonidus. The audit was made in the 1st month of the 1st year of Cyrus. During that time this man received no less than 7,036 animals and had disposed of 6,816, leaving a balance of 220. According to the figures on the tablet, the audit shows that Shuzubu's accounts were correct. A peculiar feature of the tablet is that there are no witnesses to the check and even the auditor did not subscribe his name.[58]

A Neo-Babylonian text has been published recently [59] that is similar in some respects to the previous text. In his review of the publication in which it appeared, Brinkman discussed this text briefly:

> In another interesting document that inventories woolen garments made for the cult statues of the gods in Uruk, we find that cult procedures there suffered no interruption during the Persian takeover of the political administration of the land; the text reads almost as though another Babylonian had succeeded to the throne....[60]

[58] *RECC*, p. 13.

[59] Karl Oberhuber, *Sumerische und Akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des archäologischen Museums zu Florenz* ("Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft," Sonderhefte VII-VIII; Innsbruck, 1958-1960), No. 165.

[60] Brinkman, "Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Archaeological Museum at Florence," *JNES*, XXV (1966), 202.

> This text, though broken or illegible in several places, still is interesting in many ways. It presents a unique year-by-year inventory of wool stuffs made into garments for the cult statues of the deities in Uruk....
>
> This text is also a unique inventory of wool garments in that it is arranged chronologically. Furthermore, it covers the vital years before and after the Persian conquest of Babylonia.... Save that the volume of wool stuffs used for cult garments appears to drop off slightly during the critical years 539-538 (Nabonidus, Year 17 and Cyrus, Year 1), the cult at Uruk continues uninterrupted during the change over from Babylonian independence to subjection under the Persian empire.[61]

The damaged section at the end of the tablet (lines 40 and following) indicates that the text apparently was composed at the end of Cyrus' 2d year, although the date there is missing. The date in line 39 labels the inventory for the 1st year of Cyrus that is recorded in the preceding 13 lines; consequently the titulary there comes from the end of his 1st year and is just what would be expected at that time, "King of Babylon, King of Lands," in contrast to his title in the preceding text. Another interesting aspect of this text is the fact that the name of Nabonidus is not legible anywhere in it. His name does not appear in the date formulae that label the inventories of goods from his years (lines 13, 25, 33), even though there is considerable space available in those lines. This absence of his name might be interpreted as supplementary evidence of his unpopularity in Babylonia, but it may not be significant because the most likely place for his name to appear is at the beginning of the tablet, which is badly damaged.

Undoubtedly, these two texts are composite works, *i.e.*, they were made up from other temple accounts recorded on various tablets. As such they were compiled according to the dates of the king who was ruling at the time the original accounts were written. In so doing, the scribes who wrote the two texts have taken along the appropriate titulary

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 209.

for the kings referred to and also those that are specific for the different phases of Cyrus' titulary. Thus these two texts provide us with a connected series of three titles: 1) "Nabonidus, King of Babylon," 2) "Cyrus, King of Lands" at the beginning of his 1st year, and 3) "Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Lands" at the end of his 1st year. This sequence of titles gives additional support to the outline of Cyrus' titulary noted by Gray and Olmstead in their comments quoted at the beginning of this section. Their observations have been amply confirmed by the overall re-examination of the titles in the texts presented here. This examination of the materials presented here illustrates one main point—that the change of titles that occurred in the business documents from the first two years of Cyrus in Babylonia represents a very real transition in his titulary. This conclusion brings us to the most important question that can be asked about this transition in the titulary: what political significance does it have for the history of Babylonia in the 6th century B.C.?

The particular object in question here is the title to the throne of Babylon. Obviously, only two alternatives are possible in regard to the 14 months when the scribes did not ascribe that title to Cyrus. Either he was the official king of Babylon for part or all of that time, or he was not. The first three accession-year texts in Table II enter into the discussion at this point because the title "King of Babylon" is present in the date formulae of all three. The first text in the list (BM 56154) is definitely dated to the 7th month, and it is commonly held that the second text there (*Cyrus* 1) is also dated to the 7th month although the month sign in the text is partially damaged. It should be noted here that any text from the 7th month antedates Cyrus' entry into Babylon, which occurred, according to the Nabonidus Chronicle (III, 18), on the 3d day of the 8th month. It seems very unlikely that Cyrus could have become the official king on the throne of Babylon before he entered Babylon.

A parallel to the dates and titles in these two texts may be

found in the situation at the beginning of the reign of Nabopolassar mentioned in Part I. The Chronicle specifically states that "on the 26th day of the month of Marcheswan [the 8th month], Nabopolassar sat upon the throne of Babylon." [62] However, there is a text from Sippar that is dated "22d of month Elul [the 6th month], accession year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon." [63] In this case the scribe used the title "King of Babylon" for Nabopolassar two months before the official protocol in Babylon that entitled him to that designation was accomplished. In other words, the scribe used the presumptive title appropriate at the time even though it was not yet officially confirmed. In the case of the two texts mentioned above, one from Sippar and the other from an undetermined location, this happened only a week or two before Cyrus entered Babylon instead of an interval of two months as in the case of Nabopolassar.

I do not necessarily mean to imply by this parallel that Cyrus was enthroned at the time he entered the city. It is interesting to note here that the Nabonidus Chronicle does not say that Cyrus "sat upon the throne in Babylon" as the other Chronicle texts do for the dozen kings of Babylon whose accession is attested during the preceding two centuries.[64] This is the passage in the Nabonidus Chronicle in which one would expect such a report to occur, but it is not present. The fact that the accession-year texts did not use the title "King of Babylon" after that is evidence in favor of the idea that he did not occupy the office at that time.

The other text from Cyrus' accession year that has the title "King of Babylon" clearly written in the titulary is

[62] *CCK*, p. 51.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[64] The Babylonian Chronicle (see *CCK*, p. 1, n. 1 for a bibliography) contains ten or eleven such references (the text is damaged in the case of Shalmaneser V). It also mentions that Ashur-nadin-shumi was placed on the throne of Babylon by Sennacherib and that Nergal-ushezib was placed on the throne there by Hallushu, the king of Elam. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar II are the other two kings whose accessions are attested in these terms, *CCK*, pp. 51, 69.

NBRVT 21. Unfortunately, the month date in this text is completely obliterated, so the month in which it was written is not known. By hypothesis, it has been placed with the other two texts from the accession year that contain the title "King of Babylon," which makes it third in the list and dates it to the time before Cyrus entered Babylon. There is no way to verify the date suggested for this text here, but the fact that it comes from Borsippa makes it more feasible than if it came from Babylon itself or a city in southern Babylonia.

At any rate, the accession-year texts are not nearly as important here as the texts from Cyrus' 1st year, because it could be argued that he waited until New Year's to sit upon the throne in Babylon. Indeed, it appears as if a scribe in Uruk expected him to do so, for the title "King of Babylon" is used for Cyrus in a text from that city that is dated to the 4th day of the 1st month of his 1st year (*RECC* 5). However, according to the information we have about the *Akitu*-festival, the king made his appearance in Babylon on the 5th day of the feast which was also the 5th day of Nisanu, the 1st month of the year. This was the day on which the priest invested the king with the insignia of kingship. Since this text from Uruk is dated to the day before that event ordinarily would have taken place, it may be that the scribe wrote this title in the text expecting Cyrus to take the office and title at that time. The time it took for the news to travel from Babylon to Uruk may also be a factor here. Another possibility is that this title is simply a scribal error. Through the years of the Chaldean kings the scribes had become accustomed to write the title "King of Babylon" on their tablets. The scribe who wrote this text less than six months after the fall of Babylon may have lapsed into this older convention, and consequently have written the older title "King of Babylon" in place of Cyrus' newer title "King of Lands" in error. The text would be more significant if it contained the dual titulary.

The texts from the 1st year of Cyrus are the texts that are really critical in this regard, for the next 15 texts in Table II dated after *RECC* 5 all use the standard titulary from the accession period, "King of Lands." If Cyrus had become the official king of Babylon at the turn of the year, one would expect the economic texts written thereafter to have taken up the title to that office, but they did not. The length of time texts continued the title "King of Lands" (nine months) is just about twice as long as the corresponding period of the accession year (five months), and the number of texts from the 1st year (19) is proportionally larger than the number of such texts from the accession year (ten). This is the really important fact, that for the first nine months of his 1st full year as ruler over Babylonia, Cyrus does not carry the title to the throne of Babylon in texts written there. If this evidence is significant, and the materials presented previously in this study seem to indicate that it is, then we must choose the second solution to the problem posed above *i.e.*, that Cyrus did not become the official king of Babylon until approximately the 10th month of his 1st year, when the business documents take up that title for him.

The time when the transition in the titulary took place is also interesting. We might expect the change to take place in the 1st month of the next year, but instead it occurred during the last months of Cyrus' 1st year. The case of Bardiya may provide a possible parallel to the mechanism by which this change in the titulary took place. Bardiya revolted in Persia just two weeks before New Year's in the spring of 522. Since news of his claim to kingship did not reach Babylonia until after New Year's when the first official year of the new king would ordinarily have begun, some scribes followed the standard procedure and began to date their tablets to the accession year of Bardiya, "King of Babylon, King of Lands," but as Poebel notes,

> Other officials, however, who may possibly have feared to incur the displeasure of the new king by using this mode of [accession

> year] dating—it could of course be construed as casting some doubt on the legal position of the king during that year—found a way out of this difficulty by dating their documents not after Bardia as king of Babylon but simply after [the first year of] Bardia as "king of the lands," i.e., king of Persia and the other provinces....[65]
>
> The use of different dating methods, however, could not go on for any longer time, and actually we notice that from the second half of the fourth month there is used a uniform formula designating the year 522/21 as "first year of Bardia, king of Babylon and king of the lands," a formula of the same type as that used during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses.[66]

Poebel suggested that this change was instituted through a royal decree:

> Apparently the change came about in what may be called the usual manner. The Persian authorities in Babylon simply invoked the decision of the Persian king, and Bardia or rather his ministers decreed that the foregoing formula should be used.[67]

Cameron proposed a similar origin for the first change in Xerxes' titulary:

> In all the documents from the accession year through the first three months of the first year Xerxes' title is "King of Babylon, King of the Lands," with a minor variation. In the fifth month of the first year came word—no doubt by royal decree—that the title was to be changed.... Thereafter, through the fourth month of the fourth year, the title is always "King of Persia, Media, King of Babylon and the Lands" (with minor variants).[68]

The two changes in the titulary described above occurred near the middle of the calendar year, and Poebel and Cameron suggest that they both came about by royal decree. With these cases in mind, it seems reasonable to suggest that the change in Cyrus' titulary that occurred toward the end of his 1st year as ruler over Babylonia also came about by a royal decree.

If the interpretation proposed here is correct and Cyrus

[65] Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[68] Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 324.

was not the official king of Babylon for these 14 months, then the next question logically is, why was he not? Again, our alternatives are rather limited, for there are only two possible answers to this question: either 1) Cyrus left the throne of Babylon vacant for this length of time, *i.e.*, there was an interregnum, or 2) someone else was the official "King of Babylon" for at least part of that time and ruled there as a vassal to Cyrus, "King of Lands." While interregna did occur on occasion in Babylon, it is not feasible to present a comprehensive examination of the circumstances surrounding them in connection with this study.

Suffice it to say that an interregnum would have been most unusual at this time—right after the conquest—when Babylon changed hands, not only from one king to another, but from Chaldean control to the Persians. An interregnum here would mean that the throne of Babylon was vacant right at the time when the new administation of the land was being set up, when Persian control of the country was being established. A king is actually the ultimate in this kind of activity and organization, and as Poebel says, "In Babylonia . . . officially the Persian monarch ruled only as king of Babylon . . ." [69] In addition, one might expect the Nabonidus Chronicle to mention the fact that "there was no king in the land" as is recorded in the Chronicle texts that report the two previous cases.[70] In contrast to Xerxes, Cyrus obviously was not opposed to the traditions of kingship in Babylon, since he continued them by taking the title to that throne late in 538. But the question remains, why did he wait so long when it could only have been in the interest of political stability to have filled that office earlier? This brings the second alternative to the present problem into focus: perhaps he did fill the office—with somebody else!

[69] Poebel, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[70] Between Kandalanu and Nabopolassar, *CCK*, p. 51; and for the eight years of Sennacherib (688-681) between Mushezib-Marduk and Esarhaddon, *ANET*, p. 302.

Since the title "King of Babylon" is conspicuous by its absence during this period, the title that Cyrus did carry at that time should be scrutinized to see if it supplies any clues that help to solve this problem. In this case, instead of using the royal title used by the Chaldean kings just before Cyrus, the scribes harked back to a title that had not been used regularly in the economic texts for almost a century, since the time of Ashurbanipal. Aside from the situation under study here, seven cases came to view in the course of this study in which the title "King of Lands" was used alone in the titulary of the Babylonian business documents from the first millennium B.C. The first two cases for consideration are interesting but not politically significant, since they are sporadic and isolated occurrences. This title is found in two texts from the times of Esarhaddon and Sin-shar-ishkun respectively, but other titles were used more commonly for these kings in the texts dated to them.

The next two cases represent a more general use of the title. From the 5th of year Xerxes on, "King of Lands" was the standard royal titulary in the Babylonian texts from the remaining years of the Achaemenid period, and it is briefly attested at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. However, these two cases do not present any parallel with the early titulary of Cyrus because the title "King of Babylon" had been abandoned in these two cases, whereas Cyrus took up that title after only 14 months had lapsed. The fifth case in which the title "King of Lands" was used alone is found in some of the early texts of Bardiya. These texts present a problem in chronology that stems from the problem of communications between Persia and Babylon.[71] The title "King of Lands" was used by some scribes in dating tablets to him during the first few months of the calendar year, but the matter was straightened out shortly after that when the title was standardized to the customary dual titulary that was used for Cyrus and Cambyses before him. This case does

[71] Poebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-126.

not provide any parallel with the one under consideration because the 14 months Cyrus used that title far exceeds the time span involved in the use of this title in the case of Bardiya, and the Cyrus texts date from more than four months before New Year's and as much as nine months after it.

The last two cases of the seven are the most important ones to be considered here, for they are the only cases out of the seven that may possibly provide a parallel to explain the early titulary of Cyrus. The two cases, both well-documented, come from the late 7th and late 6th centuries—the Ashurbanipal texts and the texts with the titularies from the coregency of Cyrus and Cambyses. In both cases a vassal king of Babylon plays a relevant part of the picture presented by the title "King of Lands," Kandalanu in the former case and Cambyses in the latter. These are the only cases found among the seven instances of the use of the title "King of Lands" in the Babylonian texts of the first millennium B.C. that can possibly provide any parallel to the use of that title in this case. This is not to say that these two possible parallels prove that the use of the titulary "King of Lands" during the 1st year of Cyrus necessarily implies a vassal king of Babylon, but they make it a reasonable working hypothesis, and the other five instances in which the title was used are no help at all.

This brings us to a summary of the specific evidence from the economic texts presented in this section. The first and most important point here is that the texts that date from the time when Cyrus entered Babylon after the conquest to the end of the 9th month of his 1st full year make it quite clear that the standard titulary used for him during that period was "King of Lands." The titles that appear to diverge from this practice have tentatively been accounted for in the foregoing discussion. This new title of Cyrus represents an abrupt and striking departure from the title "King of Babylon," the standard title used for Nabonidus and the kings of Babylon for a century before him. The textual

evidence also points out the fact that this title of Cyrus contrasts clearly with the full titulary "King of Babylon, King of Lands" that was used for him throughout the rest of his reign, beginning in the last months of his 1st year. Not one example of the dual titulary was encountered in the course of this survey of the texts that can definitely be dated to this 14-month period.

The conclusion from the basic data presented by the titles in the texts is that this period of 14 months during which Cyrus did not carry the title to the throne of Babylon represents a very real gap in his titulary. In other words, Cyrus did not become the official "King of Babylon" until late in his first full year as "King of Lands." The suggestion that an interregnum intervened at this time is basically an argument from silence, but lacking more positive evidence to the contrary it cannot be completely ruled out. Of the two possibilities presented to explain this phenomenon in the titulary, the more reasonable of the two is the inference from the title "King of Lands" that someone else was "King of Babylon" for at least part of that time. This is suggested by the possible parallels in the use of the title "King of Lands" which may be outlined in a series with this case:

647-627 B.C. — Ashurbanipal, King of Lands, Kandalanu, King of Babylon
539-538 B.C. — Cyrus, King of Lands, ? , King of Babylon
530-529 B.C. — Cyrus, King of Lands, Cambyses, King of Babylon

The most reasonable interpretation of the evidence presented thus far leads to the working hypothesis that there was a king in Babylon vassal to Cyrus for a short time after the fall of Babylon, 539-538. One might say—to borrow a phrase—if the cuneiform materials did not identify him for us, we would be obliged to postulate him. However, it appears that we are not left to mere postulations in this case. The specific identification can be made, in the opinion of this observer, on the basis of a careful examination of the Nabonidus Chronicle. The examination of this important historical document follows in the next section. (To be continued)

TERTULLIAN AND THE SABBATH

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Although there is no doubt about the respect shown for Sunday by Tertullian of Carthage (fl. early 3d century A.D.), this church father's attitude toward the Sabbath (seventh day of the week) seems quite enigmatical. Where, for example, is the harmony, if any, between a declaration that the law was abrogated by the Creator at the time of John the Baptist and an assertion that Christ kept the law of the Sabbath and furnished the Sabbath with divine safeguards? [1]

In a study of Tertullian's writings it is important to keep in mind several facts: (1) Tertullian, like other Christian writers of the early church, directed his treatises to specific situations and conditions of his time. Unfortunately, the exact circumstances are not always fully apparent to us. Moreover, his writings were of various types: polemical, apologetic, hortatory, practical. The kind of writing, to whom the writing was addressed, and the specific concern being treated must constantly be kept in mind for each of Tertullian's treatises. (2) Tertullian had been trained as a lawyer, and this training, coupled with an apparent natural bent toward both strictness and sarcasm, seems to have made him particularly adept in the use of puns, irony, satirization, quick turns of thought, and other devices which at times complicate for us the meaning of his language—meaning which would undoubtedly be more clear were we fully aware of the background against which these devices were cast or toward which they were directed. (3) Tertullian's own religious outlook after he adopted Christianity did not remain static,

[1] These and other references of similar nature will be treated later.

for he moved from the pale of Catholic Christianity to that of Montanist Christianity during the first decade of the 3d century.[2] Could his attitude toward the Sabbath have perhaps changed a bit during this transition?

Tertullian mentions the Sabbath in various of his treatises covering a span of some two decades, from about A.D. 197 to 218. Reference to some of his major statements will be given below.

Tertullian's Pre-Montanist Period

Significant Sabbath statements occur in five works which Tertullian most likely produced during the years 197 to 202, prior to his adoption of Montanism: *Answer to the Jews*, *On Idolatry*, *Apology*, *To the Heathen*, and *On Prayer*.[3] His most detailed discussion of the Sabbath in any of these works appears in the first-mentioned one, whose chapters 2 through 6 deal with the question of the "primitive law"; the "Law of Moses, written in stone-tables"; circumcision; and the Sabbath. After proposing, in chapter 2, that God's law (or the "primitive law," as he also calls it) antedated the Law of Moses and that the latter was temporary, being

[2] Tertullian adopted Christianity toward the end of the 2d century. It was possibly Septimius Severus' anti-Christian edict of A.D. 202 that turned his attention favorably toward the Montanists. (The touching martyrdom of the Montanists Perpetua and Felicitas in North Africa took place about this time.) For about five years Tertullian was in tension between the Catholic Christianity to which he still adhered and Montanism which, with its rigorous standards, appealed to him. Finally, about A.D. 207 the official break occurred, and Tertullian became a full-fledged Montanist.

[3] Standard patrologies, such as those of J. Quasten and O. Bardenhewer, may be consulted regarding these and other works of Tertullian. I follow here the dates given by E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. and enl. by Robert M. Grant (Chicago, 1966), pp. 160, 163: *To the Heathen* and *Apology*, A.D. 197; *Answer to the Jews*, *On Prayer*, and *On Idolatry*, between A.D. 198 and 202. F. L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers* (London, 1960), pp. 137, 139, 143-145, dates *To the Heathen* and *Apology* in A.D. 197; *On Prayer* between 198 and 204; *Answer to the Jews* between 200 and 206; and *On Idolatry* "perhaps *c.* 212."

reformed as promised by the prophets, he goes on to say:

> Let us not annul this power which God has, which reforms the law's precepts answerably to the circumstances of the times, with a view to man's salvation. In fine, let him who contends that the Sabbath is still to be observed as a balm of salvation, and circumcision on the eighth day because of the threat of death, teach us that, for the time past, righteous men kept the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, and were thus rendered "friends of God." [4]

Next follow references to Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Melchizedek as being uncircumcised and "inobservant of the Sabbath." Lot, too, is mentioned, as "without observance of the law"; and then, in chapter 3, there is a lengthy discussion of Abraham's circumcision. This is followed by further treatment of the Sabbath, in chapter 4, where Tertullian quotes Moses as saying to the people, "Remember the day of the sabbaths, to sanctify it: every servile work ye shall not do therein, except what pertaineth unto life." [5] Then he continues as follows:

> We (Christians) understand that *we* still more ought to observe a sabbath from all "servile work" always, and not only every seventh day, but through all time. And through this arises the question for us, *what* sabbath God willed us to keep? For the Scriptures point to a sabbath eternal and a sabbath temporal. For Isaiah the prophet says, "*Your* sabbaths my soul hateth;" and in another place he says, "*My* sabbaths ye have profaned." Whence we discern that the temporal sabbath is human, and the eternal sabbath is accounted divine; concerning which He predicts through Isaiah: "And there shall be," He says, "month after month, and day after day, and sabbath after sabbath; and all flesh shall come to adore in Jerusalem, saith the Lord;" which we understand to have been fulfilled in the times of Christ, when "all flesh"—that is, every nation—"came to adore in Jerusalem" God the Father, through Jesus Christ His Son.... Thus, therefore, before this temporal sabbath, there was withal an eternal sabbath foreshown and foretold....[6]

After the foregoing remarks, Tertullian again mentions Adam, Abel, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham, followed by reference to the fall of Jericho and warfare in Maccabean times as

[4] Ch. 2; in *ANF*, III, 153.
[5] Ch. 4; in *ANF*, III, 155.
[6] *Ibid.*

evidence that "it is not in the exemption from work of the sabbath—that is, of the seventh day—that the celebration of this solemnity [of the sabbath] is to consist." [7]

That Tertullian is negative toward the seventh-day Sabbath in his *Answer to the Jews* is obvious. But the nature of this work as polemic against Jewish attitudes and practices must be borne in mind in assessing this negativeness. What is it that is really disparaged—the day as such, the legalistic Jewish attitude toward it (an attitude which looks upon a *strict* abstinence from work on it as a "balm of salvation"), or both? However this may be, it must be noted that the discussion is *theological* in nature and says nothing about the *practice* of Christians in Tertullian's time.

In a treatise addressed to Christians, *On Idolatry*, Tertullian chides Christians for seeking to follow heathen customs, and in this connection makes the following statement in which the Sabbath is mentioned:

> The Holy Spirit upbraids the Jews with their holy-days. "Your Sabbaths, and new moons, and ceremonies," says He, "My soul hateth." By us, to whom Sabbaths are strange, and the new moons and festivals formerly beloved by God, the Saturnalia and New-year's and Midwinter's festivals and Matronalia are frequented.... Oh better fidelity of the nations to their own sect, which claims no solemnity of the Christians for itself! Not the Lord's day, not Pentecost, even if they had known them, would they have shared with us; for they would fear lest they should seem to be Christians. *We* are not apprehensive lest we seem to be *heathens*! [8]

The foregoing statement makes it appear that the seventh-day Sabbath was not observed nor respected by Christians of Tertullian's time because of the reference to Christians as people "to whom Sabbaths are strange." However, in view of the satirical nature of the passage, may there not be some danger in placing excessive confidence in this interpretation? Furthermore, two other of Tertullian's works from his early pre-Montanist period, the *Apology* and *To the Heathen*, provide a somewhat different picture. In the former, reference

[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Ch. 14; in *ANF*, III, 70.

is made to certain heathen people who suppose that the sun is the god of the Christians:

> Others, again, certainly with more information and greater verisimilitude, believe that the sun is our god. We shall be counted Persians perhaps, though we do not worship the orb of day painted on a piece of linen cloth, having himself everywhere in his own disk. The idea no doubt has originated from our being known to turn to the east in prayer. But you, many of you, also under pretence sometimes of worshipping the heavenly bodies, move your lips in the direction of the sunrise. In the same way, if we devote Sun-day to rejoicing, from a far different reason than Sun-worship, we have some resemblance to those of you who devote the day of Saturn to ease and luxury, though they too go far away from Jewish ways, of which indeed they are ignorant.[9]

The reference in *To the Heathen* to the same belief on the part of certain pagans is longer but just as much to the point. It concludes with the following remark:

> Wherefore, that I may return from this digression, you who reproach us with the sun and Sunday should consider your proximity to us. We are not far off from your Saturn and your days of rest.[10]

Unless at least some Christians of Tertullian's time were devoting Saturday to "ease and luxury" (to use the words from the *Apology*), the two foregoing statements would hardly make sense, for the point of comparison would be lost.

In his treatise *On Prayer,* Tertullian further clarifies that there were indeed Christians in North Africa about this time who had a certain respect for the Sabbath—by refraining from *kneeling* in prayer on it. Kneeling, as is evident from the statement quoted below, was considered a posture of solicitude and humility unfit for days of divine joy (and therefore to be shunned on "the day of the Lord's Resurrection" and during "the period of Pentecost"). Tertullian refers to those persons who were not kneeling on the Sabbath as "some few" and considers them as bringing dissension, a dissension which was "particularly on its trial before the churches." He states:

[9] Ch. 16; in *ANF,* III, 31.
[10] I. 13; in *ANF,* III, 123.

> In the matter of *kneeling* also prayer is subject to diversity of observance, through the act of some few who abstain from kneeling on the Sabbath; and since this dissension is particularly on its trial before the churches, the Lord will give His grace that the dissentients may either yield, or else indulge their opinion without offence to others. We, however (just as we have received), only on the day of the Lord's Resurrection ought to guard not only against kneeling, but every posture and office of solicitude; deferring even our businesses lest we give any place to the devil. Similarly, too, in the period of Pentecost; which period we distinguish by the same solemnity of exultation. But who would hesitate *every* day to prostrate himself before God, at least in the first prayer with which we enter on the daylight? At fasts, moreover, and Stations, no prayer should be made without kneeling, and the remaining customary marks of humility; for (then) we are not only *praying*, but *deprecating*, and making satisfaction to God our Lord.[11]

It is interesting to note that in this early stage of his Christian career Tertullian emphasized the need to avoid kneeling and "every posture and office of solicitude" on "the day of the Lord's Resurrection" and during "the period of Pentecost," while apparently feeling that this posture was appropriate for the Sabbath. Thus he made a definite distinction between the Sabbath and the other Christian celebrations he has here mentioned. As we shall see, he apparently later underwent a change in this particular attitude toward the Sabbath—a change which led him to erase this kind of contrast between the Sabbath and the other celebrations.[12]

We may now sum up the data on the pre-Montanist Tertullian as follows: Against the Jews he argued that the Sabbath was no longer to be considered a "balm of salvation' and that men of God before Moses were "inobservant of the Sabbath"; in a satirical passage addressed to Christians he referred to "us, to whom Sabbaths are strange"; in two works addressed to heathen he countered the accusation that Christians worship the sun by pointing out that a pagan "ease and luxury" on Saturday parallels a Christian practice; and in discussing the matter of prayer in a treatise to Christians he mentioned a dis-

[11] Ch. 23; in *ANF*, III, 689.

[12] See below, p. 17.

sension in the churches over a practice of not kneeling as versus kneeling in prayer on the Sabbath. It would appear that Tertullian's own attitude was somewhat negative toward the Sabbath, but that there were Christians in his day and in his vicinity who had some sort of special respect for the day.

Tertullian's Early-Montanist Period

One of Tertullian's most elaborate works was his treatise *Against Marcion* in five books. This work may have been begun during Tertullian's pre-Montanist period, but was completed after he had adopted Montanism.[13] Most attention will be given to books 4 and 5, but first a reference from chapter 21 of book 2 is worthy of notice:

> Similarly on other points also, you reproach Him [God] with fickleness and instability for contradictions in His commandments, such as that He forbade work to be done on Sabbath-days, and yet at the siege of Jericho ordered the ark to be carried round the walls during eight days; in other words, of course, actually on a Sabbath. You do not, however, consider the law of the Sabbath: they are human works, not divine, which it prohibits. For it says, "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work." What work? Of course your own. The conclusion is, that from the Sabbath-day He removes those works which He had before enjoined for the six days, that is, your own works; in other words, human works of daily life. Now, the carrying around of the ark is evidently not an ordinary daily duty, nor yet a human one; but a rare and sacred work, and, as being then ordered by the direct precept of God, a divine one. . . .[14]

In book 4 of *Against Marcion* there is lengthy treatment of the Sabbath. A section of particular interest discusses Christ's defense of His disciples when they picked and ate grain on the Sabbath:

> In short, He would have then and there put an end to the Sabbath, nay, to the Creator Himself, if He had commanded His disciples

[13] Two editions of the earlier parts of the work were first produced, perhaps as early as 198-202. About 207 or 208 a third edition appeared, which included Books I-IV. Book V appeared about 211 or 212. Tertullian fully espoused Montanism *ca.* 207. See n. 2, above.

[14] Ii. 21; in *ANF*, III, 313, 314.

> to fast on the Sabbath-day, contrary to the intention of the Scripture and of the Creator's will. But because He did not directly defend His disciples, but excuses them; because He interposes human want, as if deprecating censure; because He maintains the honour of the Sabbath as a day which is to be free from gloom rather than from work; because he puts David and his companions on a level with His own disciples in their fault and their extenuation; because He is pleased to endorse the Creator's indulgence; because He is Himself good according to *His* example—is He therefore alien from the Creator? [15]

Tertullian here suggests that Christ's act in not causing His disciples to fast on the Sabbath honored the Sabbath and maintained the integrity of the Creator. If Christ had allowed Sabbath fasting, He would then and there have put an end to the Sabbath and to the Creator Himself! Rather than doing this, Christ maintained the honor of the Sabbath as a day to be "free from gloom rather than from work." But what does Tertullian mean by "work"? Obviously, he means the same as in his earlier statement from chapter 21 of book 2, for here in book 4 he goes on to explain as follows:

> The Pharisees, however, were in utter error concerning the law of the Sabbath, not observing that its terms were conditional, when it enjoined rest from labour, making certain distinctions of labour. For when it says of the Sabbath-day, "In it thou shalt not do any work of thine," by the word *thine* it restricts the prohibition to human work—which every one performs in his own employment or business—and not to divine work. Now the work of healing or preserving is not proper to man, but to God. . . . Wishing, therefore, to initiate them into this meaning of the law by the restoration of the withered hand, He inquires, "Is it lawful on the Sabbath-days to do good, or not? to save life, or to destroy it?" In order that He might, whilst allowing that amount of work which He was about to perform for a soul, remind them what works the law of the Sabbath forbade—even human works; and what it enjoined—even divine works, which might be done for the benefit of any soul, He was called "Lord of the Sabbath," because He maintained the Sabbath as His own institution.[16]

The distinction which Tertullian makes between man's work and God's work is interesting. He continues by referring

[15] Iv. 12; in *ANF*, III, 362, 363. The whole section should be noted, though the specific quotation here given appears on p. 363, col. 1.
[16] Iv. 12; in *ANF*, III, 363.

again to the Sabbath's not being broken at the destruction of Jericho and then goes on to say:

> Now, although He has in a certain place expressed an aversion of Sabbaths, by calling them *your Sabbaths*, reckoning them as men's Sabbaths, not His own, because they were celebrated without the fear of God by a people full of iniquities, and loving God "with the lip, not the heart," He has yet put His own Sabbaths (those, that is, which were kept according to His prescription) in a different position; for by the same prophet, in a later passage, He declared them to be "true, and delightful, and inviolable." Thus Christ did not at all rescind the Sabbath: He kept the law thereof .... He exhibits in a clear light the different kinds of work, while doing what the law excepts from the sacredness of the Sabbath *and* while imparting to the Sabbath-day itself, which from the beginning had been consecrated by the benediction of the Father, an additional sanctity by His own beneficent action. For He furnished to this day divine safeguards....Since, in like manner, the prophet Elisha on this day restored to life the dead son of the Shunammite woman, you see, O Pharisee, and you too, O Marcion, how that it was *proper employment* for the Creator's Sabbaths of old to do good, to save life, not to destroy it; how that Christ introduced nothing new, which was not after the example, the gentleness, the mercy, and the prediction also of the Creator.[17]

One further interesting reference to the Sabbath in book 4 occurs in chapter 30, where a question about healing on the Sabbath is again brought to attention:

> When the question was again raised concerning a cure performed on the Sabbath-day, how did He discuss it: "Doth not each of you on the Sabbath loose his ass or his ox from the stall, and lead him away to watering?" When, therefore, He did a work according to the condition prescribed by the law, He affirmed, instead of breaking, the law, which commanded that no work should be done, except what might be done for any living being; *and if for any one,* then how much more for a *human* life? [18]

As we move to book 5 of *Against Marcion,* a different tone with regard to the Sabbath seems to occur. Referring to Paul's reference to the "weak and beggarly elements" (Gal 4:9), Tertullian states:

> He tells us himself clearly enough what he means by *"elements,"* even the rudiments of the law: "Ye observe days, and months, and

[17] Iv. 12; in *ANF,* III, 363, 364.
[18] *ANF,* III, 400.

> times, and years"—the Sabbaths, I suppose, and "the preparations," and the fasts, and the "high days." For the cessation of even these, no less than of circumcision, was appointed by the Creator's decrees, who had said by Isaiah, "Your new moons, and your sabbaths, and your high days I cannot bear; your fasting, and feasts, and ceremonies my soul hateth;" also by Amos, "I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies;" and again by Hosea, "I will cause to cease all her mirth, and her feast-days, and her sabbaths, and her new moons, and all her solemn assemblies." The institutions which He set up Himself, you ask, did He then destroy? Yes, rather than any other. Or if another destroyed them, he only helped on the purpose of the Creator, by removing what even He had condemned. But this is not the place to discuss the question why the Creator abolished His own laws. It is enough for us to have proved that He intended such an abolition, that so it may be affirmed that the apostle determined nothing to the prejudice of the Creator, since the abolition itself proceeds from the Creator.[19]

How can harmony possibly exist between the statements we have noted from books 2 and 4 and this one from book 5? In looking for harmony, we must first bear in mind that Tertullian's main argument in all of the statements thus far quoted from *Against Marcion* is not really an argument regarding the Sabbath as such. What Tertullian is arguing against is a basic Marcionite position; namely, that there is contradiction between the OT and NT, that the God of the OT was an inferior and bungling Demiurge whereas the God of the NT was the true high God. Marcion had not only written a book of *Contradictions* or *Antitheses* with respect to the NT as versus the OT, but he had also produced a canon of Scripture which consisted of the Pauline epistles and an expurgated form of the Gospel of Luke. In book 4 of his *Against Marcion* Tertullian deals point by point with the Gospel of Luke and Marcion's treatment of it, his endeavor being to show the unity of this gospel with the OT. Thus, Christ as depicted in this gospel manifestly kept the Sabbath according to the kind of works which God originally intended for the Sabbath; the Pharisees were the ones who (like

[19] V. 4; in *ANF*, III, 436.

Marcion too!) misunderstood the Sabbath.[20] In book 5, Tertullian deals with the Pauline epistles. The passage quoted above falls within his discussion of Gal, the epistle which, he says, "we also allow to be the most decisive against Judaism." [21] This anti-Judaistic strain cannot be ignored in assessing the purport of his statement. However, his basic argument is this: The abolition of the law was not new to the NT; it proceeded from the OT Creator Himself. As stated in the last long quotation given above, Tertullian did not feel it necessary at this place in his argument "to discuss the question why the Creator abolished His own laws"; it was enough "to have proved that He intended such an abolition," thus revealing that "the apostle determined nothing to the prejudice of the Creator, since the abolition itself proceeds from the Creator." In other words, the OT and NT are in harmony; the apostle agrees with the Creator; the Creator Himself has foretold and brought about that abolition of the law of which the apostle now speaks!

The following statement also makes the point explicit:

> If they [the Galatians] had at all heard of any other god from the apostle, would they not have concluded at once, of themselves, that they must give up the law of that God whom they had left, in order to follow another? For what man would be long in learning, that he ought to pursue a new discipline, after he had taken up with a new god?... The entire purport of this epistle is simply to show us that the supersession of the law comes from the appointment of the Creator....[22]

Here too it is emphasized that the *same* Creator who gave the law brought about its supersession. So also is the case in further references to the Galatian epistle in book 1, where Tertullian speaks of Paul blaming the Galatians for "maintaining circumcision, and observing times, and days, and months, and years, according to those Jewish ceremonies which they ought to have known were now abrogated, according to the

[20] Iv. 12; in *ANF*, III, 363, 364.
[21] V. 2; in *ANF*, III, 431.
[22] V. 2; in *ANF*, III, 431, 432.

new dispensation purposed by the Creator Himself, who of old foretold this very thing by His prophets." [23]

But *faith too* was present in the OT, and it remained permanent:

> The whole question... was this, that although the God of the law was the same as was preached in Christ, yet there was a disparagement of His law. Permanent still, therefore, stood faith in the Creator and in His Christ; manner of life and discipline alone fluctuated. Some disputed about eating idol sacrifices, others about the veiled dress of women, others again about marriage and divorce, and some even about the hope of the resurrection; but about God no one disputed.[24]

The unifying thread in Tertullian's *Against Marcion* is that the very same God was the God of both OT and NT dispensations and that the OT and NT do not contradict each other. With John the Baptist the dividing point between the dispensations came,[25] but there was harmony between the old and the new. A way of faith and grace was foreshown in the OT and retained in the NT, but even the discontinuance of ceremonial observance of the law in the NT had been foretold in the OT itself!

As for the Sabbath in relationship to all this, the following conclusion may be drawn: Tertullian's references in books 2 and 4 of *Against Marcion* indicate a continuance of the *type* of Sabbath-keeping God originally intended, Christ Himself giving an example of that kind which was in harmony with the will of the Creator (the "faith-grace" emphasis); whereas the references in books 1 and 5, dealing with the Galatian epistle, indicate the end of the dispensation of

[23] I. 20; in *ANF*, III, 285. In the context here, Tertullian provides various references from the OT referring to "new covenant." He also cites some OT mentions of feast-days, "Sabbaths," etc., much in the same vein as the references noted earlier from book 5 of *Against Marcion* and from *Answer to the Jews* (see above, pp. 137, 138, 131).

[24] I. 21; in *ANF*, III, 286.

[25] V. 2; in *ANF*, III, 431: "...Christ marks the period of separation when He says, 'The law and the prophets were until John'—thus making the Baptist the limit between the two dispensations...."

Jewish legalism (the "law" emphasis). In either case, the unity of the two Testaments and the integrity of one God are maintained. On the one hand, *Christ's example* demonstrates true Sabbath-keeping as it was intended from the beginning; on the other hand, *Paul's discussion in Galatians* deprecates a ceremonialism which God in the OT deprecated and whose cessation He had even there predicted.

It is pertinent to note that in conjunction with the emphasis which Tertullian places in book 5 on the supersession and abrogation of the law, he does not fail to observe a "fulfilment" of the law "in that portion of it where it ought (to be permanent)"—loving "neighbour as thyself."[26] To Tertullian it is clear that this precept has not ceased together with the law; "we must evermore continue to observe this commandment."[27]

However, in all of the treatment given to the Sabbath in *Against Marcion*, it must be noted that no evidence is provided as to the *practice* of Christians in Tertullian's time. The discussion is wholly *theological* (in polemical context).

A further statement which probably was written during Tertullian's early Montanist career deserves at least passing attention here, even though it does not mention the Sabbath as such. This statement, which appears in *The Chaplet* (penned either about A.D. 204 or A.D. 211), refers to the "Lord's Day" (Sunday).[28] In dealing with the question of whether warfare is proper for Christians, Tertullian raises a number of specific issues relating to the Christian soldier's military duty, among them this: "Shall he [the Christian soldier], forsooth, either keep watch-service for others more than for Christ, or shall he do it on the Lord's day, when he does not even do it for Christ Himself?"[29] Tertullian's positive attitude toward Sunday is here manifested, and it can be argued that his failure to mention the Sabbath reveals a

[26] V. 4; in *ANF*, III, 437.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] *ANF*, III, 93, n. 1, refers to A.D. 204; for the more likely date of A.D. 211, see Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, p. 163, and Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[29] Ch. 11; in *ANF*, III, 99.

negative attitude toward that day. How valid such an argument may be, is difficult to ascertain. It is, of course, an argument from silence. And the fact that the series of questions asked in the context reflects a definite emphasis on the *Lord*-ship of Christ—the Lord's proclamation that He who uses the sword shall perish by the sword, allusions to the Sermon on the Mount, mention of carrying a flag hostile to Christ, etc.—, makes the absence of any reference to the Sabbath not really strange. It must be remembered that a century or so later, in cases where there is very clear evidence of respect for the Sabbath, only Sunday—and not the Sabbath—is put in the role of relationship to Christ's Lordship. For example, the Sabbath is referred to as a "memorial of creation," whereas Sunday is considered as a memorial of the Lord's resurrection.[30]

Tertullian's Late-Montanist Period

Tertullian's Sabbath statements thus far noted do not provide evidence of Sabbath practice in his own day, with the exception of the direct statement in *On Prayer* and possibly the more oblique references in *On Idolatry*, the *Apology*, and *To the Heathen*. However, in his *On Fasting*, penned about (or possibly after) 217 or 218 during his mature career as a Montanist, he does furnish one further rather explicit statement regarding practice relating to the Sabbath. He chides the Catholic Christians as follows:

> *You* sometimes continue your Station even over the Sabbath,—a day never to be kept as a fast except at the passover season, according to a reason elsewhere given.[31]

[30] So, *e.g.*, *Apost. Consts.* vii. 23 (*ANF*, VII, 469). But also note the statement from Pseudo-Ignatius in Magnesians 9 (in *ANF*, I, 62, 63): "Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.... But let every one of you keep the Sabbath after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the law, not in relaxation of the body, admiring the workmanship of God.... And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's Day as a festival, the resurrection-day, the queen and chief of all the days."

[31] Ch. 14; in *ANF*, IV, 112.

In an earlier study I have called attention to the significance of the Sabbath fast as holding a negative connotation for the Sabbath (as is also the case with the posture of kneeling in prayer on the Sabbath).[32] It is interesting to observe that Tertullian here gives evidence of Christians who do fast on the Sabbath and that he also reveals his own aversion to the practice. This aversion stands in marked contrast to his attitude manifested some two decades earlier in his treatise *On Prayer*. At that time, it will be remembered, he considered the "some few" who abstained from kneeling in prayer on the Sabbath as dissentients. Now he himself has evidently assumed an attitude parallel to theirs. This apparently new attitude can, of course, already be traced in book 4 of his *Against Marcion*, penned after he had adopted Montanism; for here he emphasized, as we have seen, the importance of Christ's so-called dispensation to His disciples from fasting on the Sabbath.[33] Montanism provided a more rigorous version of Christianity than that of Catholic Christianity, and it seems possible that Tertullian's acceptance of Montanism could well have led him to a more strict interpretation of practices relating to the seventh-day Sabbath.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Hippolytus, a Roman contemporary of Tertullian who also held rigorous views (though not a Montanist), penned a *Commentary on Daniel* in which he displays a negative attitude toward fasting on either Saturday or Sunday.[34] Could it be that at

[32] "Some Notes on the Sabbath Fast in Early Christianity," *AUSS*, II (1965), 170-172.

[33] See above, the quotation from *Against Marcion*, iv. 12, taken from *ANF*, III, 363, col. 1. Tertullian earlier in the context actually uses the words "dispensation from fasting," pointing out that Christ "remembered that this privilege (I mean the dispensation from fasting) was allowed to the Sabbath from the very beginning." *Ibid.*, p. 362, col. 2.

[34] Cf. my "A Further Note on the Sabbath in Coptic Sources," *AUSS*, VI (1968), 152. The reference is *Commentary on Daniel*, iv. 20, and the pertinent part mentions some people who "give heed to doctrines of devils" and "often appoint a fast on the Sabbath and on the Lord's day, which Christ has not, however, appointed." For

this time certain parties of stricter Christians in both North Africa and Rome (whether Montanist or not) tended to show a particular respect for the Sabbath, which respect was waning or had waned among other Christians who lived in those places?

Conclusions

In this study of Tertullian and the Sabbath it would appear that the following conclusions are warranted: (1) Tertullian in his early Christian career had a negative attitude toward the Sabbath. He preferred a posture considered negative to the joy of the Sabbath; namely, kneeling. (2) At the same time, he furnishes evidence that at least some Christians in North Africa were positive in their Sabbath attitude by refusing to kneel on that day. (3) He furnishes possible further evidence regarding Sabbath practice among Christians in that he can refer to "ease and luxury" on Saturday among heathen as a point of comparison with Christians. (4) Two of Tertullian's most lengthy discussions on the Sabbath, in his *Answer to the Jews* and *Against Marcion*, do not relate to practices of his time but are theological in nature (as well as polemical). Their purposes and major themes must be borne in mind in any effort to deduce from them evidence of Tertullian's attitude toward the Sabbath. (5) With respect to *Against Marcion*, the seemingly conflicting remarks regarding the law and Sabbath find their unity within the context of Tertullian's treatment of the harmony between the OT and the NT. There were aspects in which the law and Sabbath were done away and aspects in which they were retained, but in both cases the OT and NT were in agreement. (6) It would appear that at the time he wrote books 4 and 5 of *Against Marcion*, his opinion was as follows: Christ's example of doing divine works (in contrast to human works) on the Sabbath and of opposing Sabbath fasting was

Greek text and French translation, see Maurice Lefèvre, *Hippolyte, Commentaire sur Daniel* (Paris, 1947), pp. 300-303.

in harmony with the Creator's regulations for true Sabbath observance given in the OT and thus Christ "did not at all rescind the Sabbath." On the other hand, the ceremonialistic and legalistic type of obedience to the law to which the Galatians had fallen prey was out of harmony with the Creator's plan as manifested in the OT and was abolished in the new dispensation just as had been predicted in the OT. (7) Tertullian's attitude toward the Sabbath may have grown somewhat more favorable with his adoption of Montanism. In any event, such a conclusion is not incompatible with his references in book 4 of *Against Marcion*, including those relating to Sabbath fasting. (8) His later reference in *On Fasting* to Sabbath fasting, and (in his opinion) desirable abstinence from it, would seem to indicate that by about A.D. 217 or 218 he had quite reversed his earliest recorded viewpoint regarding postures and acts of solicitude and humiliation on the Sabbath; in at least this respect, his attitude seems to have changed from negative to positive toward the Sabbath. (9) Regarding Sabbath *practice*, apparently there was still dissension in A.D. 217 or 218, as there had been some two decades earlier; but Tertullian, as we have noted, appears to have changed sides. Could it be that the "some few" dissentients referred to in his treatise *On Prayer* were Montanists, whose party he had now joined and whose positions he now fostered and defended? (10) All in all, though Tertullian's references to the Sabbath are mostly of a rather indirect nature as far as Sabbath practices of his own time are concerned, he does give us enough information to indicate that there was a certain type of Christian Sabbath observance in his day and his area. However, as I have pointed out on another occasion, when dealing with the early church we must be careful not to read back into it a modern concept of what "Sabbath observance" means.[35] Perhaps the most we can say is that in Tertullian's time we know from evidence given by him

[35] "Some Notes on the Sabbath Fast in Early Christianity," p. 168, n. 4.

that there were Christians who showed respect for the Sabbath by various practices such as refusing to kneel on it, refraining from fasting on it, and/or having "ease and luxury" on it. Apparently there were efforts to set the Sabbath apart as a joyous day (a reflection of this may even possibly be seen in Tertullian's reference to Christ's example as setting forth the day as one to be "free from gloom").

It must be admitted that many aspects of Tertullian's Sabbath attitude are not very clear. He still remains an enigma, but it is hoped that the foregoing analysis and reconstruction does bring some semblance of order out of what has too frequently appeared to be only chaos.

COINS FROM THE 1968 EXCAVATIONS AT HESHBON*

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Among the "small finds" of an excavation, coins are important for helping provide requisite chronological information. As they are not far removed from their approximate dates, coins discovered in a stratigraphical excavation help date other finds within their strata. There are relatively few inconsistencies due to lengthy circulation on the one hand and occasional disturbances of strata on the other. Meanwhile, wear and corrosion add much to the problems of identification, which is indeed the basis of interpretation.

The coins of the 1968 Heshbon excavations pose the following unusual difficulties: (a) of the 78 coins discovered, 32 are in very poor and mostly unrecognizable condition; (b) each of the remaining 46 pieces represents an altogether separate type—a fact which has lengthened the study; and (c) the one gold coin (No. 20), the one silver coin (No. 36), and the 76 copper pieces stretch from the 1st century B.C. to the 15th century A.D. (see Table 1). This wide distribution poses severe limitations on interpretation. However, our understanding of the occupational history of post-Biblical Heshbon would gain little if the coins were catalogued without being subjected to a historical analysis that leads to some conclusions.

Coins are history incarnate. Of particular interest to Bible students are the coins related to ancient Palestine. A *leptos* of Pontius Pilate (No. 5) is reminiscent of the widow's mite

* My thanks are expressed to Siegfried H. Horn for assigning me the coins of the 1968 Heshbon excavations for publication; to Kenneth A. Strand for his guidance in the task; and to Leona G. Running for helpful suggestions.

in Mk 12: 41-44. A *sestertius* of Antoninus Pius (No. 8) commemorates the founding of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian in A.D. 135 on the site of ancient Jerusalem, following the suppression of the Bar Kochba revolt (132-135). Another shows Mount Gerizim with a shrine atop (No. 9)—it is a *sestertius* of Neapolis in Samaria, one mile west of ancient Shechem.

As for the Islamic coins, many are mutilated and worn almost beyond recognition.[1] Some are only part of a coin, *e.g.*, No. 42, which is compared with a whole coin of the same type in Plate II. Copper coinage had a poor start in Islam and so it continued, despite the enviably excellent *dinars* that were struck occasionally.[2] Of the Islamic coins only one (No. 21) of surpassing interest has come to light. It is a pictorical-type Umayyad *fils* issued prior to the monetary reform of ʿAbd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (696/7).[3]

The religious element is prominent in Islamic coinage. Many of these coins bear the Moslem profession of faith, either in part or in whole (Koran ix. 33): "There is no god but God [No. 26] alone [Nos. 22-24]; He has no associate [No. 25]." Others bear the continuation of the text, usually on the reverse: "Mohammed is the apostle of God [Nos. 22-27, 37, 45] whom He sent with guidance [No. 36] and the religion of truth to make it prevail over all other religions [No. 42]." Koran cxii. 1-3 is another text quoted on coins: "God is one; God is the eternal; He begets not, neither is

[1] Their seemingly impossible identification demanded most of the time allotted to this study.

[2] Of particular interest are the coins of the Byzantine-Arab transition and the barbarous imitations of Imperial Roman coinage. See A. S. Kirkbride, "Coins of the Byzantine-Arab Transition," *QDAP*, XIII (1947), 59-63; John Walker, *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. II: *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-reform Umaiyad Coins* (2 vols.; London; 1956), xv-liii.

[3] The post-reform coins have only inscription, more in keeping with the principles of Islam. A few Umayyad coins of Spain and rare Abbasid specimens are among the exceptions. Pictorial-type Islamic coins reappeared among the Turkomen, and were frequently issued by the Mongol dynasties descended from Genghis Khan (d. 1227).

He begotten [No. 25, rev.]." Other inscriptions include the following designations preceding the rulers' names: "the Sultan [Nos. 35, 44]," "the king [Nos. 28, 29, 31, 45]," "the Sultan, the King [Nos. 37-39, 41, 42, 46]," "the Imam [Nos. 29, 31, 34]." Several adjectival names either precede or follow the rulers' names.[4] Another common designation reads on the reverse: "In the name of God; this *fils* was struck at . . . in the year . . . ."

In the following description of the individual coins, great care has been taken lest there be more than a minimal risk of error.[5] It is admitted that in a study of such isolated pieces some oversights will likely be found.

Phoenician

1. (291—A. 4:18, along the E. balk).[6] Tyre, 96/5 B.C.
   Obv. Head of Tyche r., wearing turreted crown with veil; border of dots.

[4] These are among the pitfalls to the amateur in Oriental numismatism. Adjectival names may easily lead to misidentifications.

[5] The following catalogues were checked to verify certain identifications: Alfred R. Bellinger and Philip Grierson, eds., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* (2 vols.; Washington D.C., 1966-68); S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins* (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1929); George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* (London, 1910); *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922); Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Vol. III: *Nerva to Hadrian* (London, 1966); Vol. IV: *Antoninus Pius to Commodus* (London, 1968); *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire* (2d ed.; Chicago, 1960); J. W. E. Pearce, *Valentinian I—Theodosius I*, Vol. IX of *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, ed. by Harold Mattingly *et. al.* (9 vols.; London, 1962); Stanley L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, ed. by Reginald S. Poole (10 vols.; London, 1875-90); A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (4th ed.; Jerusalem, 1965); Walker, *op. cit.* The following Nos. do not have exact parallels in the catalogues cited above: 4, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 21, 28-30, 32-38, 40, 43-45.

[6] Within the parenthesis, the excavator's registration number is given first; the letters A-D designate the areas; the following numbers refer to the squares within an area; while the last numbers following a colon refer to the loci numbers. This is followed by a brief description. Unless otherwise indicated, all coins are of copper.

Rev. War-galley with both ends curved in a volute; between ends of galley: IEPAΣ; above: AΛ (year 30), ϜY (monogram); beneath galley: לצר[7].

Nabataean

2. (201—B. 1:14, rock fall). Aretas IV, 9 B.C.-A.D. 40
   Obv. Busts of Aretas Philopatris (obliterated) and wife; border of dots.
   Rev. Two crossed cornucopias; two lines of inscr. between them above, and one line below: חרתת / שקי / לת.
3. (134—C. 2:6, layer of wash). Rabbel II, A.D. 71-106.
   Obv. Obliterated.
   Rev. Two crossed cornucopias; two lines of inscr. between them: רבאל / גמלת.

Greek?

4. (130—C. 2:1, topsoil). Uncertain.
   Obv. Obliterated.
   Rev. Nude deity r., seated l., conducting serpent beneath to *cista mystica* above with lid half-open; l., illegible Gr. inscr. outwards.[8]

Provincial Roman

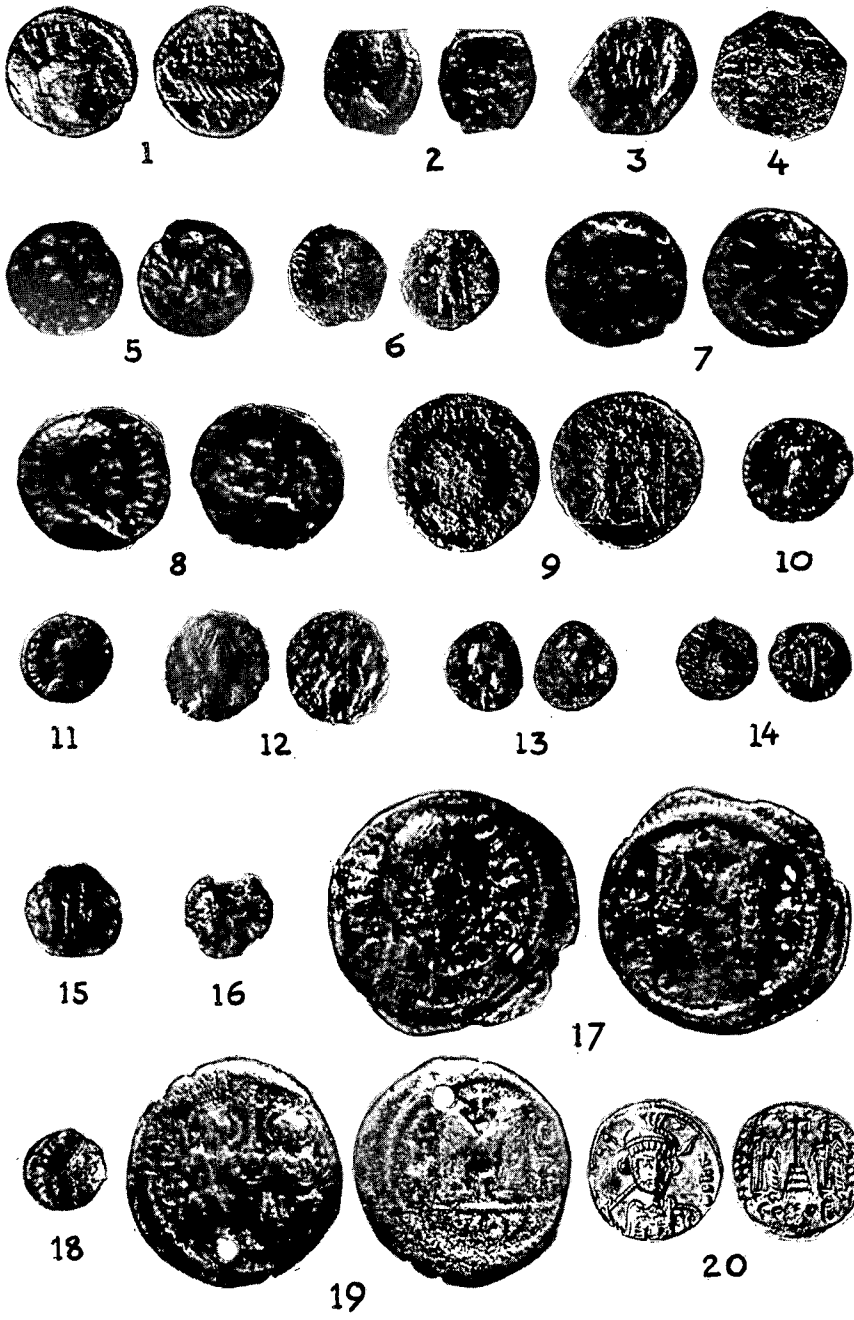
5. (139—D. 1:1, topsoil). Judaea; Pontius Pilate, A.D. 31/2.
   Obv. Lituus; around: TIBEPIOY KAICAPOC.
   Rev. Within wreath: LIH (year 17 of Tiberius' accession).[9]
6. (295—D. 1:31, layer of earth at level 4c threshold). Trajan, ca. A.D. 107.
   Obv. Head of Nerva (96-98) r., laureate; l.: DIVINERVA;[10] r. obliterated.

[7] The second era of Tyre's autonomy began after the assassination of Demetrius Nicator in 126/5 B.C. Hill, *Phoenicia*, pp. cxxv, 255 f.

[8] The so-called "serpent type" coinage often denotes a Mysian origin. Cf. S. W. Grose, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-73. However, its identity with city coins of Arabia is also probable; cf. Hill, *Arabia*, p. xxxiii, n. 6.

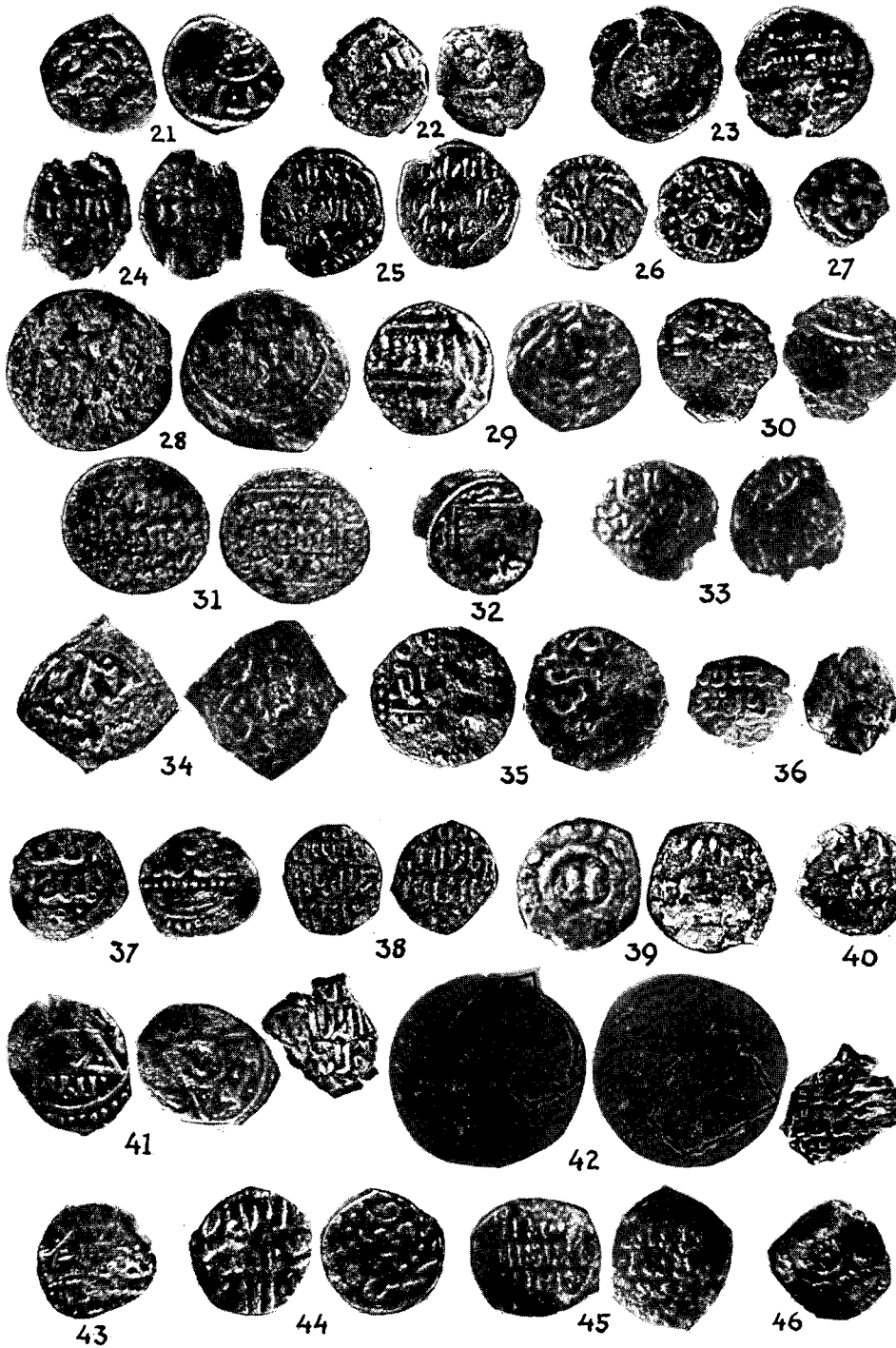
[9] A. Reifenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 56, No. 133.

[10] The epithet denotes that this unusual coin was not issued during the reign of Nerva, for it was after his death that the Senate pronounced him *divinus*. A. E. R. Boak and W. G. Sinnigen, *A History of Rome to A.D.* 565 (5th ed.; New York, 1965), p. 323. It must have been issued during Trajan's "restoration" of A.D. 107, when "portraits of all the 'divi' and 'good' Emperors, from Julius Caesar to Nerva" were represented. Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian were excluded. Mattingly, *Nerva to Hadrian*, p. xxiii. The DIVI legend appears on the reverse of these types minted in Rome—as it also appears on those issued later by Hadrian (117-138). *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101, 241, 378. The appearance of the legend on the obverse of this coin could be explained by the simple fact that variants of Roman coinage were not uncommon in the provincial mints.



Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins from the 1968 Excavations at Heshbon

(Photos: Avery V. Dick)



Islamic Coins from the 1968 Excavations at Heshbon
(Photos: Avery V. Dick)

Rev. Aequitas (or Moneta) standing, draped, holding scales in r. hand and cornucopia in l.

7. (202—B. 1:14, layer of Roman contexts near the kiln). Aelia Capitolina; Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138.[11]
   Obv. Head of Antoninus Pius r., bareheaded; obliterated inscr. around: [IMPCT AEL. ANT].
   Rev. Bust of Serapis r., hatted; inscr. begins on r. below and reads outwardly: COLAE CAPIT (Colonia Aelia Capitolina); border of dots.
8. (141—C. 2:7, layer of wash). Neapolis; Diadumenian, A.D. 217-218.
   Obv. Bust of Diadumenian, bareheaded; around: ... [A]NTONINVS.[12]
   Rev. Mount Gerizim showing temple at the summit, steep stairway on r. slope, colonnade below, and an eagle (?) at the bottom; obliterated inscr. around.

Late Roman

9. (290—C. 4:5, 3d layer of earth). 3d century A.D.
   Obv. Bust r., radiate; blundered and illegible inscr. around.
   Rev. Concordia standing r., draped and turreted, presenting two ensigns to Sol—standing half l., r. hand raised to receive ensign, l. holding spear; around: CON[CORDIA]AVG; obliterated inscr. in segment below.
10. (115—B. 1:4/5, cobblestones underneath topsoil). Procopius (?), A.D. 365/6.[13]
    Obv. Obliterated.
    Rev. Emperor standing, head r., holding *laburum* in r. hand and resting l. on shield; around: [RE]PARATIO FELT[EMP].
11. (105—A. 1, unstratified topsoil). Valentinian II, A.D. 375-392.
    Obv. Bust of Valentinian II r.; around: DNVALENTINIANVS....
    Rev. Obliterated.
12. (311—C. 3:5, level underneath topsoil).
    Obv. Bust of Valentian II r., with pearl-diadem and cuirass.
    Rev. Emperor advancing r., dragging a captive with a transverse spear; l.: PRINCI[PIVM...].
13. (111—A. 1:13, debris of destroyed church).
    Obv. Bust of Valentinian II r., draped; l.: DNVAL....
    Rev. Cross within wreath.[14]

[11] Antoninus Pius became Hadrian's partner in the Principate early in 138. Like his earlier coins, this was struck prior to Hadrian's death on July 10, 138.

[12] Cf. Hill, *Palestine*, p. 60, where the coins of Diadumenian differ from the above specimen in that their obv. inscr. is in Gr. and the rev. shows a temple with four columns, pediment, and central arch; city-goddess within.

[13] Cf. Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 215, No. 18.

[14] It could also be attributed either to Honorius (395-423) or to Valentinian III (421, 423-455).

14. (247—B. 1: 4/5, cobblestones underneath topsoil). Valentinian II and Victor (usurper), A.D. 387.[15]
    Obv. Bust of Valentinian II r., with diadem and draped; around, r.: ...NIANVS; above, in a straight line: VICTO[R], overstruck.
    Rev. Uncertain mint marks.
15. (253—A. 3:11, plaster floor). Honorius, A.D. 395-423.[16]
    Obv. Obliterated.
    Rev. Three Emperors standing, scepters in r. hand and l. resting on shields; youngest in center nimbate, his two colleagues look towards him; border of dots.[17]
16. (200—C. 2:5, layer of wash). Uncertain.
    Obv. Bust r., with pearl diadem; around: ...ON...FAVG.
    Rev. Obliterated.

Byzantine

17. (117—C. 1:1, top soil). *Follis* of Anastasius I, A.D. 498-518.[18]
    Obv. Bust of Anastasius I (491-518) r., with diadem and draped; around: DNANASTA SIVSPPAVC; border of dots.
    Rev. M (prominent mark of value—40 *nummi*); within: Є (official code No.); above: cross; star and dots in l. and r. segments; CON (Constantinople) in segment below; border of dots.
18. (249—C. 1:6, layer of wash). *Pentanummium* of Justinian I, A.D. 527-565.
    Obv. Head of Justinian I r., l.: DNIVSTINI....
    Rev. Obliterated.
19. (125—C. 1:5, layer of wash). *Follis* of Justin II, A.D. 572/3.
    Obv. Justin II (565-578) and Sophia seated on double throne, holding scepters in their hands and a large *globus cruciger* between them; blundered inscr. on l. and r.; border of dots; pierced.

[15] Victor was the son of Maximus, a general in Britain who crossed to Gaul in 383 and assassinated Gratian (375-383), the elder brother of Valentinian II. Maximus crossed the Alps in 387, but was defeated and beheaded by Theodosius I, who had been appointed Eastern Emperor by Gratian and Valentinian in 379. However, when the Italian mints came under the possession of Maximus in 387, he struck coins in the name of his son Victor, whom he hoped to elevate to the Western throne. See Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii. It is difficult to tell whether such overstruck specimens are hitherto published or not.

[16] Mattingly, *Roman Coins from the Earliest Times*, p. 301, Pl. LX, No. 16, dates it A.D. 407.

[17] Reminiscent of the reigns of Honorius' predecessors: Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I.

[18] This was the centerpiece of the reformed copper coinage of 498. See Bellinger, *op. cit.*, I, 21.

Rev. M; within: Γ; above: cross; l. segment: ANNO; r. segment: S II (572/3); [TH]EUP' (Antioch) in segment below; border of dots; pierced.

20. (Surface find before excavations). *Solidus* (gold, 4.238 gm.) of Constantine IV, A.D. 674-681.
Obv. Bust of Constantine IV (654-685) facing slightly r., bearded, with cuirass, wearing plumed helmet and diadem with ties to l.; r. hand holds spear transversely behind head; shield showing horseman on l. shoulder; r.: A NUSP.
Rev. Cross atop four steps; to l. and r. the Emperor's two brothers—Heraclius and Tiberius (shorter)—draped, crowned, and holding *globus cruciger*; l.: VICTOA; r.: A VϛUA+; CONOB in segment below.

Umayyad (661-750)

21. (127—C. 1:5, layer of wash).
Obv. Traces of a small circle, top; a duck within, facing l.; obliterated inscr. around.[19]
Rev. Traces of a small circle, bottom; within: [ـا]يلـ[ا]; around, bottom: . . . لله [الملك]; traces of border.

22. (103—A. 2, dump).
Obv. [بسم الله / لا] اله [الا / الله وحده].
Rev. Starlike flower; beneath: [محمد ر]سول [الله].

23. (107—A. 1:5, debris of destroyed church).
Obv. لا اله / الا الله / وحده; border.
Rev. محمد / رسول الله / دمشق; border.

24. (104—A. 1:10, unstratified topsoil).
Obv. Similar to No. 23; obliterated inscr. around.
Rev. محمد رسول الله; around, top: . . . بسم الله.

25. (254—A. 2:11, cistern).
Obv. [له] لا شريك / الله وحده / [لا] اله [الا]; around: . . . [محمد ر]سول الله.
Rev. ولم يولد / [ولد] يلد / الصمد لم / [الله] احد الله; around: [بسم] الله ضرب [. . . ا] هذ.

[19] "An interesting specimen with a duck within a circle on the obverse and ايليا on reverse area is illustrated by Stickel in *ZDMG* [*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*], 1889, p. 698." N. G. Nassar, "The Arabic Mints in Palestine and Trans-Jordan," *QDAP*, XIII (1948), 123, n. 2. The above coin is perhaps the second such specimen hitherto published. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 224, Nos. 730-733, enumerates four somehow similar coins with the following differences: (a) the word is الله instead of ايليا and (b) the ducks are smaller and facing r. on two of them.

26. (278—D. 1:10, N.-S. wall).
Obv. Similar to No. 23, last word omitted; border of dots.
Rev. Similar to No. 23, last word omitted; border of dots.

27. (118—C. 1:4, layer of wash).
Obv. لله . . . / . . . و . . . / د . . .; traces of border, bottom l.
Rev. Obliterated.

Ayyubid (1171-1342) [20]

28. (258—D. 3:9, pit against the N. balk). Al-ʿAdil, 1196-1218.
Obv. Above, a rose; beneath, semicircular, illegible inscr.
Rev. الملك/العادل بن ايوب; illegible margin around dotted border, bottom.

29. (204—D. 1:8, platform). Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad I or II (Ḥamāh Branch), 1191-1220 or 1244-1284.
Obv. [ضرب]/الملك العـ[ـزيز]/المنصور م[ـحمد]; two separating lines across; traces of border.
Rev. منصور محمد [الـ]ـمستعـ[ـصم]/ [الامـ]ـام; arabesque and border, bottom.

30. (132—C. 2:1, topsoil). Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad I (EgyptianBranch)? 1198/9.
Obv. [المنـ]ـصور/[محمـ]ـد; third of a flower, l.
Rev. traces of borders, the outer dotted.

31. (121—C. 1:2, L-shaped wall). Al-Naṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (Ḥalab Branch), 1236-1260.
Obv. الملك الناصر/صلاح الدنيا وا/[لد يـ]ـن يوسف بن محمد within square; in l. segment between square and outer border: [وار]بعين.
Rev. الامام/المستعصم/بالله ابو احمد/امير المؤمنين within double square (the outer dotted); in r. segment between square and outer border: . . . لا اله الا ا.

32. (206—C. 1:6, layer of wash). Ḥamāh Branch, 1275/6.
Obv. Top l., in segments between corner of square and third of outer circle: ضرب . . . /[ار]بعة وسبعين (*i.e.* [6]74 A.H.); bottom r., overstruck mint mark?
Rev. Obliterated.

33. (122—C. 1:4, layer of wash). Abū 'l-Fidāʾ (Ḥamāh Branch), 1310-1332.
Obv. Above: . . .الفا; l., within traces of arabesque: . . .ابو/ب.
Rev. Traces of dotted border, l.; date: ٧١١ (711 A.H., A.D. 1311).

34. (197—C. 1:2, layer of wash). Uncertain.
Obv. Arabesque; beneath: الامام المستعصم; traces of border; slightly double-struck.
Rev. Within arabesque: [اسمعـ]ـيل? traces of wreath, bottom.

[20] End of the Ḥamāh Branch.

35. (256—D. 2:16, pit along S. balk). Uncertain.
Obv. Within part of dotted square: بامر الله / [. . . السـ]ـلطان.
Rev. Within traces of dotted square and circle: / . . . ا[ا]لـ[محـ]ـمد بن . . . / . . . منين . . . / . . . ث . . . .

Mamlūk (1250-1517) [21]

36. (114—B. 1:1, unstratified topsoil). Silver *Dirham* of al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī, 1257-1259.
Obv. محمد رسول الـ[ـله / ار]سله بالهدى.
Rev. [ا]لمنصو [ر . . . / ا]لدين.

37. (116—B. 1:2, small cobblestones underneath topsoil). Al-Ẓāhir Bībars, 1260-1277.
Obv. السلطا[ن] / لملك الا[ـظا] / هر.
Rev. Above: محمد رسول الا[له]; beneath: blank segment between dotted line of square and outer circles, the outermost dotted.

38. (285—C. 4:5, 3d layer of earth).
Obv. . . . / [السـ]ـلطان الملك / [الظاهـ]ـر ركن الدنيا والـ[ـدين] / [الصالحـ]ـى.
Rev. [حمد] ابو العباس / [. . .] بامر الله اميـ[ـر . . . / . . . صرب.; beneath, mint mark: m.

39. (131—C. 2:1, topsoil). Al-Naṣir Muḥammad, 1293-94, 1299-1309, 1310-41.
Obv. Within small circle: محمد; around: السلطان الملـ[ـك الناصر ناصر الدنيا والد]ين.
Rev. Obliterated.

40. (113—B. 1:2, small cobblestones underneath topsoil).
Obv. Above: الناصر; arabesque beneath.
Rev. Obliterated.

41. (193—A. 2:11, cistern). Al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad, 1361-1363.
Obv. Small circle within equilateral triangle; within: محمد; in segments between triangle and outer circle: السلطان / [الملك / الـ]ـمنصو[ـر]; border of dots.
Rev. Similar, but inscr. within small circle: ضرب; in segments: دمـ[ـشق / ثلاث وستين] / وسبعمئة (763 A.H.).

42. (106—A. 2:6, water channel). Al-Manṣūr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, 1377-1381.[22]

[21] Baḥrī Mamlūk (1250-1382), Burdji Mamlūk (1382-1517).

[22] Cf. the illustration (Plate II) from Poole, *op. cit.*, IV, 186 f., Nos. 607-610. He designates this type as silver. However, tests at the Physics Department of Andrews University show that No. 42 is made of an alloy with more copper content than silver. It was a

Obv. [الله / وما النصر ا]لا من[عند الله] / لا اله الا الله [محمد / رسـ]ـول الله [ارسله بالهدى / ودين الحق ليظهره على / الدين كله].

Rev. [ضرب بـ . . . / السلطان الملك المنصور / علا الدنيا والدين على بن الملك الاشرف] شعبان بن حسن بن الم[لك الناصر محمد[23] / وثما] نين وسبع[مئة].

43. (199—C. 1:6, layer of wash). Uncertain.
Obv. Overstruck traces of hexagram, dotted lines, and circle; r.: . . . [الـ]منصور.
Rev. Obliterated.

44. (120—C. 1:4, layer of wash). Al-Ẓahir Barḳūḳ, 1382-1399.
Obv. [ملكه الله [خلد] / [ابـ]و سعيد برق[وق] السلطان.
Rev. Within dotted circle, above: برقوق; beneath: خمس . . . وثـ[مـ]ـانين [. . .].

45. (195—B. 1:4/5, small cobblestones underneath topsoil). Al-Ashraf Sayf al-Din Iynāl, 1453-1461.
Obv. [شرف الا]لملك [ا]لناصر اينال ا. . . / . . . .
Rev. [محـ]مد رسول . . . / بدمشـ[ق] ولا اله . . .

46. (255—A. 2:11, cistern)
Obv. Obliterated.
Rev. Within small circle: اينا/ل; around, bottom: [السـ]ـلطان [. . . الم]لك.

Table 1 illustrates the wide distribution of the 78 coins. Each *plus* represents a coin enumerated in this report, and each *minus* stands for a relatively dated coin neither enumerated nor illustrated because of its very poor and hardly recognizable condition.[24] Coins belonging to reigns that overlap two centuries are ascribed to the second century of the

common practice in ancient times to mutilate gold and silver coins. This was prohibited in Islam. See A. J. Wensinck, "Coins," *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Traditions* (Leiden, 1960), p. 47.

[23] This line in the illustrated coin reads: . . . . بن حسن بن محمد قلاون

[24] Despite the absence of obvious identification marks, the following observations were possible: 12 of these are Roman *Aes* IV type (smaller module, *ca.* 10-12 mm; 1-1.5 gm.) and seem to belong to the 4th-5th centuries A.D.; there are 4 Byzantine *pentanummi* probably from the 6th-7th centuries A.D.; 6 appear to be Mamlūk *fulūs*—and rightly so when compared with their and related loci of discovery; the remaining 10 are diversely grouped into centuries. The earliest appears to belong to Tigranes, King of Armenia (97-56 B.C.), whose distinct *tiara* is barely discernible. (He annexed Greater Cappadocia and Syria in 83 B.C. and thereby ended the Seleucid rule.)

two. The hypothesis that some coins could have enjoyed several centuries of circulation applies at best to gold coins. Though not considerable in number, the grouping of coins at certain centuries and their apparent absence in the intervening 9th-12th centuries are noteworthy.

TABLE 1

1st cent. B.C.	+−−
1st cent. A.D.	+++−−
2d cent. A.D.	+++−−
3d cent. A.D.	++
4th cent. A.D.	+++++−−−−−−
5th cent. A.D.	++−−−−−−
6th cent. A.D.	+++−−
7th cent. A.D.	+−−
8th cent. A.D.	++++++++−−−
9th cent. A.D.	
10th cent. A.D.	
11th cent. A.D.	
12th cent. A.D.	−
13th cent. A.D.	+++++++++−−
14th cent. A.D.	+++++++++−−−
15th cent. A.D.	++−

At this juncture it is interesting to compare Table I with the references to Heshbon in the non-Biblical literary sources.[25] The references in the works of Josephus extend from the 2d century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.[26] There are documented references to the city in every succeeding century until the middle of the 7th century.[27] Esbus (Heshbon) then disappears from the literary sources, only to reappear in its Arabic form—Ḥesbân. The earliest Arabic reference, however, derives from the writings of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī

[25] See Werner Vyhmeister, "The History of Heshbon from Literary Sources," *AUSS*, VI (1968), 158-177.

[26] *Ant.* xii. 4. 11; xiii. 15. 4; xv. 8. 5. *Wars* ii. 18. 1; iii. 3. 3.

[27] Ptolemy *Geog.* v. 17 (130-60); coins of Elagabalus (218-222); Roman Milestones 5, 6, Esbus-Livias road (219, 236, 288, 364-75); Council of Nicaea (325); Eusebius *Onomasticon* 84:1-6; pilgrim Etheria of Aquitania (*ca.* 400); Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451); Notitia Antiochena (*ca.* 570); capital in Ras eṣ-Ṣīagha church (*ca.* 590); Georges of Cyprus (*ca.* 605); letters of Pope Martin I (649); Mosaic of Maʿīn (6th-8th centuries).

(839-923). He mentions Djabal (Mount) Ḥesbân in recounting Israelite history.[28] It is doubtful that this scant reference speaks of a contemporary city; it speaks rather of a *tell*. The next Arabic reference clearly indicates the existence of a Ḥesbân village in 1184.[29] This reveals a renewed beginning at the end of the 12th century. It is exactly the same period of restoration as indicated through the coin evidence. References to the city are abundant in the Baḥrī Mamlūk period (1250-1382).[30] They disappear again at the close of the 14th century, at about the time of the latest coins found at Heshbon.

However few, the Heshbon coins represent an extensive geographical range of provenance. But it is rather strange that except for the two Nabataean coins (Nos. 2, 3) which were presumably struck at Petra,[31] there are no apparent indications of coins struck at the ancient mints of Trans-Jordan. After the fall of the Nabataean Kingdom and the founding of *Arabia Provincia* in A.D. 106, several cities issued their local coinage—especially Bostra, which at first issued coins for the entire province.[32] Like its neighboring cities of Madeba, Philadelphia (Amman), and Gerasa (Jerash), Esbus had its city coinage for a considerable period under the Roman mandate.[33] No specimens of this coinage were found in 1968. Moreover, of the Byzantine mints that came into the possession of the Moslems, the Amman forge continued to beat Islamic coins throughout the Umayyad (661-750) and the

[28] Vyhmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 171, citing a letter from Fritz Steppat, Director of Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Beirut, Jan. 2, 1967.

[29] *Ibid.*, citing Behâ Ed-Dîn, *The Life of Saladin* (London, 1897), p. 97.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 172 f., citing: ha-Parchi (*ca.* 1314), Sanuto (*ca.* 1321), Abu el-Feda (d. 1331), Dimisqi (d. 1327), al-ʿUmari (1301-1348), Qalqašandī, and aẓ-ẓahirī.

[31] Hill, *Arabia*, p. xii.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xliv, 14-44. The latter did not bear a mint-name, but carried the province name—ARABIA—on the reverse; p. 14.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiii, 29-30.

Abbasid (750-1258) periods.[34] None of these coins was found either. It remains to be seen whether these lacunas will ever be filled by new discoveries.

Generalizations must be made cautiously when we bear in mind the ratio of coins to the number of centuries. For example, the 3d century A.D. cannot be dismissed as an insignificant period in Heshbon's history merely because only two coins (Nos. 8, 9) of that century were found. History tells that at that time the city was elevated to municipal status by Elagabalus (218-222).[35] The Esbus-Livias road was well traversed, as the inscriptions on the Roman Milestones 5 and 6 indicate. Likewise, the 7th century yielded only three coins, but this does not negate the fact that a prosperous city existed at that time, flourishing in the glamor of its important bishopric.

The coin evidence, the pottery, and the historical sources make it clear that the city was devastated sometime during the 8th century A.D. Vyhmeister suggests that it could have been destroyed during a war that affected the Balḳā' in *ca.* 790.[36] It is doubtful that this could have been so destructive. On the other hand, there occurred in 747 (130 A.H.) a devastating earthquake that shook all of Palestine and Trans-Jordan.[37] It is very likely that Heshbon was destroyed

[34] N. G. Nassar, "The Arabic Mints in Palestine and Trans-Jordan," *QDAP*, XIII (1948), 121-22. It should be cautioned that Umayyad coins bearing the mint-name الاردن (Jordan) were struck at Tiberias, capital of the Jordan Province, n. 4.; Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 2.

[35] Vyhmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 167, citing Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1966), p. 117.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 171. The strife was between the former subjects of the Umayyads (661-750) and the new Abbasid (750-1258) rulers. It was bitter during the governorship in Damascus of a certain Ībrāhīm (*ca.* 790). "In Damascus, Ḥawrān, al-Balqā', the Jordan and Ḥimṣ blood was shed." W. Vyhmeister, "The History of Heshbon from the Literary Sources" (unpublished B.D. thesis, Andrews University, 1967), pp. 72 f., quoting Philip I. Hitti, *History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine* (New York, 1951), p. 541. It must be noted that no Abbasid coins were found at Heshbon.

[37] The Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem, Ḳaṣr Hishām (Khirbat al-Mafdjar) near Jericho, and Jerash with its magnificent churches were among the numerous places destroyed at that time.

at that time and then abandoned for nearly four centuries. This does not rule out the possibility that there were either short periods of nomadic settlement or a lengthy sparse occupation during the 9th-12th centuries. During the 13th-14th centuries the city experienced its last revival, as evidenced by the comparatively larger number of Mamlūk coins. The latest of these derive from the first half of the 15th century, at about the very time when Heshbon faded away from history. Its continuity may not have been more than a nominal existence—barely holding together "the things which remain, that are ready to die." [38]

[38] Rv 3:2.

BOOK REVIEWS

Alves, Rubem A. *A Theology of Human Hope.* Washington D.C.: Corpus Books, 1969. xv + 199 pp. $ 5.95.

Rubem Alves, formerly Director of Studies of Church and Society in Latin America and Professor of Philosophical Foundations of the Social Sciences at the University of São Paulo, and now Associate Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary in New York, powerfully formulates what he calls "a new language" for the Christians of the Third World. This new language is rooted in the present historical situation but is "the language of faith in the context of their commitment to the historical liberation of man" (p. xiii).

The brilliant introductory chapter expresses bluntly the author's assessment of the current situation among the "world proletariat"—"the situation of oppression" remains "but his consciousness is no longer domesticated" (p. 11). The world proletariat's response to his situation is necessarily negative but his negativity is not final for he sees the situation changing and sees hope in the future. Man's hope is his humanization, *i.e.*, he becomes the creator of his own future. How does the present situation change? Here Alves rejects technologism as the new savior. Instead he sees it (not technology but totalitarian technological societies) as a means of enslavement. For example, technology teaches a man to find happiness in the gadgets and trinkets it provides; by robbing man of meaningful work and forcing leisure on him it tells him that he is no longer needed. "Free time will be then the time of impotence, time of play, but not the time of creation" (p. 26). The creators of the future will be the "technological elites."

Political humanism which seeks to bring liberation and humanization criticizes theological language because it speaks of transcendence as above and beyond history and not in the midst of life. Political humanism refuses to make "man at home in the inhumanity of the present." It also rejects existentialism because it does not lead "to the transformation of the world by man for man. It is rather man's liberation of himself from the world" (p. 39). For a similar reason it rejects Barthianism. It rejects Moltmann's theology of hope because of the arrogance of the Church's claim to be the midwife of the future and of neglect of men outside the Church who seek to make life human.

What is lacking in these various theologies is found in Biblical theology, for Alves finds that "vocation for freedom" which characterizes political humanism is basic to Biblical theology. Israel refused to be bound by its environment, refused to adapt, and created a

new future. Paul also by his radical rejection of law refused to adapt to the concept of law and legality. Thus he concludes that "Christian and secular men who speak the language of political humanism" "participate in a fundamental refusal to be absorbed by systems that required adaption to given structures" (p. 83).

Alves, however, points to the dilemma in which political humanism finds itself. Because it is totally dependent on man and the dominating forces do not seem to be losing their grip, it is "confronted thus with the alternative between, on the one hand, optimism at the expense of its thoroughly historical character, becoming thus romantic, and, on the other, faithfulness to history and the abandonment of hope, becoming then prey to cynicism generated by frustration" (p. 87).

On the other hand, messianic humanism has been criticized as non-historical, extra-mundane, above history. Alves denies this. He affirms that messianic humanism is thoroughly historical. The Biblical concept of God is not ontological or metaphysical, but refers to what happened or can happen in history. God is the God who acts, not simply is. Human events were the loci of God's actions.

These acts of God are a history of freedom. God's will is future-oriented and can never "be invoked in order to justify the status quo" (p. 93). God's time is the presence of the future and is opposed to "organic time," which is the presence of the past since "the present emerged from the past by repetition or evolution" (p. 96).

Thus political humanism and messianic humanism are not to be distinguished by the fact that the former is historical and the latter is not, since both are historical. "The difference between them is that humanistic messianism is born out of a historical experience in which only the statistically and quantitatively tangible resources of man's freedom and determination are available, whereas messianic humanism was created by the historical reality of liberation in spite of the collapse of all human resources" (p. 98).

The new in history does not naturally appear but is created only through a dialectical process. This is so because the old opposes and resists the new. Human institutions become fixed and inflexible. Those in power establish laws to maintain the status quo. But God's presence establishes a confrontation. "The presence of the past and the presence of the future cannot coexist" (p. 112).

God is a suffering God who suffers with the oppressed. The community of faith, to be worthy of His name, must participate in the suffering of God for the liberation of men. Liberation, however, confronts the powers of domination and counter-violence meets violence. But the counter-violence which seeks liberation for the slaves is also the means of the Master's freedom from the past. The resurrection becomes meaningful in this context but it cannot be understood only subjectively, otherwise hope without history will be the result. It must be understood both objectively and subjectively together. It points to "freedom's power over history, and therefore to the possibility of hope from, in, and for history" (p. 130). He closes with the point

that life can be enjoyed even in the midst of suffering as long as one does not succumb to despair and hopelessness.

Following Marcuse, Alves has a very negative view of the technological society. He wants it to be clearly understood, however, that his critique is not a negation of technology but of totalitarian technological systems. It is the humanization of technology rather than its destruction that he seeks. The issue is whether it is possible to humanize technology. It is to this point that we could wish the author had directed his remarks. One is still left with the impression that Alves has a negative attitude toward technology itself.

Alves seeks to relate messianic humanism to political humanism through the language of Biblical theology. In this he builds upon Wright's God who acts and on Paul's radical rejection of law. Alves has many insights here as usual, but seems somewhat superficial. He has selected only that which fits his theology, for much of the OT is not only an opening to the future but a calling to the past, and Paul's rejection is not of the law but of legalism. Even a new society must be governed by laws. Change *per se* also cannot be the *summun bonum* of life. As history has shown, change can lead to dehumanization as well.

Alves criticizes Moltmann for making the Church the midwife of the future, but Cox in his "Foreword" chides Alves for not utilizing "more resources outside the Protestant tradition," and also for following more closely than necessary the work of Barth, Bonhoeffer, and Lehman and asks: "What would he say to those young Christians who are simply not touched by biblical theology, that new generation of radical mystics, visionaries, and ecstatics who are certainly his allies in the struggle?" (p. ix).

No doubt we shall hear more from this provocative writer in the future. Perhaps he will broaden his theological base; perhaps also he will bring more refinement and clarity to some of his points. At any rate he has given us much to ponder for a long time.

Andrews University SAKAE KUBO

Campenhausen, Hans von. *The Fathers of the Latin Church.* Translated by Manfred Hoffman. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969. vii + 328 pp. $ 6.50.

This book was originally published in German with the title *Lateinische Kirchenväter* in 1960. It was translated into English and was published with the title *Fathers of the Latin Church* in England in 1964 and in the United States with the title *Men Who Shaped the Western Church* in 1965. This reprint coming four years after the first American edition attests its continuing popularity.

The book is directed to the general reader rather than the expert (who nevertheless can also learn much from it), but it is written with

expertise and literary skill. It provides fascinating reading, and the ancient Latin fathers (Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius) virtually come alive in its pages. The two most human characters, Tertullian and Jerome, stand in sharp contrast to the self-assured, dignified, and moderate Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine. Two not so well-known fathers, Lactantius and Boethius, are introduced to the readers and their place and contribution in Western culture are depicted.

Throughout, the significance of each of these fathers is pointed out. Tertullian is the "first Latin theologian" (p. 5) of any distinction, "the most original and in many respects the most penetrating exegete of the whole ancient church" (p. 7). Cyprian is the first of the "'curial' bishops who attempted to perform their ecclesiastical office in the magisterial style of the consuls and pro-consuls" (p. 37). Lactantius was the only pre-Constantinian Latin father who had more than a superficial knowledge of philosophy. He was the first court theologian (under Constantine), "the first representative of a Latin Christian theology of history" (p. 81). "Ambrose was the first Latin church father to be born, reared, and educated not as a pagan, but as a Christian" (p. 89). Because of the decisive and steadfast character of Ambrose, Theodosius capitulated and was forced to do penance for the massacre of thousands of innocent inhabitants of Thessalonica. This was "the final stage in the process of Christianization of the imperial power, which had begun with Constantine" (p. 120). "Jerome was the first theologian to emphasize the scientific importance of archaeology" (p. 157). Of course, as all know, his greatest accomplishment was the translation of the Bible from the original tongues. He is noted, not as a great theologian, but as the "founder of Western Biblical philology" (p. 181). "Augustine is the only church father who even today remains an intellectual power" (p. 183). The Pauline theology of grace was undiscovered by the West until the 4th century and found its climax in Augustine's theology. Augustine was the only father who was a true genius. Unfortunately, it was Augustine also who developed the theological justification of force. Boethius was "the last Roman and the first of the Schoolmen" and "the last Greek philosopher" (p. 279). "He did more than anyone to establish the medieval reverence for Aristotle" (p. 288).

While not written as a history of the early Latin Church, the reader will find much history written here, since it is the author's "conviction that historical life is realized primarily through human personalities, or at least that in them it can be grasped most directly and comprehended most distinctly" (p. 3).

The translation is excellent; one is hardly aware that it is a translation. Unfortunately the bibliography is left untouched. While not many significant works in this area have recently appeared, some updating could have been made, especially with regard to Augustine.

Andrews University SAKAE KUBO

Hunt, John F., and R. Connelly. *The Responsibility of Dissent: The Church and Academic Freedom.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969. xvi + 224 pp. $ 3.95 (paperbound).

Some years ago George Bernard Shaw could propose seriously that to speak of a Catholic university was a contradiction in terms. Thanks to the courage of some good Catholics, that can no longer be said of many Catholic institutions of higher learning. This has become especially true since 1968 when leading Catholic educators of the Western hemisphere promulgated a "Statement on the Nature of the Contemporary Catholic University," a document sometimes referred to as "The Land O'Lakes Statement." In it academic excellence is established as the basic priority of a university. In part it reads: "To perform its teaching and research functions effectively the Catholic university must have a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself" (p. 117).

This is not to say that in every Catholic university full academic freedom is enjoyed. There are those who feel that in order for an institution to maintain its Catholic identity the ecclesiastical hierarchy that supports the institution has the responsibility also to control it. This is justified under what is called a "modified" academic freedom. There is no question, however, that inevitably some tensions develop when two concepts of freedom face each other.

The book under review presents an account of the proceedings that took place at The Catholic University of America when 21 Catholic professors on July 30, 1968, signed a statement of dissent from the Papal Encyclical *Humanae Vitae* that had appeared the day before. On September 5 the Trustees of the university threatened with suspension any professor who refused to abstain from public comment inconsistent with pronouncements of the Church hierarchy, and set up a Board of Inquiry to establish the nature of the conduct of the professors who had dissented from the encyclical.

The authors of this book were the lawyers who represented the professors before the Board of Inquiry. In it the history of the proceedings and the prepared testimony presented at the time are carefully documented. In a companion volume (*Dissent in and for the Church: Theologians and "Humanae Vitae"*) Hunt and Connelly document that part of the case which dealt with the theological justification for the dissenting position by the professors and the manner in which they chose to promulgate it.

Since the professors involved in the dissent were members of the theological faculty, not only statements defining academic freedom adopted by the American Association of University Professors, but also those adopted by the American Association of Theological Schools were appealed to as normative for the conduct of the investigation. The basic issue throughout the proceedings was to establish the principle that any evaluation to be done of a professor's theology,

or of his professional conduct, was to be done in terms of peer-established criteria, and not of standards of institutional loyalty having their source outside of the academic community. When the need not to offend sources of financial support becomes a standard by which to judge faculty performance, then no amount of lip service to academic freedom is convincing. As Clarence W. Friedmann, Associate Secretary of the College and University Department of the National Catholic Education Association, said at the time of his testimony before the Board of Inquiry: "A university can afford to be poor but not unfree."

At a time when many institutions, ecclesiastical, educational, and civic, are having difficulty in knowing how to deal with dissenters, the publication of this case study on The Catholic University of America is most timely. Here lawyers tried to find out what declarations of principle on the part of educators actually mean. They have shown that misunderstandings are many times the result of false equations. To equate "faith" and "loyalty to inherited institutional forms" and then to condemn those who distinguish faith from such loyalty is a common ecclesiastical sin not very different from that committed by those who in a civil context equate "law" and "order" and then apply indiscriminate force in order to maintain their vision of order, taking for granted that the law guarantees their actions.

A special word of thanks is due those who decided to publish this case study. Would that every time a theological faculty, Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish, is submitted to the strain of a Board of Inquiry tempted to demand that theologians must prove their orthodoxy, the proceedings and the testimony were published in as well documented a fashion as they appear in the book here reviewed.

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HEROLD WEISS

Jocz, Jakob. *The Covenant: A Theology of Human Destiny.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968. 320 pp. $ 6.95.

In recent years several writings by Jakob Jocz, Professor of Systematic Theology at Wycliffe Seminary, Toronto, have been devoted to the theology of the election, the encounter of Jew and Christian, and the spiritual destiny of Israel. Some of the findings evident in these writings appear in the present volume, *e.g.*, "Israel," being not a biological term but a spiritual concept which embraces all who respond to the grace of God. The author writes as a devoted adherent to dogmatic Christianity, and in modern scholarship his sympathies lie with Martin Noth, W. Eichrodt, A. Richardson, and Karl Barth. The book will appeal to the Christian divine who faithfully maintains that the Bible's understanding of the human predicament is correctly seen through the lens of classical Protestant scholasticism. To the reader who seriously questions a major assumption of the author that Biblical

theology and scholarship are best served by the medieval categories of logic and metaphysics, this study will prove elusive and problematic.

As a work of systematic theology, the volume is sound and comprehensive. It is characterized by a mastery of the results of theological research in the area. It correctly assesses the covenant, and not faith, works, judgment, or monotheism, as the unifying principle of the Biblical documents. It contains an extensive presentation of the ways in which the divine presence expressed itself in ancient Israel. It seeks the answers to the problems of sin, evil, and salvation. It defines covenant in theological and historical categories as God's condescension to man. It discusses with novel insight the ecclesiastical term "ex opere operato" in connection with the sacraments Baptism, Holy Communion, and the Church. It accepts a major tenet of the Hebrew *Weltanschauung* that history is impregnated with the dynamic will of God, and it seeks to shorten the circumstances that separate modern man of faith from the ancient Israelite. It maintains that Jesus as the Messiah is the absolute definition of covenantal grace, which vindicates God as Creator of the world, Lord of history, King of the universe, and Father of mankind. The inclusion of rabbinic material and modern Jewish scholarship, though limited, rounds out the treatment.

Within the requirements of the writer's methodology and structure, which stress that the Bible is a doctrinal composition on man's relationship to God, the work is well done. The discerning reader, however, will often be overwhelmed by the superfluous insertions of lengthy interpretations, at times repetitious, imposed upon the meaning and intent of the Hebrew text. Jocz argues, for example, that the Abrahamic promise knows no time, place, or people; is ever renewed on a moral non-cultic plane; and is symbolic of God's continual concern for man's redemption and salvation. But does this "conditionless" covenant do justice to Gen 17 which speaks of the priestly act of circumcision as the external sign of the covenant in both its national and universal setting? The passage clearly states that circumcision serves in Hebrew theology as the mark of national devotion to the service of YHWH; enables strangers to join the Abramic nation in its consecrated service; and provides the setting for the change of Abram's name to Abraham (understood as "father of a multitude" of nations) thereby enabling the hopes and promises of the covenant to embrace the nations of the earth. When the central covenant of the Hebrew Bible is the relationship between God and Israel, then the theological significance of the covenantal idea in Hebrew thought is misrepresented by focusing attention on the Noachic and Abrahamic Covenants as more basic than the Sinaitic Covenant. Whatever the place of the Mosaic Covenant in the philosophical, theological, liturgical, and sociological thinking of the contemporary Christian, there can be no denial that the events of the Desert Wandering represent the most important happening in ancient Israel's heritage and history.

Jocz raises significant questions about the nature of man, the essence of God, and the binding agreement between them, but it may be asked whether he concentrates sufficiently on the fact that Hebrew reasoning is essentially group-centered and it envisions the Sinaitic Covenant not as unilaterally imposed by God on Israel but as a bilateral partnership between two unequal partners who are free to agree and disagree. In the Exodus theology which is later advocated by the Deuteronomic school and some of the writing prophets, there is the understanding of a free and mutual selection of God and Israel. YHWH freely chooses Israel, and Israel freely embraces YHWH, and this mutual election is expressed in a partnership, a *berit*.

For a strictly scholarly interest, the most distracting sections of the work are those in which the author unequivocally dismisses the views of Biblical criticism by suggesting, "Is it asking too much that the Biblical scholar pay some attention to the theologian? It is not impossible that while listening he may become aware of the Voice he failed to hear while engrossed in the minutia and detail of the text" (p. 15). This is a meritorious, traditional position which the non-partisan will find difficult to accept. Literary criticism has so little place in Jocz' methodology that *Sitz im Leben*, form criticism, history of covenant types, and history of covenant traditions are practically ignored. It may be refreshing nowadays to read a conservative defense of the style and content of Biblical material pertaining to the covenant, but it is disturbing not to see a similar exegesis of the extra-Biblical documents. Moreover, by virtually snubbing the issues raised by important archaeological discoveries which have shed important light in recent decades on the economic, political, and social forces behind the seemingly universal idea of covenant in the ancient Near East, he has gravely jeopardized his major structural philosophy that history and theology can unite in one book.

One recognizes here the scheme followed by writers of systematic theology who maintain with various degrees of stress that the uniqueness of Hebrew theology is its *praeparatio* for Christianity. Whether this type of theological orientation is satisfactory is a debatable question which different readers will doubtless answer differently. Some will advocate that the ultimate concern of Biblical theology is to tread the highways and byways of the Bible in order to reveal the pathways which unite the Scriptures and lead to the fundamental teachings of the Church. Others will maintain that theology cannot be isolated from its historical setting, and if Biblical theology is to be accepted as a serious discipline then its interpreters must be fully cognizant of the results of critical and historical study. It can be said that it is this learned approach and not the one approved by the author which best serves the objective investigation of Biblical ideas and the interests of modern Biblical scholarship.

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ZEV GARBER

Käsemann, Ernst. *New Testament Questions of Today*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969. xi + 305 pp. $ 6.75.

The fifteen essays and lectures that make up this collection were all prepared in the 1950's and 1960's and have, with only two exceptions, been previously published, for the most part, in German periodicals and *Festschriften*. The varied subject matter reveals Käsemann's wide-ranging interest and breadth of scholarship.

The first two articles entitled "New Testament Questions of Today" and "Blind Alleys in the 'Jesus of History' Controversy" provide a critical analysis of certain aspects of contemporary NT scholarship and suggest directions that it must take in the future. The last two, "Thoughts on the Present Controversy about Scriptural Interpretation" and "Theologians and Laity," are concerned with issues of importance to the life of the church and reveal Käsemann's concern for the well-being of Christianity. The remaining articles are expositions of significant aspects of NT theology dealt with either thematically ("On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," "The Righteousness of God in Paul," "Paul and Early Catholicism") or exegetically ("The Structure and Purpose of the Prologue to John's Gospel," "Worship in Everyday Life: a note on Romans 12," "Principles of the Interpretation of Romans 13"). More than half the essays are about Paul.

Throughout, Käsemann's brilliance and powers of expression are clearly evident. Some of the credit certainly belongs to W. J. Montague, the translator who also prepared the earlier *Essays on New Testament Themes*. Examples of lucid phraseology abound and add considerably to the reader's satisfaction. A more substantive benefit grows out of Käsemann's intimate knowledge of Continental theology and the contemporary situation of the church. Even though some of the articles, such as the discussion on "New Testament Questions of Today," were written some time ago and are now therefore somewhat out of date, they nonetheless delineate fundamental problems out of which current debate has grown. Not all the articles were originally directed toward scholars. A few were prepared with the non-scholar in mind: *e.g.*, a lecture given at a YMCA Conference. The insight and power of Käsemann's appeal to the layman reflect his fifteen years as a parish pastor. He repeatedly makes clear his deep concern for Christianity today, which he feels "is dying of its own failures in everyday life" (p. 297). In his view the current is now running against us, "where for one thousand nine hundred years it seemed to be running for us..." (p. 278). Heathen religion, on the other hand, is "everywhere celebrating its own resurrection" (p. 298). This mixing of technical and non-technical essays may prove something of a problem to the average layman, for the technical articles frequently assume considerable knowledge on the part of the reader. This problem is evident in Käsemann's description of "Blind Alleys in the 'Jesus of History' Controversy" where he directs some rather sharp criticism

toward both Jeremias and Bultmann. While it is of interest to see how the author has moved from the position of his former teacher, the average layman will probably find the dialogue somewhat confusing.

While Käsemann is more optimistic about the possiblity of retrieving authentic information about Jesus and the earliest community from the NT and positive about the importance of doing so, he is nonetheless more skeptical than most Anglo-Saxon or French-speaking scholars. This is unfortunate in my opinion, for he has great skill in the area of historical reconstruction, and his interpretation of the evidence leads him to place at a later date sayings and events which may well belong to a much earlier time. In accord with prevailing German scholarship, Käsemann accepts only seven letters of Paul as authentic. While this conclusion is perhaps "safe" in that possibly later material is excluded, it suffers from the reverse danger of leaving out too much. The obvious result is a distorted picture of Pauline theology and the situation in the early church.

In a similar vein, Käsemann charges that neither Anglo-Saxon nor French-speaking scholars have ever really come to terms with the question of the "Jesus of History" and that they are unfair to the German form critics (pp. 11-12). He does not seem to allow the possibility that these scholars have, in fact, given consideration to this question, but have arrived at different conclusions as to the nature of this problem and its urgency. A similar variance of approach is seen in his criticism of Jeremias referred to above. In many places it appears that Käsemann and Jeremias are working on the basis of different assumptions and toward different goals, so that argument and counterargument do not meet each other as they should.

In his preface Käsemann explains that in his view "disputation" is an "indispensable element in theology" and that "disagreement" in the field of critical scholarship is in fact the "outward form of gratitude" (p. ix). In his essays Käsemann has provided the basis of much disputation, disagreement and constructive scholarship. For this all partners in the search for understanding can be grateful.

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Kingsbury, Jack Dean. *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13*. Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1969. xii + 180 pp. $ 5.95.

This book, a revised doctoral dissertation from Basel, is a further contribution to the growing list of works in the exciting area of redaction-criticism. In harmony with this method Kingsbury examines Mt 13 on the premise that as Jesus used parables to meet the requirements of his own situation, so Matthew employs parables that had come down to him to meet the demands of the situation of the church to which he belonged. This material is then studied to determine what can be learned about Matthew's own "age and theology" (p. 10).

Kingsbury approaches his study by first reviewing modern trends in parable interpretation (ch. 1) and then proceeds to examine the "structure and context" of Mt 13 (ch. 2) which chapter, he points out, falls into two main parts: Jesus' parables to the Jewish crowds beside the sea (13:1-35) and Jesus' parables to the disciples in private (13:36-52). This arrangement in turn reflects the pivotal position of ch. 13 in the "ground plan" of the first Gospel, as it serves "to signal the great 'turning-point'" in the "flow of events in the ministry of Jesus as recorded by Matthew" (p. 130). This "turning point" is described as Jesus' turning from the Jews who reject Him toward His disciples whom He now addresses as the true people of God. Because of their rejection the Jews are described as "blind, deaf, and without understanding in regard to God's revelation to them" while the disciples, on the other hand, are privileged to perceive the "mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." Kingsbury declares that for Matthew the great turning point is "not a mere matter of past history," but has relevance for his own church, which he believes to be the agent through which Jesus continues His mission. This church too has carried on a mission to the Jews and has for the most part experienced failure. There is the same relationship of animosity between the church and Pharisiac Judaism as existed in the time of Jesus, with each side denouncing the other and claiming to be exclusively the people of God (p. 130).

Kingsbury's study is carefully written, easy to read, and generally well documented. Summaries at the end of each section add to the clarity and coherence of the presentation. While the author usually reveals a healthy prudence not always found in studies of this type, he nonetheless does occasionally succumb to the temptation of finding significance in what may well be incidental. For example, the fact that Jesus sits in the boat while the crowd stands on the shore is, we are told, to be understood apocalyptically on the basis of the similar picture in Rev 7:9-12 where God is pictured sitting on His throne with a great crowd of worshippers before Him (p. 23). Matthew, it is claimed, emphasizes this element (he employs the verb "to sit" twice; Mark only once) in his description to ascribe divine, "not merely rabbinic" (p. 23), dignity to Jesus. But this argument is tenuous at best. The people before Jesus hardly worship Him, for according to Kingsbury's own argument, they are the ones who have rejected Him and are therefore unable to perceive the mysteries conveyed in the parables. The basic question here as elsewhere is whether this feature is in fact a deliberate and theologically significant adjustment to the tradition, or is, on the other hand, purely incidental. Kingsbury would strengthen his work at several points by demonstrating more convincingly than he has that the adjustments to the tradition upon which his argument depends are truly Matthean and theologically significant.

Also, a more convincing explanation is needed as to why so much (vss. 10-23, approximately one-third) of the first half of ch. 13, which

is supposed to be basically a public presentation to the crowd, is taken up with private instruction to the disciples. Kingsbury does not completely overcome this difficulty. Another aspect of his argument that will raise some doubt is the assertion that the affinity between the Parable of the Tares (13:24-30) and "the interpretation of the parable of the tares" (13:36b-43) is "formal and accidental rather than real and essential" (p. 14), so that in his opinion the interpreter should deal with each unit separately. The question here does not concern the authenticity of one or both of these passages but rather Matthew's understanding of the relationship of one to the other. Again, the chapter dealing with the last half of Mt 13 (Jesus' parables to the disciples in private) needs further development. He describes the intention of the Interpretation of the Parable of the Tares, and of the parables of the Hidden Treasure, the Pearl, and the Net as "paraenetic." Surely it is that, but in this reviewer's opinion, much more. Matthew's use of each of these parables needs to be more clearly delineated and integrated into the overall argument being developed. These last observations notwithstanding, Kingsbury has provided an exposition of Mt 13 with many new insights that will be of value to any student of the Gospels.

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Mays, James Luther. *Amos.* "Old Testament Library." Philadephia: Westminster Press, 1969. viii + 168 pp. $ 5.50.

Mays, James Luther. *Hosea,* "Old Testament Library." Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969. x + 190 pp. $ 6.00.

Ever since Henderson published his monumental commentary on the Minor Prophets a little over a hundred years ago, English-writing scholars in nearly every decade have attempted to solve the manifold literary, historical, and philological problems of the earliest collections of canonical prophecy. To the distinguished list of commentaries and individual studies on Amos and Hosea may now be added the excellent exegetical study by Mays in "The Old Testament Library" series, one that not only demonstrates mastery of the secondary materials, but gives evidence of original insight in dealing with primary sources.

The format for each book includes a brief introduction which substantively brings out what the author has developed in the exegesis which follows. The bulk of the books is deceptively compact in content, and the works discuss with illuminating perception the traditional topics of authorship, time, composition, messages, editorial redaction, and personality of the prophets. The arrangement of a verse-by-verse commentary is carefully planned and should make the volumes very useful for the non-specialist in the field. The author's gallant attempt in part to make a new translation of the MT, supported by brief footnotes

at the end of the page, is to be commended but it is of limited value for one who has no knowledge of the Hebrew text or the versions. In the brief space allotted to textual comments, Mays is forced to compact a great deal of information in a few sentences. It appears that one must have a prior textual knowledge if he is really to understand the author's rendition. But any concerned reader, even without a proficiency in Biblical Hebrew, who is willing to work will find Mays' comments extremely rewarding. We suggest that the reader work through the volumes as a whole several times; he should then find himself in position to utilize effectively the exposition of the author in regard to particular problems in the books of Amos and Hosea.

The books by Mays, who is Professor of Biblical Interpretation, Union Theological Seminary, Virginia, do not innovate (as do several other volumes in "The Old Testament Library" series) new critical thought for the knowledgeable reader. His Amos commentary is a synthesis of the scholarship, to which he pays tribute in the preface, found in Wellhausen's commentary (^{3}1898); E. Sellin, *KAT* (^{2}, ^{3}1929-30); Harper, *ICC* (^{5}1960); A. Weiser, *Die Profetie des Amos*, "BZAW," LIII (1929); V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (1951); and H. W. Wolff, *BK* (1957). Likewise, his remarks on Hosea reflect a strong indebtedness to the works of H. W. Wolff, W. Rudolph, and J. M. Ward. But Mays does not blindly follow anyone. He knows the problems involved; he is able to identify the major areas of contemporary debate; and he offers a balanced critique of the extreme positions taken by H. Reventlow, R. Smend, A. S. Kapelrud, G. Östborn, and others. It represents the chief merit of Mays' contribution for the serious, but not specialized, Bible student, the audience whom the author is most interested in reaching.

These are some of Mays' more important conclusions: both Amos and Hosea were called by YHWH to bear witness to the God of Israel in times of crises, and both elevated the pathos of Israel to a universal plane of ethical monotheism, stressing the *mysterium tremendum* of the Deity who expresses himself in love and loyalty in Hosea, and in justice and righteousness in Amos. It is not the biography of Amos or Hosea that we know but their messages. Against the background of the cyclical fertility belief of the Canaanite world, Hosea, steeped in a proto-Deuteronomic tradition, reveals the historical antecedents of Yahwism when he proclaims that the covenant between YHWH and Israel is an everlasting one bound by God's inexhaustible *ḥesed* and *ʾahᵃḇāh*. Israel's ubiquitous sufferings from the hands of neighboring powers are seen by the prophet as a necessary virtue and are interpreted by the commentator to be "the search of God for the repentance of his people." Similarly, Amos in his denunciation of superficial ritual and sacrifice proclaims that God, because of the *bᵉrîṯ*, never openly stated but implicitly operative in Israel's birth credo (Amos 2:9-10), and in the formula *ʿammî Yiśrāel* (cf. Amos 7:15; 8:2; and with reservations in Amos 3:1; 4:12; 9:7), displays himself in a universal history which provides under divine guidance damnation

or salvation irrespective of time and nation but determined by honesty, fairness, and equity between man and man, nation and nation.

Where did Amos and Hosea declare their messages? For the *nōqed* from Tekoa it was at the main religious center at Bethel (Amos 2:8; 3:14; 5:5, 6; 7:13) and in the capital city of Samaria (Amos 4:1-3; 3:9-11, 12; 6:1-3; 8:4-8); in addition to expounding his moral messages at Bethel (Hos 4:15; 5:8; 10:5; 12:5) and Samaria (Hos 7:1; 8:5, 6; 10:5, 7; 14:1), Hosea denounces the corrupt practices of the people (Hos 4:15; 12:12) and its false leaders (9:15) at Gilgal.

What is the structure of the prophet's message? Most of Amos' declarations are announcements of judgments which often (cf. Amos 1:3-2:16; 3:2, 9-11; 4:1-3; 5:7, 10-12, 16, 17; 6:1-7, 13, 14; 7:16, 17; 8:4-7) but not always (cf. Amos 3:12, 13-15; 5:1-3; 6:9-11; 8:9-14; 9:9, 10) combine the elements of censure and punishment. Diatribe and threat characterize much of Hosea's oral delivery with a frequent sprinkling of the *rîḇ* speech-pattern (cf. Hos 2:2; 4:1, 4; 12:2) and the cultic salvation oracle (Hos 1:10, 11; 2:16-23).

What is the composition of the book? Hos is composed of material of two distinct types: (1) Chs. 1-3 serve as an introduction to the book and consist of biographical (Hos 1:2-9), autobiographical (Hos 3:1-5), chastisements (Hos 2:4-17), salvation oracles (Hos 2:1-3, 18-25), and additions by a Judahistic redactor who collected and assembled shortly after the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C. pertinent material dealing with Hosea's life and message; (2) Chs. 4-14 contain Hosea's prophecies in no very apparent order from the different periods of his *šelîḥût*, but the redactor used common thematic material and mnemonic devices to organize the brief and ejaculatory messages of the prophet. For example, the content of chs. 1-3 shaped the format of chs. 4-11 and 12-14 with its alternation of judgment and salvation material. The general make-up of Amos consists primarily of first-person narratives, sayings by the prophet in carrying forth his mission, didactical questions, and hymnic poetry. The autobiographical narratives, many of the sayings, and the historical record of Amos' encounter with the priest Amaziah at Bethel (Amos 7:10-17) can be attributed with confidence to the activity of the *nāḇî'* who preached in the middle decades of the eighth century B.C. However, the Deuteronomic circles working in the exilic period composed the oracles against Tyre (Amos 1:9-10), Edom (Amos 1:11, 12), and Judah (Amos 2:4, 5). They are responsible for the hymnic sections in Amos 1:2; 4:13; 5:8, 9; 9:5, 6; the introduction (Amos 1:1); and the cryptic statement on the nature of prophecy (Amos 3:7). The post-exilic message of consolation and hope found at the end of the book (Amos 9:11-15) was added by the cultic community of Jerusalem to reflect the contemporary situation, *i.e.*, to assure a weeping remnant that redemption is near.

As for the ethical standards advocated by Amos, they are derived from a wisdom background handed down traditionally within the family, clan, and the court in the city gates. His "woe" oracles; the numerical sequence x/x + 1 in Amos 1-2; the free use of *neḵōḥah*,

mišpāṭ, ṣᵉdāqāh and their alternatives; the concern for the poor, orphan, widow, and downtrodden are all characteristic of the wisdom circles, but they are not identified with the cultic traditions of the Temple in Jerusalem. Mays advances persuasively that Amos, a shepherd most of his life but skilled in the historical traditions of his people, was called by YHWH to proclaim a theology of doom, not like some of his predecessors, on a king or a class, but on a people, thereby inaugurating a new emphasis of the *bᵉrîṯ* theology between God and Israel. The statements of Hosea which know the proper name of God and are aware of the *'ehyeh* theology are indebted to the old Yahwist tribal league. Unlike Amos, Hosea directs no oracles to foreign nations and his mention of Assyria and Egypt are considered only as elements in YHWH's direct relationship with Israel. The writer agrees with the prevailing view that the erring wife of ch. 3 is Gomer the *'ēšeṯ zᵉnûnîm* of the first chapter. Hosea's marriage, the birth of his symbolically-named children, and the redemption of his unfaithful wife are interpreted as a kerygmatic parable of YHWH's love for Israel. He was a keen student of history, and he was quick to denounce Israel's rulers and priests (Hos 4:1-5:7), the people's corruption (Hos 6:4-7:2), misused property (Hos 10:1-8), and idolatry (cf. particularly Hos 10:9-15). On occasion his grim message was directed to Greater Israel, including the national states of Israel and Judah, as when he declared then equally guilty in their political maneuvers during the Syro-Ephraimite War (Hos 5:8-14).

One of the restrictions of Mays' commentaries is that the author does not elaborate sufficiently on critical matters but must be about the business of presenting a learned exegesis designed for classroom and individual use. In this he is very succesful and his volumes are to be highly recommended. But this limitation prevents the student and scholar alike from comprehending fully the thoroughgoing universalism of Amos and Hos, their use of cultic materials, and their understanding of "covenant" as a categorical imperative. It prevents demonstration of the sources and the finer points of Palestinian Canaanite Baalism whose cult and mythology are the targets of most of Hosea's apologies and polemics. It also deters the exploration of other possible explanations to basic textual problems. For example, the absence of an orderly arrangement in the Hos material may very well stem, as Mays indicates, from the collection of the prophet's words whose recording for the most part is without transitions, introductions, and conclusions. However, in Hos' broken and restless sentences one finds a deeply emotional and sensitive nature filled with a rhythm of anger and indignation, tenderness and compassion. Yet this strong subjective way of the prophet, in sharp contrast to the vivid objectivity of Amos, is a major option never fully treated by the author to explain the disorder. Moreover, Mays shows his gratitude to the Bright and Noth schools in his canvassing of the 8th century B.C., but it is to be regretted that little attention is paid to the Jerusalem school of Mazar, Kaufmann, and Tadmor whose

important researches into the decline and fall of the Kingdom of Israel are little known to the English reader.

Unfortunately, the volumes lack indices of subjects, transliterated Hebrew words, and authors cited in the body of the text. The select bibliography is lost between introduction and commentary. Only occasionally does the author betray the bias of his church when he associates NT titles and references to the prophets, and for some readers of this journal Mays' erudition and wit may have gone too far when he labels Amos 8:4-8 as "Never on Sunday." Typographical improvements are suggested for *neḵōhāh* (*Amos*, p. 65), *heḥeraḇtî* (*Amos*, p. 76), and *zāḵar* (*Hosea*, p. 123) where the plosives are made spirant by the preceding half-vowel or vowel; "flour" is *ṣemaḥ* and not *semaḥ* (*Hosea*, p. 120), and "prophet" is *nāḇî'* and not *nābīʿ* (*Amos*, p. 136). Nonetheless, these chapters by Mays stand as a carefully researched theological contribution to the study of the formative period when the main lines of Hebrew canonical prophecy were being drawn.

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Miskotte, Kornelis H. *When the Gods Are Silent.* Trans. with an Introduction by John W. Doberstein. New York: Harper and Row, 1967. xviii + 494 pp. $ 10.00.

When this reviewer was asked by the editor of *AUSS* to review this book, he was overcome by a sense of uneasiness because he was already acquainted with this tome and had recognized that this is not the kind of book one can read in the easy chair by the fireplace. Those who like a book which departs from any obviously discernible order, which frequently quotes poetry and is itself written in poetic prose (much apparently in white heat), will have only superlative adjectives in praise of such an unusual volume, which is subtitled (on the dust-jacket only) "On the Significance of the Old Testament." Miskotte, a former professor of dogmatics, ethics, church laws, and missions at Leiden University, addresses primarily the Christian preacher, or "interpreter and witnesss" of Biblical faith, as he always calls him.

Miskotte's book, whose Dutch original dates from 1956 (the present translation has been prepared from the revised and augmented German translation of 1963), has essentially the same concern as Bishop Robinson's *Honest to God*, namely to speak meaningfully to modern man. Miskotte's theme is to bring out the "meaning of the Old Testament for the 'religionless' man in the midst of the silence of the Gods" (p. 161). He would agree with the Bishop of Woolwich in seeing modern man as post-religious, though he finds Bonhoeffer's term "man come of age" as over-optimistic (p. 81), and adopts instead Alfred Weber's designation the "fourth man." "When the Gods are silent" is the age of the fourth man (full-grown in Orwell's 1984), when religion has lost its values and even paganism is no

longer attractive. This is therefore the age of nihilism which appears in the form of "genuine" (*i.e.*, thorough-going) nihilism and "ungenuine" (*i.e.*, popular) nihilism, which is that of the fourth man who has not yet put away the third man, who in turn professes himself to be an atheist but sighs with his next breath, "A pity God doesn't exist" (p. 20).

Part I (pp. 1-98), called "A Mirror of Our Times," describes the age of the "fourth" man in which "the gods are silent" and which "could be called an eclipse of God" (p. 49), where human thinking has dimmed and darkened God's light. The author offers a sensitive analysis of some of the "bellwethers of nihilism" (p. 15) such as Nietzsche, Heidegger, Françoise Sagan, Samuel Beckett, and Albert Camus. Whereas Miskotte is here engaged in dialogue with some spirits of the age, he does not short-change himself nor us supposing that they speak for all people of the modern age. He sees definite shifts in emphasis in Romano Guardini, Ernst Jünger, Eugene Rosenstock-Huessy. He goes on to argue that the "third" man is in bondage to "religion," which is nothing but a dead faith or, in Barth's word, the "one great concern of godless man." The "fourth" man has seen through this "religion "and has indeed the OT on his side "when the Old Testament commits happy carnage upon traditional religion and smashes it to bits, . . ." (p. 65). The OT frees man from both "religion" and nihilism by the "Name" which is Yahweh, the true God. The utter rejection of religion does not lead Miskotte, as it does so many prophets of the "God is dead" movement and exponents of a "religionless Christianity," to bleak uncertainty and a pathetic clinging to incoherent ideas. Instead, the removal of "religion" clears the way for genuine faith and the breaking in of the authoritative revelation of God. ". . . the power of the Name will ineluctably send us *into life* that we may exist and act there in immediacy, but above all allow things to come to us and happen to us" (p. 71).

Part II (pp. 99-374), entitled "Witness and Interpretation," asks for the peculiar message of the OT. Schemata which contrast the OT with the NT such as law/gospel, shadow/reality, even promise/fulfillment, are shown to have only partial validity, but not enough to justify the Christians' use of the OT. Both the OT and the NT are relative to the time of revelation: the OT goes out into the time of expectation, the NT into the time of recollection. Both have "the same Object, one and the same Name, one and the same Event, one and the same Salvation" (p. 113). The unity of both OT and NT serves negatively as a line of demarcation over against heathenism (p. 134) but positively for exegesis (p. 145). "Allegorizing is admissible only when the texts themselves contain a reference or a demand in this direction" (p. 143). Christological interpretation, which must not be understood as "pious 'reinterpretation' . . . is simply required of Christian faith" (p. 144). There is no special hermeneutical method reserved for the Bible. The mistake of liberal Biblical criticism lies in "being 'special' in a fatal way; its inhuman refusal to understand

the Biblical writers on the basis of the matter that motivates them..." (p. 146). We must not set up a criterion according to our concept to distinguish between what is vital and what is sterile, which means that Luther's principle "which promotes Christ" ("was Christum treibet") must be rejected, since it subjectifies the OT (p. 158). The OT has over against the NT a "surplus": the multiplicity of subjects which makes a general survey difficult; the multiplicity of forms which tends to make a recognition of its intention difficult; the emphasis on the power of God which overshadows his love. The real surplus lies in the primitive mentality, the proclamation of origin and eternity, heaven and earth, the deeds of Yahweh, an open future, the names of God, the evil powers, the Torah, the ethos, politics, the expectation, prophetism, and the principle of hope, etc.

Part III (pp. 375-460) consists of 14 "Examples of an Application" to indicate in expositions of particular OT passages for the present day that not all is theory. They are not sermons, but rather the background material out of which sermons might grow. The treatment of Jonah (pp. 422-38) must be singled out as a masterpiece of sympathetic and evocative handling of the Biblical text.

On the whole, Miskotte's book is a vast, immensely stimulating defense of the authority and relevancy of the OT for modern man. The style is dense, the imagery kaleidoscopic, the language often prolix, and the breadth of learning almost overwhelming. It is unquestionably one of the very best products of dialectic theology which the serious teacher of religion, minister, and interested layman cannot afford to bypass. The OT specialists will not be able to ignore this as a mere subsequent utilization of their work and therefore of no more interest. Those who will read this volume, which has been called in Germany "the theological book of the decade," will be richly rewarded.

Yet we have to register some strictures. Miskotte in showing the relevancy of the OT for modern man works with the excellent hermeneutical principle of letting the Bible speak for itself in its manifold variety. To this reviewer, however, it appears that he offends his own hermeneutical principle by making the prophetic significance the key means for interpreting the OT. Thus he is at a loss to give a positive evaluation of the non-prophetic experience of God. Therefore the revelatory function of the cult and wisdom is subordinated to the prophetic point of view. To relegate the function of the cult to the hieratic constant which creates a bed for the stream of power that flows from the emergent, contingent act of preaching is to depreciate the role of the cult in a manner opposed to the hermeneutical principle of letting the Bible speak for itself.

It seems that Miskotte's picture of "genuine" nihilism is too neat. The present writer is prepared to maintain with Miskotte that Sartre, Camus, and others direct themselves to a God that is misunderstood. These men could know better. But with their *ratio* they have not reached the goal. Without *metanoia* nobody can reach it! Thus, does not "genuine" nihilism itself bar man from an insight and understand-

ing that leads to God? Is nihilism structurally really more related to genuine faith than to religion, as Miskotte maintains? We should probably not say that this is never so, but to generalize with Miskotte is certainly too dangerous. What "genuine" nihilist has ever realized his supposed potential and turned to faith? Furthermore, Miskotte sees religion from a too one-sided (Barthian) perspective. To identify religion with godlessness as the other side of nihilism (p. 23) is too undifferentiated. It seems that one cannot and should not group together religion as the glorification of culture or even the National Socialism of the Third Reich with the level of the religious experience of the nature and culture of a child. The indiscriminate picturing of religion in utterly negative terms is an inadequate way of speaking of religion. This is not to deny that there is false religion and religiosity in Christianity, but there is also true religion. We must be more articulate in speaking of religion. As a result of these reflections this reviewer is less satisfied than Miskotte with a number of philosophers who seek God in all directions. We would very much like to hear the "I am Yahweh" not only as regards the meaning of its words but also as regards its ontological value where man comes into true being.

This significant book is worth living with for a long time and grows in stature with reading and rereading.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

Orlinsky, Harry M., ed. *Notes on the New Translation of The Torah. A Systematic Account of the Labors and Reasoning of the Committee That Translated The Torah.* Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1969. vi + 288 pp. $ 6.00.

Since 1962 the Jewish Publication Society of America (JPS) has put the scholarly world in its debt for its extraordinary translations of *The Torah: The Five Books of Moses*, according to the traditional Hebrew text, and of *The Five Megilloth and Jonah*. It has done so again by making public in a systematic and thorough way the decisions, philosophies, and principles of translation which guided the committee that translated *The Torah*. Most of the existing notes that governed committees of Bible translators are fragmentary, old, or out-of-print, and those which are accessible in libraries (*e.g.*, Max L. Margolis' anonymous article on the making of the 1917 semi-official translation of The Holy Scriptures by JPS entitled "The New English Translation of the Bible," and found in the *American Jewish Year Book*, XIX [1917/18], 164-193) are certainly not available in sufficient number to satisfy the needs of any but the smallest group of interested scholars. If only for this all-important reason, laymen and students alike will welcome this indispensable companion volume to the study of the New Jewish Version (NJV) Torah edited by Harry M. Orlinsky, Professor of Bible at the Hebrew Union College —Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, and editor-in-chief of *The Torah*.

The history of Jewish translations of the Hebrew Bible into English

is fascinating. Since 1787 when the English scholar David Levi translated the Pentateuch into English, Jews have participated independently and in collaboration with others in producing English versions of part and at times of all the Hebrew Scriptures. None of these versions, which include M. Friedlander's *Kitvei HaḲodesh, The Jewish Family Bible* (1884), and C. G. Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading* (1896-1901), entirely escaped the particular nuances of the Protestant Authorized and Revised Versions which served in the main as English literary types for the Jewish translations. It was with the intent of avoiding the Christian overtones of the AV upon a Jewish reading public that Rabbi Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia undertook to translate anew the Hebrew Bible from the original sources and in full light of Jewish tradition (1853). His translation, though widely circulated in American synagogues and homes for liturgical and educational use, was within 50 years deemed archaic in diction and inadequate in translation. In 1898, the JPS, the first publication house in the United States to publish in popular form books of Hebraica and Judaica, and co-founded by Leeser, commissioned a board of editors headed by M. Jastrow, editor-in-chief, and K. Kohler and F. de Sola Mendes, associate editors, to prepare a completely revised standard Bible for Jews in English-speaking lands. The much-heralded translation appeared in 1917 under the then general editorship of Max L. Margolis, and it continues to enjoy favorable acceptance by a wide audience of English-reading Jews.

However, significant advances in Bible scholarship, including Biblical archaeology before and after World War II, have broadened our knowledge of the ancient Israelite *Weltanschauung* and have rendered inaccurate hundreds of passages in the JPS version of 1917. At the Society's annual meeting in 1953, Professor Orlinsky convincingly advanced the argument for an updated Bible translation in English for the Jewish people, and in 1962 *The Torah* appeared as volume one of the NJV. This has since been revised.

The present publication of *Notes on the New Translation of The Torah* represents an epoch-making and monumental step forward in the history of Bible translations. Such a literary endeavor assumes, correctly as far as this reviewer is concerned, that there exists a large, interested audience that can profit from such comments. Its availability makes the literary quality of the Pentateuch further accessible to the modern reader.

Among the many good features of the volume are a lengthy introduction which summarizes the ages of Bible translation and the philosophy of the old and new JPS versions; a very useful bibliography which includes important Hebrew publications often overlooked by the Biblical scholar; a list of terms and abbreviations employed in the numerous footnotes to *The Torah* and in the text of the *Notes*; a solid English transliteration including stress marks of the Hebrew employed, which aids the uninitiated reader in a proper reading of the Hebrew, and thorough indices of authors, subjects, words, Biblical

passages, and rabbinical references cited. The main body consists of sensible discussions of the many departures employed by the translation committee of the NJV Torah from the traditional renderings used in the JPS version of 1917 and other translations. The translation committee, headed by Orlinsky as editor-in-chief and assisted mainly by H. L. Ginsberg and the late E. A. Speiser, was guided by a number of significant features including the use of intelligible, contemporary diction; the full use of classical Jewish commentaries, unfortunately wanting in many contemporary translations; and a generous appeal to extra-Biblical sources which shed light on the scriptural text. The eye-pleasing format of the book, its comprehensive grasp of basic, relevant Bible problems, and its mastery of the data that have preceded it contribute in making the *Notes* a well-balanced and informative introduction to the text and versions of the Torah which will certainly generate future imitations.

Any student, critic, and lay person who has ever battled with the complexities of the original Hebrew "of the single most significant book in the Jewish tradition" must conclude that scholars who are nursed in the prophetic faith and are at home in *all* phases of the Hebrew language and culture can best interpret the niceties and nuances of Hebrew Scriptures, a national-religious literature, to a sympathetic outside world. Many readers will be delighted to note that the basic position of the translation committee does not lead to heavy theologizing but succumbs to the best traditio-historical-critical methodology which exposes to a greater Bible audience the profound gratitude that modern scholarship must pay to the philological insights of rabbinical exegesis; namely, the Talmudim, the Targumim, Saadia Gaon (d. 942), Rashi (d. 1105), Rashbam (d. about 1174), Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), Radak (d. 1235), Ramban (d. about 1270) Ralbag (d. 1344), Obadia Sforno (d. 1550), Shadal (d. 1865), and Malbim (d. 1879).

Properly speaking, the editors leave to the reader the important task of seeking personal and universal values from the Bible. They avoid dealing with questions raised by contemporary and historical schools of expositors who are guided by doctrinal principles, *e.g.*, does Gen 1-3 contain the doctrines of *Creatio Ex Nihilo*, the Trinity, and Original Sin? The translation committee is highly competent in the morphology and lexicography of the text. The pronouns *thou, thee, ye* in regard to man and Deity and such medieval verbal forms as *wast, art, shalt* are avoided, since no special form of address and variant of "to be" are used in classical Hebrew. The *yam sûf* is literally translated as "Reed Sea." There is an appreciation for the correct usage of the conjunction *waw* and the *waw* consecutive. The Hebrew particles *pen, lāmmāh, hinnēh, laḵēn*; the conjunction *kî*; the preposition *liṗnê*; the adjective *kol*; and the expressions *be-yôm* and *le-ḵol* are explained idiomatically, grammatically, and in full regard to the original passage. Common Biblical words as *nepeš, šalôm, ṣadaq, bayîṯ, ʾereṣ*, etc., are not mechanically translated into English. There

is a conscientious effort to present before the reader the special nuance of the word in its contextual meaning. Thus Biblical *ša'ar* may mean not only "gate," but "court," "settlement," "public square," and, we may add, "place of religious assembly." The wide range of meaning that the Hebrew substantive and verbal forms may express is shown. The *Notes* offer a particular service to lay reader and scholar alike by indicating the presence of merismus and hendiadys in the Biblical text. Improvements over previous translations are advanced by the avoidance of "hebraisms" in the translation; establishing new thought units by the combination of subordinating clauses and the avoidance of conventional chapters and verses, *i.e.*, the system imposed by Stephen Langton (d. 1228), Archbishop of Canterbury, on the Latin Vulgate text for the purpose of missionary work among the Jews; the use of numerals in the reproduction of lists and series of numbers; and the courage to break with the more than two-thousand-year-old Septuagint tradition of word-for-word translation. Finally, the Biblical expressions are noted: poetry, prophecy, torah, wisdom, story, song, riddle, historical narrative, letter, and treaty. This reflects, of course, the pattern of *The Torah*.

Where so much insight to Jewish exegesis has been given it seems ungrateful to ask for more, but it would have greatly aided the general reading public if material explaining in depth the pedagogical principles of the medieval Jewish commentator were provided. The importance of the medieval Jewish exegete for Biblica in general and for Biblical lexicography in particular is remarkably shown in the *Notes*. This underscores once again the necessity for the seminaries to initiate classes for the serious Bible student in the reading and understanding of rabbinic scholarship, in addition, we may add, to classes in modern Hebrew. Some scholars will find fault with *The Torah* and the *Notes* and maintain that archaic English (*e.g.*, "to wife" in Gen 25:30) and misinterpreted Hebrew phrases (*e.g.*, "the hardened heart of Pharaoh") are not infrequently found in the texts. But what of it? The translation committee, aware perhaps of Rabbi Judah's contempt for Bible translations (cf. BT Kiddushin 49a), sought not a literal rendition but a meaningful unit-for-unit translation. Furthermore, is it not axiomatically recorded by Jesus ben-Eliezer ben-Sira that what was originally expressed in Hebrew does not have the same sense when translated into another tongue? There are so many pluses found, as, for example, the wise decision to transliterate morphemes and units of speech of unknown meaning (*e.g.*, *qeśîṭāh* in Gen 33:19; *'abrēḵ* in Gen 41:43; *ʾehyéh-ʾašer-ʾehyēh* in Ex 3:14, etc.) that the volume is of unquestionable value. A well deserved *yēš lāhem kōʾaḥ* to the committee of translators; may they go from strength to strength in their objective to translate and annotate the whole of the Hebrew Bible.

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ZEV GARBER

Pelikan, Jaroslav, ed. *Interpreters of Luther: Essays in Honor of Wilhelm Pauck.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968. viii + 374 pp. $ 8.25.

It is unusual and refreshing to find a *Festschrift* as unified as is this one. Its eleven main studies (Chapters 2 through 12) are devoted to interpretations of Luther from Luther himself to our own day: Karl Holl, "Martin Luther on Luther"; Charles S. Anderson, "Robert Barnes on Luther"; B. A. Gerrish, "John Calvin on Luther"; William A. Clebsch, "The Elizabethans on Luther"; George Huntston Williams, "Joseph Priestley on Luther"; Ernest D. Nielsen, "N. F. S. Grundtvig on Luther"; E. Theodore Bachmann, "Walther, Schaff, and Krauth on Luther"; Ernest B. Koenker, "Søren Kierkegaard on Luther"; Jaroslav Pelikan, "Adolf von Harnack on Luther"; Klaus Penzel, "Ernst Troeltsch on Luther"; and James Luther Adams, "Paul Tillich on Luther." The chapters are quite consistently well written, well documented, and informative. Frequently, new ground has been opened up, even with respect to Reformation-era viewpoints on Luther. Anderson's chapter on Barnes was particularly interesting to this reviewer; and Gerrish's chapter on Calvin surely opens an area which has been inadequately treated by English and American scholarship.

Holl's chapter represents a translation by H. C. Erik Midelfort from the author's "Luthers Urteile über sich selbst," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte,* I, *Luther* (Tübingen, 1921; 7th ed., 1948), pp. 381-419. It is a fitting introduction to "Interpreters of Luther," though one may wonder if it is not slightly overbalanced to the favorable side. In the notes to this chapter, the editor has wisely transposed references to Luther's works and correspondence so that they consistently refer to the Weimar edition. Holl's lengthy quotations have been omitted from the notes, perhaps wisely too, though the reader is left at times with a feeling of inadequate context for evaluation of Luther's remarks quoted in the text of the chapter.

The first chapter of this book provides a fitting tribute to Wilhelm Pauck by the editor; and Chapters 13 and 14 provide a biographical essay on Pauck and a bibliography of his published writings, both by Marion Hausner Pauck. The bibliography contains over 80 titles of books, articles, etc., by Pauck and two titles of works about him; but it is admittedly "selective and therefore incomplete," omitting numerous book reviews and review articles. Nevertheless, it is a valuable tool. The volume concludes with an "Index of Names" (pp. 369-374), erroneously referred to as "Indexes" on p. 367.

This volume is a "must" for all who are interested in Luther's meaning to his own time, to our time, and to the centuries between. It is a well-conceived and well-written tribute to a truly outstanding Reformation scholar of our day, who has himself contributed so much toward making present-day Luther study a fruitful and exciting field.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Rohde, Joachim. *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists*. Trans. by Dorothea M. Barton. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968. x + 278 pp. $ 7.50.

Under review is the English edition of an original German work that appeared in 1966. Even though in one of the title pages the claim is made that it now appears "with revisions and additional material from the author," these changes seem insignificant in comparison with the change in the title itself. The German one aptly describes what the book is concerned with, and applies directly to the first two chapters. The English title is totally misleading. To begin with, "Evangelists" refers to the three that gave us the Synoptics, and the attempts at "Rediscovering" are not those of Rohde but those of modern researchers who have applied Redaction Criticism to the first three gospels.

The four main chapters are built up with summaries of the work of others. Very little evaluation of this work is given and at no time does Rohde engage in the application of the method himself. Some attempt is made, however, to relate the work of researchers into one problem to each other, thus giving the reader of this *Forschungsbericht* the impression that he is following some complicated historical developments. But unfortunately he is left at mid-narrative with no sure sense that he has advanced toward some conclusion.

It is, therefore, quite important to recognize what Rohde's intention is. He wishes to say that Redaction Criticism is a legitimate procedure for carrying out research into the gospels, that it supplements and corrects (in that it checks the "community mentality") Form Criticism, that its roots are to be found in the work of scholars who worked at the turn of the century, and that it cannot be dismissed because it is not concerned to establish what actually happened. Therefore any criticism of the method is to be done "on detail points and for its excessive subtlety" (p. 258). In Rohde Redaction Criticism has found the one who was to write its *apologia pro vita sua*.

Rohde feels most triumphant when he can show that those who have challenged the methodological claim of Redaction Criticism actually engage in its practice. Probably it would have been a more convincing *apologia* if Rohde had pulled together some loose ends and shown what he considered to be some "assured results" achieved by the method. Conceivably the method is still in need of perfecting before it can be judged effectively by its accomplishments. Yet it would seem that Rohde could have found significant advances achieved by the method. To point these out would have made Rohde's case appear that much stronger.

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HEROLD WEISS

Sabourin, Leopold. *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning.* 2 vols. Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 1969. xix + 626 pp. $ 17.50.

In the books here reviewed Leopold Sabourin, S. J., presents before the wider circle of the reading public a critical introduction to the Psalter with special attention paid to the *Sitz im Leben, Gattungen,* and essential spiritual message of each psalm. Schooled in the Biblical norms set down by Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943) and nurtured in the liturgical reforms advocated by Vatican II, the author, who is professor of exegesis and theology at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome and in Jerusalem, has as his aim not an exhaustive commentary but an introduction to the content and intent of the Psalter, which is viewed by him as an inspiring odyssey into Western man's religious heritage. Sabourin seeks to accomplish his aim by classifying the psalms into major categories which include hymns, enthronement psalms, Zion canticles, laments and thanksgiving psalms of the individual and the community, royal psalms, wisdom psalms, prophetic exhortation, historic psalms, and liturgies.

The author, in the preface, implies little originality, and it is true that the volumes, written with enthusiasm about an interesting subject, contain little which will enlighten the scholar who is acquainted with the vast literature that has poured forth in the last 60 years in regard to psalm studies. Essentially, Sabourin's work is based upon the research of a number of European scholars: H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* (1926), and *Einleitung in die Psalmen,* completed by Begrich (1927; 1933[2]); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* I-IV (1921-1924); H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (1966); R. Tournay and R. Schwab, *Les Psaumes* (1955[2]); A. Weiser, *The Psalms* (1962), and M. Dahood, *Psalms I* and *Psalms II* (1966 and 1968). The sensitive scholar will complain that Sabourin borrows and cites lavishly from his sources, but the method is desirable since the work is primarily intended for clergy, theological students, and intelligent laity. The great benefit of these volumes is that they give the English reader the results of some of the best contemporary scholarship on the psalms, and their major defect is a dearth of original statements on some of the basic problems of psalm study.

The author's chapters are not bogged down with limitless discussions of the date and authorship of individual psalms, such as often characterize the *zeitgeschichtliche* approach. The reader will correctly be left with the impression that the crowning achievement of the critical approach to the study of the Psalter is the classification of the psalms in categories of their original function. Each literary category is provided with a general introduction which is perceptively increased, but not at the expense of tedious repetition, when the individual psalm is investigated. Convenient appendices as to psalm category and the page reference to its text and introduction are found at the end of the second volume. The author is careful not to sacrifice the

traditional Christian message of the Psalter on the altar of Higher Criticism, and his observations on the religious experience, teaching, and social background of the psalmists are to be welcomed. He also demonstrates a familiarity with the research done on the psalms in light of Babylonian, Egyptian, and Canaanite-Ugaritic influences. Certainly it is a work that must be accorded worthy recognition in the literature on Psalms. Its mastery of the secondary literature, its ability to move from general introduction to textual minutiae, its cross textual references, and its extensive bibliography contribute to making it an important reserve source for the Bible student.

There are, however, a number of criticisms which must be made. In ch. 2 and following, Sabourin posits the belief in a cultic interpretation for a number of psalms. It is unfortunate that he has presented for the general reader without a meaningful critique the highly speculative theories of Mowinckel and the Myth-and-Ritual School, that there existed in ancient Israel the annual New Year enthronement of Yahweh influenced by the Babylonian *Akitu* festival, and the similar hypothetical views of Weiser who finds a pre-exilic *he-ḥâg* covenant festival as the true setting for many of the psalms. It should be stressed that there is no ostensible evidence for either ceremonial festivity in the Bible. Granted that the Hebrews made profitable use of a common Amorite, Ugaritic, Canaanite, and Mesopotamian vocabulary, this does not establish the fact that Israel shared similar institutional patterns, as was convincingly shown by Y. Kaufman in his classic *Toledoth Ha-Emunah Ha-Yisre'elith* (1947, II, 646-727).

There is a noticeable imbalance both in regard to coverage of certain psalms and in regard to methodology, which at times is a potpourri of literary-analytical, form-critical, and cult-functional approaches. The translation notes often represent a compendium of opinions, and Sabourin is almost exclusively restricted to the apparatus of the Confraternity Version. Furthermore, there is an apparent limit to the author's understanding of Hebrew stylistic rules, which include strophic structure, elements of form, meter, and to a lesser extent, rhythm.

M. Dahood, the author's teacher and colleague at the Pontifical Biblical Institute, has written much in the areas of Biblica and Ugaritica. But his usage of different philological evidence to explain difficult syntactical phrases in the Hebrew Bible and particularly in Psalms has been questioned by M. Pope (*JBL*, LXXXV [1966], 455-466), A. F. Rainy (*Leshonenu*, XXX [1966], 250-272), and recently J. C. Greenfield (*JAOS*, LXXXIX [1969], 174-178), and I object to Sabourin's indiscriminate application of his mentor's material.

Given the fact that he is writing for a Christian publication, the scholars whose works he cites are almost all Christians, so that the general reader might conclude that none but Catholics and Protestants are working in the field. It is intolerable for a work which claims to make available in readable form the best modern material on

Psalms not to include a coverage of the work done by U. Cassuto, Y. Kaufmann, H. L. Ginsburg, S. Gevirtz, M. H. Segal, and A. Hurvitz on Ugaritica, psalmody, and Biblical Hebrew poetry. The author's defense, mentioned in the preface (and quoted sheepishly, I might add, by R. A. F. MacKenzie who wrote the foreword) that he was limited only to works to which "he had direct access," is inexcusable since his periodic presence in Jerusalem would permit him easy access to the books found at the Jewish National Library on the campus of the Hebrew University. It must be assumed that his knowledge of rabbinic tradition and contemporary Judaism is limited, since his usage of the Rabbinic Bible is restricted to a misplaced quotation from Ibn Ezra (not Aben Ezra as found in II, 189 and 313) and erroneous identifications of "verses of praise" in daily Jewish prayer. It may be objected that Sabourin's treatment of the foreign influences on the Psalter is not at all conclusive for the advanced student. The possible connection between Aramaic, Phoenician, and Moabite (*e.g.*, Moabite Stone, line 7, and Ps 59:11 and 118:7) with the psalms goes unnoticed. He fails to discuss the Sumero-Akkadian penitential psalms: *eršemma, eršaḫunga, šu'illa, ki'utukam,* and *dingiršadibba* prayer and their effect on Hebrew laments of the individual and the community. Also, errors were allowed to creep into the text: *e.g.*, incorrect spellings, Latinisms (Malachias, Machabees), and confusion of Hebrew vowel letters (*ṣo'n* and not *ṣ'on* as found in II, 324).

In spite of the criticism expressed by this reviewer it is useful to have a Catholic view of the Psalter which treats quite seriously and sympathetically the findings of modern scholarship.

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Trotter, F. Thomas, ed. *Jesus and the Historian.* Written in Honor of Ernest Cadman Colwell. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968. 176 pp. $5.95.

It is very fitting for his colleagues at Claremont to honor Colwell with a *Festschrift.* Few among those dedicated to theological education in America deserve one as much as he does. It was, therefore, a felicitous idea to undertake the project.

The essays presented to Colwell, like most that find their way into a *Festschrift,* represent the scholarly interests of their authors. This means that the words in the title have to be stretched to their broadest sense in order to be applicable to all that follows. If there is a thread running through and holding the pieces together, it is the attempt to elucidate at some point the current understanding of Jesus in the light of further research or new hermeneutical presuppositions.

Besides words of appreciation addressed to Colwell by the editor, and

a Colwell bibliography compiled by Irving A. Sparks, a doctoral candidate under Colwell's tutelage, the book consists of six essays.

Rolf P. Knierim examines the story of Saul in 1 Sam and finds that the pre-Deuteronomic sources of the book had assigned to Saul a Messianic role. Thus even though 1 Sam 11 represents "the most reliable historical remembrance of Saul," it is dominated by a concentrated prophetic theology of Messianism. The Anointing and the Victory over Israel's enemies are the Messianic signs. The story is, however, a representation of the Messiah in reverse. Here the prophetic tradition has presented the failure of the Messiah, characterized (like the failure of Israel) by disobedience. These observations allow Knierim to suggest that the Synoptic presentation of the Messiah is formally related to the story of Saul, but in a paradoxical manner.

W. H. Brownlee addresses himself again to the question of the relation of the NT to Qumran, and argues that the major contribution of the Scrolls is to be seen in their elucidation of a Palestinian milieu for some NT elements previously assigned an origin outside Palestine, *e. g.*, the birth narratives. In the same Palestinian community are found both ethical teaching in an apocalyptic context (assigned to Jesus in the Synoptics) and mystical teaching in a dualistic context (assigned to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel). Brownlee is careful to deny "a direct Qumran influence upon the New Testament." Yet he still insists that the Baptist movement initiated by John provides the necessary unstructured bridge between the NT and Qumran. "The really serious question posed by the Scrolls is whether the two types of vocabulary belonged authentically to Jesus, with a polarization of the two elements taking place in different Gospel traditions." This is especially so when Qumran demonstrates that the polarization was not necessary even in Palestine itself.

Loren R. Fisher seeks to provide a clue for an understanding of the cures of the demoniacs by Jesus. This he finds in the magical powers some traditions assigned to Solomon. The link is seen in the title "Son of David," which according to some Aramaic incantation formulas is to be understood in a non-Messianic way as applying to David's son Solomon.

Eric L. Titus remains unconvinced by Dodd's *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, and argues that John used the Synoptic tradition, as well as others, in order to give a historical basis to the Logos-Christ. This historical base is provided by "the Jesus of the Jews" who stands in sharp contrast to the Logos-Christ. However, the author of the Gospel is not quite successful in this attempt because of his preoccupation with the question of meaning. Thus it could be said that the Gospel represents "theological meaning identified in and abstracted from history itself."

Hans D. Betz examines the nature of the *theios anēr* Christology and finds in the NT five different versions of this Christology. These represent a reworking of a rather unsatisfactory type of Hellenistic *theios anēr* present in the sources used by the NT authors. Even though

the theological framework that informs these five versions is clearly evident, it can also be said that each of the five may legitimately claim to have a basis in Jesus himself. The reason that there are five versions is that the NT authors see Jesus' activity as Divine Man as representing his mission to be related in varying degrees to his essence as the Christ.

James M. Robinson reviews the history of the exegesis of the parables of the kingdom since Juelicher from a methodological point of view. He shows how the New Hermeneutic approaches the parables allowing the parabolic form to function meaningfully, rather than following the previous exegetical methodologies that considered form as irrelevant to content. A parable is not a coded presentation of an abstract truth, nor an abstract understanding of existence. The New Hermeneutic gives a material role to language since it itself actualizes God's reign. On this basis the parables are conceived as "a language event potentially admitting the hearer of God's grace." The locus of God's reign is the language of Jesus, which presents the possibilities from which reality is actualized. In the parables reality comes into language. In this way form and content are interwoven.

The two essays in this collection which merit special attention are the first and the last, the former for the originality of its conception, and the latter for Robinson at his expository best, even if this reviewer could not decide what it means to say that a parable names its true being.

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Young, Norman J. *History and Existential Theology: The Role of History in the Thought of Rudolf Bultmann.* Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969. 174 pp. $ 5.95.

While admitting that the post-Bultmannian era has already begun, Norman Young, Professor of Systematic Theology, Queens College, University of Melbourne, seeks valiantly through this book to bring Bultmann back into the mainstream of theological thought. Most readers will conclude that his efforts have been in vain, since new issues have arisen and the locus of attention has shifted to focus on man in all his social dimensions. The book is somewhat quixotic and belated in making its appearance. It is about ten years too late. The dates of the material cited in the footnotes attest to this.

Nevertheless, for a student of the new generation who needs to make acquaintance with the history of theology, this book will serve as an excellent introduction to Bultmann's theology. The author writes with clarity and exposes the significant strands of Bultmann's thought. He treats his subject in three parts: I, Bultmann's View of History; II, History and Theological Method; III, History and Doctrine.

Under I, he deals with Bultmann's distinction between nature and history and *historisch* and *geschichtlich*. Then he deals with Bultmann's concept of *Geschichtlichkeit* and eschatological existence. Under II, he discusses Bultmann's method in dealing with hermeneutics and demythologization, relating these to the understanding of history explained in I. In III, he explains Bultmann's concept of revelation, of the eschatological event of Christ, and of man's existence.

Throughout the discussion Young, while critical, seeks to work within Bultmann's system. He seems to think that his work is a a corrective rather than a repudiation of Bultmann. Therefore, he defends Bultmann against what he considers unjust criticism, but, on the other hand, criticizes him for not allowing his method to go far enough. He agrees with Bultmann's hermeneutical method *in principle* but not with what *in fact* occurs in the application of this method. He illustrates this with Bultmann's use of John and Paul as norm and the neglect of other parts of the NT, or with his acceptance of certain ideas of John and Paul to the rejection of other ideas in these same writers. He admits that there is no distorted exegesis but the result is only partial exegesis. He would, therefore, seek a more adequate approach which would encompass the entire NT. He finds this approach basically in Bultmann's principles. "If the most basic of his hermeneutical principles is applied, viz., that the interpreter should bring to the text the question that concerned the author, this would mean admitting that the question of human existence appropriate in most cases is not appropriate in others, and that the history which interests some of the writers is not the historicity of man but, for instance, the history of the nation. It would also open the way to finding another series of questions that would elucidate these passages. Such an approach is not, I think, fundamentally out of harmony with Bultmann's project; it recognizes the diversity of New Testament witness and allows the Word to address man through this diversity" (p. 153).

Young's second major criticism is directed toward Bultmann's view of revelation. While defending Bultmann against Ogden's charge of inconsistency in maintaining the unique act of God in Christ, he is not satisfied with the separation of the Jesus of history from the Christ of faith, the lack of content in the revelation of God, and the tendency to locate God's act in preaching and not to acknowledge that the event began with Jesus himself. Nevertheless, he feels that it is still possible to remain within the Bultmannian system without the weakness cited above. To show that this is possible he refers to the work of the new questers who, with the same view of history as Bultmann, seek to bridge the gap between the Christ of faith and the Jesus of history and in doing this provide some content, however minimal, to the revelation of God. His own "constructive alternative" follows the lead of Gogarten who insists "that the act of God originates not in the kerygma about Jesus, nor in the 'nature' of Jesus as a past-historical personality, but in the proclamation of Jesus himself"

(p. 126). In this way, the historical Jesus becomes of primary significance, for it is in him that God proclaims his word. Thus while "Jesus becomes the eschatological event in the church's proclamation," "this is true only because first he became the eschatological event by his own obedient hearing, proclaiming, and living of the word given to him by God" (p. 126).

These criticisms of Bultmann are not new, but the author's claim of providing these alternatives within Bultmann's system is. It is possible for him to do so with his first alternative of "complete exegesis" only because he resorts to "the most basic of his hermeneutical principles, viz., that the interpreter should bring to the text the question that concerned the author" (p. 153). For Young this would mean that there would be legitimate concerns other than the question of human existence, but for Bultmann, approaching the Bible with Heidegger's analysis of man, other concerns would be irrelevant and peripheral and would distort the Scripture's main concern and thrust. To Young's attempt to work with Bultmann's system, the latter would surely say, "Nein!"

To the second alternative Bultmann would also say, "Nein!" but his voice would be muffled somewhat by the fact that his students have attempted to work in the same direction. There is, therefore, some justification for Young's claim that this alternative is workable within Bultmann's system. However, in this and in the work of the new questers there seems to be an inexplicable reticence to show that Jesus understood himself to be the Messiah, for fear that this would remove the scandal or objectify faith. Even if historical criticism should prove the claim, it hardly seems that this would remove the scandal or objectify faith. Bultmann especially thinks this would be faith with works, a kind of legalism. It has been *proved* by historical criticism that many throughout history have claimed divine status, but this does not in itself compel faith. Whether it can in fact be proved that Jesus understood himself to be the Messiah is for historical criticism to determine, but there should be no reticence in declaring that he understood himself as such for fear that faith would be compelled and objectified. Nevertheless, the question needs to be asked, "Is it possible to follow Young's alternative here, not because Bultmann's method disallows it, but only because Bultmann himself does so? Is the fault with Bultmann's method or with Bultmann?" Young thinks it is the latter.

One question kept arising throughout the reading of the book, "Why does Young feel he needs to wear Bultmann's armor?" To approach his two major positions, he could have started out just as well with another method. It would have been much simpler.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ד	= *d̲*	י	= *y*	ס	= *s*	ר	= *r*
בּ	= *b*	ה	= *h*	כּ	= *k*	ע	= ʿ	שׁ	= *ś*
ב	= *b̲*	ו	= *w*	כ	= *k̲*	פּ	= *p*	שׂ	= *s̲*
ג	= *g*	ז	= *z*	ל	= *l*	פ	= *p̲*	ת	= *t*
גּ	= *g̲*	ח	= *ḥ*	מ	= *m*	צ	= *ṣ*	ת	= *t̲*
ד	= *d*	ט	= *ṭ*	נ	= *n*	ק	= *q*		

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= *a*	ְ, ׀ (vocal shewa)	= *e*	ֹ	= *ō*
ָ	= *ā*	ֱ, ֵ	= *ê*	וֹ	= *o*
ַ	= *a*	ִ	= *i*	ׇ	= *ǒ*
ֶ	= *e*	ִי	= *î*	ֻ	= *u*
ֵ	= *ē*	ֹ	= *o*	וּ	= *û*

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
Int	Interpretation
JACh	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum
JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Arch.
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JThS	Journal of Theol. Studies
KJV	King James Version
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MPG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca
MPL	Migne, Patrologia Latina
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review
NKZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers
NRTh	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTA	New Testament Abstracts
NTS	New Testament Studies
Num	Numen
OCh	Oriens Christianus
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PJB	Palästina-Jahrbuch
PRE	Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche
QDAP	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.
RA	Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.
RAC	Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana
RB	Revue Biblique
RE	Review and Expositor
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
RHPR	Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RL	Religion in Life
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RQ	Revue de Qumrân
RSR	Revue des Sciences Réligieuses
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SJTh	Scottish Journal of Theology
STh	Studia Theologica
ThEH	Theologische Existenz heute
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
ThT	Theology Today
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThR	Theologische Rundschau
Trad	Traditio
ThS	Theological Studies
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VC	Verbum Caro
VD	Verbum Domini
VCh	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WThJ	Westminster Theol. Journal
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAS	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
ZAW	Zeitsch. für die allttes. Wiss.
ZDMG	Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZHTh	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
ZKTh	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
ZNW	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wiss.
ZDTh	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
ZThK	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche

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