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CONTENTS

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ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS

GEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HESHBON AREA

REUBEN G. BULLARD
University of Cincinnati

The application of geological research to an archaeological site is a vitally important facet of the recovery of the history of an area. Optimally, observations are made as the excavation is taking place, thereby affording analysis of the occupational sediments as they are first probed and uncovered. Unfortunately, I could not be at the site of Heshbon at the time of excavation in July and August, 1971, but did have the opportunity for field observation and study of the area in June before the excavations began. Limited investigations of the geomorphology or topographic setting, local bedrock, stratigraphy, and structure, and soils and clays of the Heshbon environment were carried out.[1]

The site of ancient Heshbon lies on the border where the highlands of the Transjordanian plateau begin to break down in the dramatic topographical descent to the low levels of the Jordan River-Dead Sea depression. This is a marked transition and may in part have been a critical factor in the historical occasion of this site as an area of occupation by man.[2]

[1] Siegfried H. Horn, director of the Heshbon expedition, graciously invited me to implement geological research of the site immediately prior to and during the early stages of the aborted 1970 expedition. That invitation was renewed for the 1971 campaign, but other commitments kept me from being present as the 1971 excavations were carried on. I wish to acknowledge the fine cooperation and assistance offered to me by Horn in providing transportation for the research and for the shipment of samples to the Cincinnati geological laboratory.

The Antiquities Department of the government of Jordan kindly provided the release of Mohammad Murshed Khadija whom the Heshbon expedition retained for my assistance and who acted as field guide. I am most grateful for this arrangement, without which only about half the actual work would have been accomplished.

[2] Friedrich Bender's (*Geologie von Jordanien* [Berlin, 1968]) *nordjordanisches Hochland ostwärts des Jordangrabens* and his *ostjordanisches*

That area of the plateau in the region of Jordan between Amman and Madeba is underlain by a series of nearly flat-lying, locally gently folded and faulted, Upper Cretaceous sediments. These deposits, ranging from the Cenomanian to the Maastrichtian in age, are composed of more resistant limestones and cherts interbedded with softer chalky limestones and marls. The resistant rock strata mark out the highest remnants of the plateau along its western margins and have not yielded to rapid weathering breakdown and erosional removal. Where the more resistant rock layers are absent and where the lithic material is dominantly marl, clay, or poorly cemented sands, topographic highs readily break down to low-lying, undulating surfaces in response to the accelerated stream erosion of the less resistant materials. The striking geomorphic differences between the plateau and the Jordan Valley slopes are immediately perceptible to anyone who has the opportunity to observe that grand vista from Mt. Nebo. The plateau highlands stand out in strong contrast to the soft, downward undulating topography of the lower valley margins.

The Transjordanian plateau is incised on the west by streams controlled in their erosional activity by the Dead Sea depression. This "geosuture" has acted as a base level (almost 1300 ft. below sea level) for the Jordan River, its tributaries, and other streams which flow into the Dead Sea or into the Arabah to the south. The deep valley extending from the Lebanon-Anti-Lebanon Mountain separation on the north through the Gulf of Aqabah to the Red Sea on the south is known as a graben or down-dropped block of the earth's crust. That the graben has had activity into relatively recent times in the crustal history of Jordan is shown by the steep gradients which the streams have, flowing like rushing torrents in the rainy season to their entrance to the Jordan plain or to the Dead Sea, where they immediately dump their sediment loads, forming alluvial fans and deltas.

Kalkplateau are, for the purpose of this discussion, considered stratigraphical and morphological continua.

Tell Ḥesbân is located on the eastern margin of the eroded area. It occupies a higher hill which is made especially prominent by a tributary of the *Wadi Ḥesbân* (see Plate XII:B) which empties into the floodplain of the Jordan River about 4 km. north of the Dead Sea. This stream has cut down from the 800 to the 500 m. level northeast of the *tell*, totally unlike the activity of any of the streams to the east or to the south in the area. The energy and erosive power of this tributary was observed in a 3-km. traverse down its valley in which tumble-polished boulders over a meter in maximum diameter occur as part of the sediment load, along with areas where the bedrock stream floor had been scoured clean. Hydrologic conditions producing these effects give rise to intensive incision and sculpturing of bordering highland areas.

The topographic setting of the site is also a response of the more resistant bedrock to the processes of weathering and erosion. The hill of ancient Heshbon stands higher than the surrounding plains on the south and on the east because of the resistance of the local limestones, some of which are quite massive (Plate XII:B). The more resistant local carbonate rocks are composed of non-porous, crystalline limestones in which much of the fossil content has been replaced by re-crystallized calcite or by silica. Such durable sediments may remain as the capping rock of a plateau remnant (Plate XIII:A, arrow Z) or as a topographic shoulder on a hill above which lie rocks less resistant to erosion (Plate XII:B, arrow).

The rolling plains to the south toward Madeba and to the southeast are surfaced with virgin and transported soils partly formed in place on the less resistant strata underlying the plains and partly flushed from soils formed on the more resistant topographic highs about the area, such as the hill on which Heshbon was built.

The interaction of the atmosphere with the bedrock surface of the crust of the earth, in effect, is called weathering. This

physical, chemical, and biochemical alteration of the bedrock produces soil and forms a blanket over the rock which is known as regolith. Weathering processes give rise to clays which are principal constituents of the regolith. These clays in combination with other minerals and insoluble residues from the bedrock constitute soils, the fertility and productivity of which were critical to the livelihood of man in his occupational history of the site. Thus, where down-slope erosion processes have not removed the virgin soil formed on bedrock, Arab farmers still plant grain. In much of the area to the north and west of *Ḥesbân*, surface sediment transport by mass wasting, running water, and wind has removed the soils leaving the underlying partially weathered bedrock exposed on the surface. While most of these transported soils have been lost to deposits in, and marginal to, the Jordan Valley or the Dead Sea, some remain as terraces along the sides of the *wadis* and are farmed by the present population in the area.

Historically, these weathered bedrock materials (the clays and insoluble mineral residues from the parent rock) have given rise to products considered very important to man: pottery, bricks, terra cotta articles, loom weights, blowers, ossuaries, and even small altars.

Although the study of the clays in soils of the Heshbon area is in its initial stage, X-ray diffraction analyses run on five samples from the area afford consistent evidence that the clays, in both the virgin and transported soil concentrations, are all dominantly kaolinite with a minor component of illite. These minerals together with the other insoluble residues of the transported deposits found in the terraces of the tributary system of the *Wadi Ḥesbân* provide excellent potential ceramic clay sources which may have been exploited historically by the inhabitants of Heshbon. Even without levigation, these materials would be readily usable for terra cottas. With settling of the coarse fraction, these clay sources would yield ceramic materials with excellent shrinkage and firing properties, a ceramic paste finer in its properties and surface

characteristics than the palygorskite-rich clays which form in soils produced by the weathering of chalks and marls in other locations.[3]

Studies along the *wadi* system to the west of the site of Heshbon were conducted as part of a search for ceramic clay sources. Much of the terrace deposits observed contains a coarse sand-size to a fine pebble-size aggregate suspended within the clay materials. This combination of clays and coarser sediment is readily usable in the manufacture of mudbricks and may be processed with only the addition of straw and water. The study of mudbricks from west-bank sites has shown this to be a frequent mode of preparation.[4]

Interbedded with the more durable limestones described above are chalky limestones, marls (calcareous clays), cherts ("flintstones"), coquina (almost entirely composed of fossils), silicified limestones, and phosphate-rich layers. The semi-arid climate of the *Ḥesbân* area has produced an important effect in the more porous limestones and carbonate rocks which occur interbedded in this local rock sequence. Most of our experience in the United States gives us little with which to compare the solution-concentration of the relatively insoluble components of the softer parent rock material. In Jordan this calcium carbonate concentration, in part locally silicious, blankets much of the more soft and porous carbonate deposits and penetrates these bedrock units to a depth of up to three m. locally. The concentration constitutes a brittle, sometimes friable but easily workable rock mass which has lost the fabric and texture of the original rock parent. In many ways it is

[3] Clay mineral species are readily determined by a process of X-ray diffraction in which the crystal lattice dimensions of the minute clay particles are measured in Angstrom units as a function of the angle at which the X-ray beam is defracted by the atomic layers in the crystalline material. Determinations at the Cincinnati geological laboratory were made on a G.E. XRD-5 X-ray Defractometer using copper radiation.

[4] See sediment size chart in Bullard, "Geological Studies in Field Archaeology," *BA*, XXXIII (1970), 130.

analogous to the "caliche" of the semi-arid areas of the western United States. This partially weathered bedrock material, called "*nari*," as observed in the field at Heshbon, frequently takes on the appearance of a highly disturbed brecciated lithic material. As examined in the local tombs cut into it, the formation of a high concentration of insoluble components can be observed to grade downward imperceptibly into the unaltered limestone levels below.

These relatively coarse, weathered *nari* zones, and not the hard, resistant, crystalline limestone strata, are the particular rock horizons which have been exploited by the inhabitants of ancient Heshbon in the necropolis areas observed on the southwestern flanks of the hill below the modern village of *Ḥesbân*. Similar usage of this particular kind of bedrock expression was also observed in a great number of tombs cut into the rock immediately northwest of the site of Heshbon (Plate XIII: A, arrow X). In this latter instance, tombs were cut through a more resistant carbonate layer above into the highly weathered *nari* compositions below where enlargement of chambers occurred laterally, accompanied by the drilling of burial loculi into the adjacent bedrock. In a Byzantine tomb in a topographic rise east of the *tell*, newly excavated by the Antiquities Department of Jordan, fine plaster surfacing covered the porous *nari* walls of the chambers in which sarcophagi were found.

The geological survey of the sedimentary strata of the immediate neighborhood of the Heshbon area revealed the presence of certain lithic varieties in the fields, along the gentle hillslopes, and in the canyon walls of the tributaries of the *Wadi Ḥesbân*. These local rock occurrences provided the working raw materials for the inhabitants of Heshbon for the manufacture of the buildings in which they lived, the walls of fortification of the city, many of the utensils and tools essential to their way of life, and the paving materials of streets and roads in instances where they were in fact surfaced. In a very special sense these lithic materials constituted an

essential component in the ecology of the inhabitants of Heshbon.

A limited but intensive survey was made of all the rock materials occurring as surface float on the slopes of *Tell Ḥesbân*, as piles of constructional materials removed from the 1968 excavations, as structures, and as the balk surfaces of the Squares exposed by excavation during that campaign. Samples of these materials were collected and, based upon a cursory field examination, a catalog of the rock species was tentatively made. These observations served as a basis for differentiating local from the exotic materials (non-local lithic objects carried to the city of Heshbon from other places). While certain definite limitations exist in the rapid field determinations made during the short visit to Jordan, many of these will be eliminated in intensive laboratory study and analysis of those materials now available for research at Cincinnati. At this present state of the investigation, certain meaningful observations can be made.

The rock material available for constructional purposes in the structures undergoing excavation at *Tell Ḥesbân* consists of two dominant lithic entities which appear most frequently in construction phases and in the surface float. *Nari* occurs as the stone used as facing and as backing in walls and structures still intact; more than half the surface float consisted of this material as well. Quarrying sites abound for this material principally on the shoulders of the hills of the neighborhood.

Typical methods of quarrying were observed on the hill to the northwest of *Tell Ḥesbân* in an area where several tons of the material had been removed. Quarrying efforts were observed in numerous places typical of that shown in Plate XIII:B. Here the attempt to remove the block was not complete, although the channeling about it is evident on the right side where a remnant was left after the rest of the stone was lifted away. The effects of weathering have softened considerably the chisel marks along the sides, but the high incidence of the sunlight heightens the remnant cuttings.

Many instances of channel quarrying techniques were recorded. Remnants of channel cutting and step-wise excavation and removal were seen in the area along the horizon in the view of Plate XIII:A. It was interesting to observe that the houses of the modern village of *Ḥesbân* also contain *nari* as the principal building material in their structures. Other building material of considerable importance consists of the hard, resistant, crystalline, fossiliferous limestone which crops out in certain strata along the slopes of the area.

By far the most "noble" building stone in the locality of ancient Heshbon is the material observed in the church building exposed in Area A on the *tell*. The exquisiteness of this lithic material is immediately evident even to the casual observer, but the petrologic reason for this clearly illustrates the basis for the merits of this material as attractive masonry. This particular limestone was recorded in its closest proximity to the site on the northwestern slopes of the hill immediately below. The arrow in Plate XII:B shows the most striking outcrop exposure of this particular rock material. Everywhere along the face to the right (southwest) of the point of the arrow in the illustration, massive quarry markings were in evidence. This undoubtedly is one of the principal sites, if not the principal quarrying site, for the lithic material of the church structure. Initial petrographic study indicates that the material sampled at the building site and at the quarry site—both were sampled *in situ*—reveals very closely matching petrographic affinities.

An example of this material is shown in Plate XIV:B. The fossil content of the material is evident, suspended in a fine carbonate mud matrix. This lithic material is properly known as a pelecypodal biomicrite, the microscopic characteristics of which may be observed in Plate XIV:C. The fossil materials are manifestly Upper Cretaceous in geologic affinity and characterize the fauna of the local geologic strata exposed in the upper parts of the canyon walls of the tributary system of the *Wadi Ḥesbân*. The microphotograph (Plate XIV:C) shows

two characteristic fossil constituents which dominate the fabric of this rock material: mostly pelecypods (various varieties of clams)—both free-moving and sessile forms (such as the rudistid fragment observable in the upper left of Plate XIV:C), and gastropod shells (such as the nearly circular form in Plate XIV:C, lower right). All these forms are evident in the polished section of Plate XIV:B. This section undoubtedly represents the "marble-like" appearance of the surface of the church building, even in its newly excavated state.

This elegant building material was also used in the columns and column bases of the church building. Whether or not that column remnant observed in the field about .5 km. southwest of the Heshbon site on the northwestern flanks of the hill (Plate XIV:A) was intended for the church building or not, one cannot say. The rock material which is exposed in this area is of identical composition. This material, although some distance away from the outcrop shown in Plate XII:B, is in stratigraphic continuum with that carbonate deposit. All along the strike of this outcrop, similar quarrying activity was observed with numerous cuttings, excavations, and channelings which marked a vigorous activity on the part of quarrymen and masons in securing the lithic materials for construction purposes. It was interesting to note at least two futile attempts to cut tombs into this material where typical Roman facades were chiseled in the rock together with the initial cutting of entrances, both of which were aborted. One could speculate that the tomb-cutters may have found this rock material far more resistant to this kind of exploitation than the *nari* in which most of the tomb chambers occur.

Additional confirmation of the hypothesis of the local quarrying sites is seen in the abrupt step-like outcrop characteristic of the resistant limestone shown in Plate XII:B, arrow. Such abrupt steps on the hillslopes are produced by natural processes only in cases where the bedrock is faulted or joints in directions parallel to the strike (compass-bearing of the surface outcrop direction) of the rock bedding. No such

joints or faulting were anywhere apparent along the exposures studied. This, along with the quarry marks, is considered strong evidence for the contention that this constitutes the source of the building material. One may compare and contrast the appearance of surface outcrops in the illustrations shown in Plates XII:B and XIII:A, where the principal difference in abrupt change of slope gradient in Plate XII:B has been caused by the activities of man in his quarrying operations.

Other examples of the use of this "noble" stone were noted on the northwest slopes of the acropolis area of the *tell*. In addition to numerous instances of surface float of this composition, there was one row of large boulder-size blocks exposed through the debris which were "in place." The historical context was not explored in the excavations up to this time, but this serves as evidence of other use (or perhaps reuse) of this lithic material. The Wall 17 in Area B:1 on the *tell* was constructed mostly of weathered field stones, only partly trimmed, of the same resistant carbonate rock.

While the previous discussion has related directly to structures *in situ* in the archaeological site itself, the following discussion is designed to afford an introductory consideration of the potential contribution of geologic study of the lithic tools, utensils, and weapons characteristic of the historical periods under archaeological excavation. Five very hard millstone materials were observed in the surface float of the *tell* and a sixth was observed on top of the bedrock strata in an area where there had been intensive quarrying and possible construction at an earlier time on top of the hill to the northwest of the site (the crest of the hill shown in Plate XIII:A). One of the hardest substances used and different from the other five observed was composed of a highly silicious, phosphatic, lithic material from the north slope of the *tell*. This material, having the hardness of chert but not possessing its typical brittle quality, is shown in Plate XV:A. Originally a marine sediment composed of phosphatic fish bone and teeth detritis in a carbonate matrix, the calcite material has

undergone complete replacement by silica in the form of chert. Silica-replaced lithic material with fish remains were not observed in any of the outcrops in the *Ḥesbân* area. The implication is that this choice millstone material is probably exotic to the locality.

Another lithic material found to abound on the *tell* was basalt. Basaltic fragments of millstones, bowls, and possibly loom weights were observed in the surface float on all sides of the *tell*. A number of the basaltic materials were sampled and a representative portion sent to Cincinnati for additional analysis. Thin-sections of two different basalts are shown in Plates XV:B and XVI:A. Basaltic materials were observed in the field to the northwest at the site of *Umm el-Jamal* near the Syrian border where an entire ancient town built of basalt stones remains in a considerable state of preservation. This "ghost town" from the late Roman and early Byzantine period is built of raw material immediately available to the inhabitants of that community. An example of building material from that city is shown in Plate XV:B. The large crystals of olivine and plagioclase are clearly evident in the microphotograph.

Basalt artifacts from the Heshbon site were observed to have mineral content similar to that of the *Umm el-Jamal* area, but they exhibited a crystalline fabric that gave evidence of a lava with much more rapid cooling rate. The fine crystals of the basalt bowl fragment are typical of this difference. A much higher calcite content was observed in nearly all of the basalt collected at Heshbon. It is a reasonable assumption that this material used by the inhabitants of the ancient city came from outcrops far closer than the remote Syrian border.

The geologic map of the area of Heshbon (Plate XII:A) shows two surface expressions of basalt and basaltic materials. They form deposits on the eastern slopes of the valley immediately above the Dead Sea. The southernmost of these basaltic occurrences is a lava flow from a cinder cone which arises just below the 700 m. contour west-southwest of

Madeba. Another occurrence exists about 5 km. to the north of the former, mostly on the sloping surface below mean sea level, but above the level of the Dead Sea. Inasmuch as both of these outcrops were in areas absolutely restricted by the military, I could make no observations nor obtain samples for comparative study from these potential sources. It is, nevertheless, important to try to differentiate on the basis of subtle mineral or trace element differences or on the basis of obvious petrologic affinity the main basaltic raw material sources in this area of Jordan. These examples are noted here to illustrate the direction that such a study should take. Other accessible occurrences of basalt were observed and sampled in the south along the *Wadi Mujib* and along a Roman road about ten miles north of *Shaubak* along the King's Highway route to Petra. These and other igneous basaltic materials are under study.

Another example of the interesting lithic suite from Heshbon is the ichthial biosparite illustrated in Plate XVI:B. This fossiliferous limestone has abundant fish part remains and is somewhat carbonaceous. The example shown in the microphotograph is a cross-section of a fish vertebra in a matrix of sparry (crystalline) calcite, fish bone, and crab carapace remains. This is a rather distinctive lithic material and was observed as having been used as the raw material for some of the sculptured images (idols) in the Archaeological Museum in Amman. The locality of the surface outcrop of this material was not discovered in the field studies but it is a sufficiently unique material that one may hypothesize that it is confined to one or two strata within a limited vertical distribution and along the aerial outcrop pattern of the formation(s) involved.

The initial work of G. S. Blake, *The Stratigraphy of Palestine and its Building Stones* (Jerusalem, 1936), was a start in the study of the natural resources which have played so prominent a role in the history of the Near East. While Blake's study largely constitutes a commentary on materials which were in use in structures before and up to 1935, it is the kind of

research which should continue in the study of archaeological remains. This is important for reconstruction of the vital activities of the people who historically made an archaeological site significant. Such studies, however, should not be limited merely to the lithic materials which constitute the domestic and industrial makeup of an historic site, but should also include the ceramic, gemstone, metal, and mineral resource wealth of an occupational area.

Additionally, aside from merely perfunctory analytical chores of a petrographic nature, I see a special role for the geologist in archaeological studies contributing to the historical elucidation of the archaeological record. Even as he pursues the genetic significance of sedimentary rock bodies in their natural context in his traditional vocation, the geologist may also find application for insights in the genesis of the sediment of a *tell*. Certain sedimentary environments of *Tell Ḥesbân* lend themselves well to that sort of analysis which has yielded fruitful results in earth science. The sedimentological study of the stratigraphic phases of occupational accretion has much to contribute to the historical understanding of the successive deposits which exist on the site.

The distinct dependence of man on his local environment is evident from the economic exploitation of the local geology. His needs were met from materials quarried within the hill upon which Heshbon was built and rebuilt, from the soils, clays, and sediments of the fields and the *wadis* nearby, and from the rocks of volcanic origin of the region. The structures he erected, the artifacts he designed, and the commodities he consumed were nearly all critically determined by the geological context of his way of life. The cities of *Tell Ḥesbân* flourished and left sedimentary records of their prosperity, their worship, their defensive measures, and their tragic destruction: a story written boldly in the stratigraphic account.

PALESTINIAN SCARABS AT ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

SIEGFRIED H. HORN
Andrews University

I bought three of the eight scarabs published in this article in Jerusalem in the summer of 1962 (Nos. 1, 6, 7), but could not find out where they had been discovered. Two years later a hoard of scarabs was found, allegedly in the Samaria area if the Jerusalem dealers' information could be trusted. How many were found I do not know; but arriving in Jerusalem in June 1964, I was told that quite a few had already found their way into private hands while others were purchased by a foreign dealer in antiquities. I was able to obtain five of the scarabs (Nos. 2-5, 8) said to have come from that hoard (Pl. XVII).

1. (Andrews University Archaeological Museum [= AUAM] No. 62.003) A fragmentary scarab of dark gray steatite, *ca.* 25 × 16.7 mm. in size and 11.4 mm. thick. Its back and sides are elaborately carved. The base, of which the lower part is damaged, contains a hieroglyphic inscription in the center flanked on both sides by scroll designs. This combination of a hieroglyphic text with scrolls either surrounding it or flanking it is found frequently on scarabs of the 12th and 13th dynasties and of the early Hyksos period.[1] The text reads either *sš nṯry Ḥnḥ⌜yꜣ⌝*, "the divine scribe Ḥeneḥya," or *sš nṯrty Ḥnḥ⌜yꜣ⌝*, "the scribe of the two goddesses (*i.e.*, the two uraeuses) Ḥeneḥya." The name is quite uncertain because the hieroglyph here transliterated as *ḥ* has only two instead of the usual three loops. It may actually stand for the *wꜣḥ*-sign, which on scarabs is frequently defectively written.[2] Furthermore,

[1] See, for example, Alan Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum* (Cairo, 1936), Nos. 15-18, 33, 51-53, 60-62.

[2] Notice Rowe's remarks in *ibid.*, p. 90, No. 356, and the references given there.

the *nḥ*-bird (Gardiner's Sign List, G21) could possibly be the *ḥ3*-bird (*ibid.*, G29), so that the name could be *ḥḥ3y3*, for which parallels in Old Kingdom names exist in *ḥḥ3* and *ḥḥ3y*.[3] Equally questionable is the last character, of which only a fragment is preserved. It looks like the head of the *3*-bird (*ibid.*, G1), but could easily be something else. Hence, the reading of the hieroglyphic text must be considered questionable. However, our scarab is certainly to be dated either in the early phase of the Second Intermediate Period, or in the early Hyksos time.

2. (AUAM No. 64.022) A scarab of white steatite, 15.1 × 10.8 mm. in size with a thickness of 7.1 mm. The back is rather plain with neither the wings of the elytra nor the prothorax marked, while the head is merely indicated by a few incisions. The base contains a shallowly incised design of a pattern of spirals in a somewhat irregular fashion. The parallels to the pattern of spirals in our scarab show that it is a product of the Hyksos period.[4]

3. (AUAM No. 64.025) A scarab of brownish-gray steatite with green stains coming either from some green paint or from oxidized copper to which the scarab may have been exposed. Its size is 17.2 × 12.9 mm., and its thickness 7.5 mm. The various features of back and sides are well-carved. The base contains a design consisting of four crowns of Lower Egypt forming a frame [5] for the name *ḥ'y-nfrwy-R'*, "Appearing are the two beauties of Re'." The name can be compared with *R'-nfrwy*, "Rē' is beautiful," [6] and *ḥ'y-nfrw*, "Beauty is appearing." [7] The existing datable parallels to our scarab mark it as a Hyksos product.

[3] Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935), p. 236, Nos. 18, 19.

[4] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs* (London, 1925), Pl. VIII:246, 248, 261-265, 276, 277; Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 369, 370, 372, 373.

[5] For parallels of the crown of Lower Egypt serving to frame hieroglyphic texts on scarabs, see Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 112, 114, 147, 224, 418.

[6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 95-98.

[7] Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 264, No. 13.

4. (AUAM No. 64.024) A scarab of gray steatite somewhat damaged at the sides. Its preserved size is 16.8 × 13.0 mm. with a thickness of 6.6 mm. Its back is either worn down so much by long usage that most of its design has been obliterated, or it never had much of a design. At the present time only a faint indication of the head is visible and part of a line where the folded-up wings are supposed to meet. The base contains a cartouche with five hieroglyphs that may perhaps be read *R'-'(3)-R'-r-k3*. The reading of the four first characters is questionable, although parallels for every sign can be found in other scarabs. The first character could be not only a *R'* but also an *ḥtp*;[8] the second seems to be an *'* which in scarabs is sometimes used instead of the *'*-sign; [9] the third character could be a *R'* again,[10] although it looks more like the *'d*-sign (Gardiner's Sign List, V26); the fourth gives the appearance of being the *r* but could be a badly made *ḫ'*-sign.[11] Because of this multiplicity of uncertainties no attempt is made to read the name which was evidently intended to represent a royal name of the Second Intermediate Period. On both sides of the cartouche are identical hieroglyphs which read from top to bottom, *nfr-ḥtp-'nḫ-ḥtp-nṯr*, "beauty-satisfaction-life-satisfaction-god." Below the cartouche are three *'nḫ*-signs. The scarab in design and appearance clearly marks it as coming from the Hyksos period.

5. (AUAM No. 64.026) A scarab of white steatite, 13.7 × 9.4 mm. in size with a thickness of 5.7 mm. Its hole is filled with a bronze rod, probably the remnant of a ring or mounting to which it had been originally attached. The back and sides

[8] See the *ḥtp*-sign in Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 166.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 19, No. 64.

[10] See H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum* (London, 1913), p. 152, No. 1553; Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 30, 32, 100, 227, 231, 232.

[11] In that case the name could perhaps be read *R'-'3 R'-ḫ'-k3*, "Great is Rē', arising is the Ka of Rē'." The name *ḫ'-k3-R'*, "arising is the Ka of Rē'," occurs on a royal scarab of the 13th dynasty, Percy E. Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals* ("Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire" (Cairo, 1907), Pl. I:36025.

are nicely carved. The base is inscribed with four hieroglyphs in three lines: at the top is a *ḫ*ʿ-sign, separated from the hieroglyphs underneath by two parallel lines. The second line consists of the red crown of Lower Egypt (*i.e.*, *dšrt*) and the *ḏd*-hieroglyph. At the bottom is a *nb*-sign. Since the third line is not separated from the middle one it is possible that the *dšrt*-crown must be considered sitting on the *nb*, giving to this combination the meaning *nt* (Gardiner's Sign List, S4). The inscription can therefore be read either *ḫ*ʿ *dšrt ḏd nb*, "Appearing is the Red Crown (in) all durability," or as *ḫ*ʿ *nt ḏd*, "Appearing is the Red Crown (in) durability." Similar Hyksos scarabs have been found in Jericho, Lachish, and Gezer.[12]

6. (AUAM No. 62.002) A flat, rectangular seal of gray steatite, 21.8 × 15.2 mm. in size and 7.0 mm. thick. The seal is damaged on all sides, especially on the reverse where the design is barely visible. The obverse contains the hieroglyphs *mn-ḫpr-R*ʿ, the prenomen of Thutmose III, of whom either scarabs or seals have been found at many Palestinian sites.[13] The prenomen of Thutmose III seems to have been extremely popular among seal cutters [14] and there is evidence that many of the scarabs and seals carrying this name were produced long after the king's death and were in use for centuries.[15] The reverse side shows a sitting lion facing the right, with the *R*ʿ-sign over his back.

7. (AUAM No. 62.004) A flat, oval seal of limestone, 18.2 × 13.3 mm. in size with a thickness of 5.0 mm. The reverse contains a cartouche with Thutmose III's prenomen *mn-ḫpr-*

[12] Rowe, *op. cit.*, Nos. 251, 252, 343-346.

[13] *Ibid.*, Nos. 473-523.

[14] Hall, *op. cit.*, presenting the scarabs and seals in the British Museum in 1913, lists a total of 2891 inscribed scarabs of which 1050 carry Thutmose III's name. This means that more than one out of three scarabs in the British Museum were inscribed with Thutmose III's prenomen.

[15] For an extreme case of finding Thutmose III scarabs in a context of the second century A.D., see Horn, *JNES*, XXI (1962), 13, n. 86.

*R*ʿ, and outside of the cartouche the title *Ḥr-nbw-ḏt*, "Horus of gold, forever." The reverse contains the inscription *ʾIm-R*ʿ, "Amon-Rēʿ," framed on three sides by a representation of a necklace that seems to have hawk-headed clasps at the end, just as a scarab of Thutmose III in the British Museum.[16]

8. (AUAM No. 64.023) A scarab of gray steatite, 16.2 × 12.3 mm. in size and 7.6 mm. thick. A bronze rod, probably the remnant of the original ring to which it was attached, fills the hole of the scarab. The back and sides are exquisitely carved. The base shows a king wearing the blue crown and a uraeus on the forehead standing on a chariot drawn by a horse. In front of the king are the hieroglyphs *wśr-ḫpr*, probably an abbreviated form of *wśr-ḫprw-R*ʿ, the prenomen of Seti II, one of the last kings of the 19th dynasty. This date agrees with practically all other known scarabs showing a king on a chariot which originate in the 19th dynasty, many of them carrying Ramses II's name.[17]

[16] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 85, No. 861.

[17] Newberry, *op. cit.*, Pls. V:36261; XIV:36329, 36351, 36352; Rowe, *op. cit.*, No. 812; Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917), Pl. XL:26.

AN UNRECOGNIZED VASSAL KING OF BABYLON IN THE EARLY ACHAEMENID PERIOD

IV*

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, West Indies

V. *Evidence for Ugbaru's Kingship of Babylon in 538 B.C.*

The Use of Personal Names in the Babylonian Chronicles. The personal name of Ugbaru appears in Column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle at least twice and possibly a third time. While these references are of interest to note, their fuller significance is not apparent until they have been compared with the use of personal names in the other chronicles. This comparison is presented in Table IX.

Table IX

SURVEY OF PERSONAL NAMES IN BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES FROM THE 8TH—6TH CENTURIES

Chronicle Number	*Assyria*	*Babylon*	*Media, Persia, and Elam*	*Other Kings*	*Rulers of the Sealand*	*Names of Commoners*
I	6* (26)**	11 (50)	8 (27)	—	1 (1)	4 (4) overlapping
II	3 (5)	1 (2)	2 (3)	2 (2)	—	4 (4) total, 5 (5)
III	—	4 (5)	—	—	1 (1)	—
IV	2 (2)	3 (4)	—	—	—	—
V	1 (1)	1 (10)	—	—	—	—
VI	2 (5)	1 (2)	1 (4)	—	—	—
VII	—	2 (4)	—	—	—	—
VIII	—	2 (5)	—	—	—	1 (1)
IX	—	1 (2)	—	1 (4)	—	—
X	—	1 (4)	3 (10)	—	—	1 (1)
Totals:	14 (39)	27 (88)	14 (44)	3 (6)	2 (2)	7 (7)

* Numerals not in parentheses indicate the number of kings named.
** Numerals in parentheses indicate the number of times the kings are named.

* The first three parts of this article were published in *AUSS*, IX (1971), 51-67, 99-128; X (1972), 88-117.

A Statistical Summary to the Data Presented in Table IX

1. The number of kings who are named in these Chronicles . . .	58
2. The number of times the names of these kings are used . . .	177
3. The number of persons named who were not kings	7
4. The number of times the names of these persons are used . .	7

Two omissions from Table IX should be noted before the materials compiled there are discussed. The references to Ugbaru in the Nabonidus Chronicle have not been included in the table because they are the object of the comparison. "Nabu-kaṣir, descendant of Ea-iluta-ibni," the scribe who wrote our copy of the new Extract Chronicle,[110] has also been omitted from the list since he was not a participant in the events he recorded. The two individuals from the Sealand who are mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle and the new

The following abbreviations are used in addition to those listed on the back cover and those listed in the initial note of the first installment of this article (*AUSS*, IX [1971], 51): *BHT* = Smith, S., *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (1924); *BIN* = Nies, J. B. and C. E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts* (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies) (1920); BLC = Bodleian Library Collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University; *Cambyses* = Strassmaier, J. N., *Inschriften von Cambyses* (1890); *CUL* = Mendelsohn, I., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the Libraries of Columbia University* (1943); *Cyrus* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus* (1890); *Darius* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius* (1893-1897); *GCCI* I and II = Dougherty, R. P., *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1923, 1933); *LBL* = Thompson, R. C., *Late Babylonian Letters* (1906); *LCE* = Keiser, C. E., *Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (1918); MLC = Morgan Library Collection (at Yale); *Nabonidus* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus* (1889); *Nabuchodonosor* = Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor* (1889); *NBBAD* = Moore, E. W., *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents* (1935); NBC = Nies Babylonian Collection (at Yale); *NBD* = Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection* (1939); *NBRU* = Pohl, A., *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen* (1933, 1934); NCBT = Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets (at Yale); *RECC* = Tremayne, A., *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses* (1925); *REN* = Dougherty, *Records from Erech* (1920); *SCT* = Gordon, C. H., *Smith College Tablets* (1952); UM = University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; YBC = Yale Babylonian Collection.

[110] Millard, *Iraq*, XXVI (1964), 16, 32.

Extract Chronicle present a special problem here; consequently they have been listed separately in Table IX and have not been included in the statistical summary to the table. At the time referred to in these two Chronicle passages, the rulers of the Chaldeans in the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf were officially subject to Assyria. However, it is obvious from the texts that both Zer-DU-lishir and Nabu-bel-Shumate had cast off such ties and were in league with Elam and Babylon against Assyria. In so doing they were acting essentially as independent rulers, or kings, but the texts of that time did not always refer to the tribal leaders of the Sealand as "Kings" (*šarru*), even when they were independent.[111] The problem here is one of political terminology and it seems more consistent to group these two individuals with the kings in Table IX than with the persons in the last column there who were all subordinates of the kings. With these preliminary remarks out of the way, the status of the seven persons named in the Chronicles who were not kings can be examined.

The first five cases come from parallel passages in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Esarhaddon Chronicle. The

[111] Several Chaldean tribes are mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser III, but "Bit-Jakin, as often on later occasions, appeared as the strongest of the tribes; and its chief was the only sheikh accorded the title 'king' by the Assyrian annalist" (*PHB*, p. 260). The title bestowed upon him was "King of the Sealand." Then, "Over a century later the official accounts of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns against the Chaldeans likewise bestowed the title of 'King' only on Merodach-baladan head of the Jakin tribe. ... One should note however, that in the more compressed versions of Shalmaneser III's Chaldean conquests, the chieftains were collectively referred to as 'kings'" (*ibid.*, note 1664). Brinkman's summary of the situation here is that "we know little about the internal organization of the Chaldean tribes. ... The individual tribes are called *Bīt*-PN, 'House of So-and-so,' and members of the tribe are referred to as *mār* PN, 'Son of So-and-so,' Chieftains of the tribes often bear no title other than *mār* PN, *i.e.*, their tribal affiliation, in the Assyrian sources, though leaders of the Jakin tribe sometimes have the additional title 'King of the Sealand.' The Chaldean chieftains are referred to collectively as 'kings of Chaldea' several times in late ninth- and early eighth-century Assyrian sources and as 'headmen' in the times of Tiglath-pileser III" (*ibid.*, pp. 264, 265).

first two persons, [X]-aḫḫe-šullim, the *gú.en.na* official of Nippur, and Shamash-ibni, the "Dakkurean," are mentioned in the entry for the 3rd year of Esarhaddon. The crime of these officials is not mentioned in the texts, but their fate is —they were "led away to Assyria and executed in Assyria." [112] Two similar culprits were apprehended during Esarhaddon's 6th year. In this case Shum-iddin (or Nadin-shumi) was the guilty *gú.en.na* official and Kudurru was the "Dakkurean" involved. The texts do not relate their ultimate fate, but they do state that they were taken to Assyria. These four officials were disposed of under the administration of Esarhaddon, but the 5th and final official mentioned by name in these two texts, Bel-eṭir, was apparently taken care of by Shamash-shum-ukin. Actually, Bel-eṭir's name was not written in the part of the Esarhaddon Chronicle that relates to him, but it is present in the corresponding passage of the Babylonian Chronicle. The record for the accession year of Shamash-shum-ukin in the latter text says that, "In the month of Tebetu, the 20th day, Beleṭir, the (chief) justice of Babylon was seized and executed."[113] The names of these officials are all found in the second, or detail, section of the Babylonian Chronicle that records the reign of Esarhaddon and after; only kings are mentioned by name in the first, or summary, section of that text.

The names of the other two persons referred to in Table IX that were not kings come from two of the last three Chronicles in the list. Nabu-shuma-lishir is mentioned in the text that chronicles the first ten years of Nebuchadrezzar's reign, but little is known of his activities from this Chronicle since the pertinent part of the text is badly damaged. Wiseman says of this passage,

[112] *ANET*, p. 302. On the *gú.en.na* official, see note 3 there and also under *guennakku* in *CAD* V (Chicago, 1956), p. 120. The first element of the personal name of this *gú.en.na* official is damaged in both of the chronicles that refer to him. The name of the second person involved is missing from the Babylonian Chronicle but it is attested in the parallel passage of the Esarhaddon Chronicle.

[113] *ANET*, p. 303.

Few details remain but the name of Nabū-šuma-lišir, the younger brother of Nebuchadrezzar, is mentioned with a specific, though broken, date. The text of the record can only be guessed at; nevertheless it is unlikely to have been concerned with a revolt led by Nabū-šuma-lišir in view of the subsequent call-up of the army for yet another campaign in Syria which brought in much tribute to Babylon.[114]

The seventh and last personal name of an individual who was not a king that is attested in these texts is found in the Nabonidus Chronicle. According to Smith,[115] the name of Nabu-Bel-dan-uṣur appears in the lower part of the first column of this text where the entry for the 3rd year of Nabonidus apparently was recorded. Unfortunately, however, the passage of the text in which his name appears is so badly damaged that it is impossible to determine anything about this individual or his activities. Evidently Oppenheim was uncertain about the nature of this reference too, for he simply transcribed *ᵈNabû-ᵈ*EN(?).DAN.ŠEŠ for this group of signs in his translation of the Nabonidus Chronicle.[116] Smith also suggested that since the conjunction "and" appears in front of this name, another personal name preceded it, but if so, only the last sign of that name is left.[117] To summarize this survey of the Chronicles, only seven cases were encountered in which personal names were used in the texts for individuals who were not kings. Of these seven persons named, five were errant officials who received punishment for their misdeeds. The remaining references involve the names of two persons about whom nothing can be determined from the texts in question because of damage to the passages in which their names appear. Another feature of this survey is the fact that the names of all seven of these individuals appear only once each in the Chronicles in which they are mentioned.

The presence and absence of the personal names of the two crown princes mentioned in the Nabonidus Chronicle present

[114] *CCK*, p. 29.
[115] *BHT*, p. 119.
[116] *ANET*, p. 305.
[117] *BHT*, p. 119.

an interesting contrast in regard to the use of names in the Chronicles. Belshazzar is referred to five times in the legible portions of the second column of that text, but he is referred to only by his position of crown prince and never by name. On the other hand, Cambyses is mentioned only once in the legible portions of the text, but his personal name is used there. The difference between the treatment of these two individuals in the text might be due to the fact that Belshazzar never came to the throne and therefore is not mentioned by name, whereas Cambyses did become king so his name is present in the text. Another explanation is possible here, however, and that is the suggestion that Belshazzar's name originally appeared in Column I that is now badly broken, and that the references to him by title in the second column presumed upon the antecedent personal name now missing from the preceding section of the text.

The statistics collected above on the seven persons named in these Chronicles who were not kings contrast with the fact that eight times as many kings (58) are mentioned by name in the same ten chronicles, and their names are used in those texts a total of 177 times, which averages out to just about three times per king. Coincidentally, three is precisely the number of times the king of Babylon proposed here is mentioned by name in the third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle. This use of his name in that text does not prove that Ugbaru was a king, but it does add prestige to his person, and it suggests the possibility that perhaps he should be classed with the kings after all. Certainly the seven cases discussed above do not provide any parallel with the way in which Ugbaru's name is used in the Chronicle. However, the evidence here is merely suggestive and not conclusive, so the references to Ugbaru must be examined further.

The Use of Death Dates in the Babylonian Chronicles. The date of Ugbaru's death, the 11th of Arahsamnu, has already been referred to quite a few times in this study. Once again, however, the fuller significance of this reference is better

understood when consideration is given to the comparative materials on the use of death dates in the other chronicles. The death dates in these chronicles are listed in Table X for this purpose.

Table X

LIST OF THE DEATH DATES IN THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES FROM THE 8TH—6TH CENTURIES

Chronicle Number	*Person*	*Office*	*Country*	*Death Date*
I	Tiglath-pileser III	King	Assyria	Tebetu
	Shalmaneser V	King	Assyria	Tebetu
	Hallushu	King	Elam	26 Tashritu
	Kudurru	King	Elam	8 Abu
	Menanu	King	Elam	7 Addaru
	Hummahaldashu	King	Elam	23 Tashritu
	Sennacherib	King	Assyria	20 Tebetu
	Name not given	King	Sidon	Tashritu
	Name not given	King	Kindu	Addaru
	Wife of the king	Queen	Assyria	5 Addaru
	Esarhaddon	King	Assyria	10 Arahsamnu
	Bel-etir	Justice	Babylon	20 Tebetu
II	Hummahaldashu II	King	Elam	5 Ululu
	Name not given*	King	Sidon	[Tashritu]
	Wife of the king*	Queen	Assyria	6 Addaru
	Esarhaddon*	King	Assyria	10 Arahsamnu
	Unnamed (Bel-etir)*	Justice	Babylon	20 Tebetu
VI	Sin-shar-ishkun	King	Assyria	Abu
VII	Nabopolassar	King	Babylon	8 Abu
X	Mother of the king	Queen-mother	Babylon	5 Nisanu
	Name not given	King	Lydia	Aiaru
	Ugbaru	?	Babylon	11 Arahsamnu
	Wife (?) of the king	Queen (?)	Babylon	Month [X]

* Essentially duplicates the information in the Babylonian Chronicle

Table X shows that five out of the chronicles discussed in this section contain death date records, and in all, death dates for 19 persons are present in these five texts. Aside from Ugbaru, there are death dates in Table X for 14 kings, two queens, one queen-mother, and a chief justice. When these individuals are grouped together, it is evident that all but one

belong to royalty. In addition, some doubt may be expressed about the chief justice's death date. The Babylonian Chronicle does not specifically state that Bel-eṭir was executed the same day he was seized, but that is probably the best way to understand the text. A dozen of the death dates in Table X come from the Babylonian Chronicle, seven from the first or summary section of the text, and five from the second, more detailed section. The four death dates in the Nabonidus Chronicle are also evenly distributed between the two sections of that text; two are present in the detailed section in the first two columns of the chronicle, while the death dates for Ugbaru and the wife of the king appear in the second or summary section of the text. Since death dates in these chronicles are used almost exclusively for royalty, with the one exception of Bel-eṭir in the Babylonian Chronicle, this evidence complements the observations above on the multiple use of Ugbaru's name in the Nabonidus Chronicle. Again, the fact that Ugbaru's death date is explicitly stated in the text implies but does not conclusively prove that he was a royal personage, *i.e.*, a king.

Ugbaru Versus Gubaru. The next aspect of this subject for examination is the problem presented by the three names in the third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle that are both similar and different at the same time. The name of the governor of Gutium in line 15 appears to be Ugbaru, Gubaru is clearly the name of Cyrus' governor in line 20, and Ugbaru shows up again in line 22 as the name of the man whose death is recorded there. To complicate matters further, Gubaru is the name of the governor of Babylon found in some 25 business and administrative documents that date from the 4th year of Cyrus to the 5th year of Cambyses. The question here is, what is the relationship of the individuals whose names are present in these various references? Do all of these names refer to the same person? If they do not, then how many different persons are involved?

Scholarly opinion has been divided on this point in the past. Smith favored the view that all three of these names in the

chronicle referred to the same person, but he allowed for the possibility that they might refer to separate individuals.[118] Oppenheim's translation of the Nabonidus Chronicle also seems to imply that only one person is referred to by these three names.[119] On the other hand, Albright has advocated the view that two separate and distinct individuals are involved here.[120] Whatever the final solution to this problem may be, Smith's publication of the Nabonidus Chronicle certainly

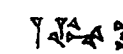
[118] From the body of his remarks on the chronicle it is apparent that Smith considered the most likely interpretation to be that all three names applied to the same person (*ibid.*, pp. 104, 105). However, Smith was less positive on this point in a footnote later: "(20) *Gubaru.* It is possible that the chronicler intended to distinguish Ugbaru of Gutium from Gubaru, whom Cyrus appointed governor of Akkad and Ebir nari, that Ugbaru is the Gobryas of Xenophon, and Gubaru is identical with the governor of . . . Akkad and Ebir-nari who is frequently mentioned on business documents of the time of Cyrus and Cambyses. On the other hand it is possible that the chronicler intended one and the same person by Ugbaru and Gubaru, the Gobryas of Xenophon, that he was appointed governor by Cyrus, but died on the night of the 10-11th Marcheswan, and was succeeded by another Gubaru, not his son, since Xenophon expressly states that his only son had been murdered, *Cyropaedia*, VI, 4, 3-4" (*ibid.*, pp. 121, 122).

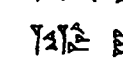
[119] Oppenheim translated all three of these names with the equivalent Greek name of Gobryas, and only in the first instance did he place the Akkadian name in parentheses after the Greek (*ANET*, p. 306). Dougherty followed a similar course in his translation of this passage. He used Gobryas to translate all three names too, and he placed Ugbaru in parentheses after the first and third names, but he did not put Gubaru after the name in line 20. However, he did transliterate all three names just the same as Smith did in his transliteration of these lines (Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* [New Haven, 1929], p. 173). Dougherty also followed Smith in placing a cautionary comment on the problem here in a footnote, "The reading (BAD = imût) in *BHT*, p. 114, is textually correct, and hence on the assumption that Gubaru and Ugbaru refer to the same person, we must assume that there was another Gubaru (Gobryas), who was the governor of Babylon and the District beyond the River during the early part of Persian control of Babylonia. If, as Smith suggests (*BHT*, p. 121), Gubaru and Ugbaru were different persons, there is less difficulty in interpreting the text, but there must be more light upon the historical situation before final conclusions can be drawn" (*ibid.*, p. 172, n. 561).

[120] In Albright's book review of Olmstead's *History of the Persian Empire*, *JBL*, LXVIII (1949), 371-377.

clarified one part of it. His copy and translation of the text clearly indicate that Ugbaru died soon after the fall of Babylon, which means that he did not live long enough to be governor there in the 4th year of Cyrus, so he obviously was not the same person as Gubaru the governor mentioned in the business and administrative texts.[121] From this point on, resolving the rest of the problem would seem to be simple and merely require connecting up the names that are alike, Ugbaru in line 15 of the chronicle with Ugbaru in line 22 of the same text, and Gubaru in line 20 with Gubaru in the other texts. A correlation like this would definitely favor Albright's viewpoint on the subject, but the problem is complicated by the orthography of these names in the text of the chronicle. The names in question are reproduced here from Smith's copy of the text to assist in their discussion that follows:

Line 15  *X?-ba-ru*

Line 20  *Gu-ba-ru*

Line 22  *Ug-ba-ru*

The first problem connected with the orthography of these names in the text comes from the first sign in the first name. Obviously, that sign is not the same as the first sign in either of the other two names. It has been suggested, however, that it comes close to the first part of the *Ug* sign in line 22, and since it does not resemble any other sign in the Neo-Babylonian syllabary, that appears to be a fair estimate of the situation. It is interesting to note that the problem with this sign did not result from damage to the tablet, for this part of the passage is not damaged according to Smith's copy. Instead, the sign was written defectively, as Smith pointed out in his footnote to this line, "(15) *Ug*(?). This sign has not been com-

[121] "The assumption . . . that Gobryas is to be identified with Cyrus and Cambyses' governor of Babylonia and Ebir-nari is disproved by the new reading of the Chronicle III, 22, which accords with Xenophon's statement that Gobryas was an old man" (*BHT*, p. 105, n. 1).

pleted by the scribe, possibly because he could not see the end of it in the original."[122] In other words, this sign may indicate that this part of the text was not completely legible to the scribe who wrote our copy of the Nabonidus Chronicle, possibly because of damage to the tablet from which it was copied.

In addition to this complication concerning Ugbaru's name in the text, Albright has suggested that the first sign in his name should be read *Uk* instead of *Ug*,[123] which would differentiate him even more sharply from Gubaru in line 20. The first sign in the third name does carry the *Uk* value, as well as those of *Ug* and *Uq*, so this interpretation is linguistically permissible. However, there is nothing inherent in the text itself that favors a reading of *Uk* over *Ug* for this sign, and since his name is not attested in other texts of the time outside of the Nabonidus Chronicle, there are no materials available with which to compare it. In other words, the reading of *Ug*

[122] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[123] Or *As*. "Smith's hand-copy ... distinguishes sharply between the Persian governor of the Zagros region, who occupied Babylon, and the Persian who was appointed governor of Babylonia by Cyrus. The former is said by the very reliable Chronicle ... to have died soon after the conquest of Babylonia, whereas the latter remained governor of Babylonia and Syria for many years under Cyrus and Cambyses, as attested by many economic texts. The former's name is written in cuneiform something like *Šik*(?)-*ma-ru* in the first occurrence and *As*(?)-*ma-ru* or *Uk*(?)-*ma-ru* in the second; the reading Ugbaru is highly improbable, and motivated chiefly by the desire to identify the name with that of the Greek Gobryas. On the other hand, Gubaru, appointed governor of the richest provinces of the Persian Empire, is undoubtedly to be identified with Gobryas" (Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 375). Albright took up the second of the two interpretations of this matter mentioned by Smith and Dougherty to argue against Olmstead who held to the first interpretation of it. A reading of *Šik*?/*As*?/*Uk*? hardly provides a convincing basis upon which to reach such a firm conclusion in the matter. By the same line of reasoning based upon the values he has proposed for these signs, Albright should also have differentiated the person mentioned in line 15 from the person in line 22. This would indicate that not two but three persons are pointed out in this passage of the text. In addition, it was Xenophon's Gobryas (along with Gadatas) "who occupied Babylon."

for this sign is just as reasonable, or unreasonable, as the reading of *Uk* or *Uq*. By the same token, on purely linguistic grounds, the first sign of the name in line 20 could also be read *qù* or ku_8 in order to differentiate the individual referred to there from the later governor, but this is a historical and not a linguistic consideration. Only one fact is definite from the orthography of the initial signs in these three names—the vowel follows the consonant in the first sign of the second name (*Gu/qù/*ku_8), and it precedes the consonant in the first sign on the third name (*Ug/k/q*), whatever consonant those signs may indicate.

Albright has also suggested that the second sign in Ugbaru's name should be read *ma* instead of *ba*.[124] In favor of this view is the fact that Smith did copy the bottom wedge of this sign quite horizontal in lines 15 and 22, while in line 20 of his copy it inclines slightly upwards. However, as is well known, it is very difficult to differentiate between the *ba* and the *ma* signs in Neo-Babylonian orthography. As far as I know, none of the cuneiformists who have examined this tablet, including Smith himself who copied these signs this way, have read any other value than *ba* for the second sign in all three of these names. This interpretation may simply be based on contextual considerations, of course, but if it is, that is a further indication of the nature of the problem here. Finally, the one sign that is not disputed in these names is the last one which clearly is the same *ru* sign in all three cases. In summary, only two of the nine signs that compose these three names in the text are unquestionably different, the first sign in the second and third names, and the only definite difference that these two signs entail is the position of the vowel involved. Since this is not a very firm orthographic basis on which to differentiate between two persons in this passage, other information bearing on this problem must be considered besides just the orthography of the names in the text.

[124] *Ibid.*, Albright did not discuss the *ba/ma* problem.

A very interesting and well-documented piece of information pertinent to this problem comes from the business and administrative documents that refer to Gubaru the governor of Babylon. Since the chronological distribution of these texts is of considerable interest in this connection, their distribution has been detailed in Table XI. The reference to Gubaru in the Nabonidus Chronicle has been omitted from the list since that reference is in question here.

Table XI

CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS AND ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS THAT REFER TO GUBARU, THE GOVERNOR OF BABYLON

King	*Year*	*References*
Cyrus	accession	Not attested
	1st	Not attested
	2nd	Not attested
	3rd	Not attested
	4th	*NBRU* 43 (dated VIII, 1)
		NBRU 45 (dated XII, 9)
		NBRU 46 (dated XII, 10)
	5th	Not attested
	6th	*RECC* 56, 92
	7th	*TCL* XIII 142
	8th	*RECC* 70, *NBRU* 61
	9th	*GCCI* II 103, *LCE* 169, *BIN* 114
Cambyses	1st	*Cambyses* 96, *BE* VIII 20
	2nd	*TCL* XIII 150, 152, *GCCI* II 120, *RECC* 127, 128
	3rd	*RECC* 137, 160
	4th	*RECC* 168, 172
	5th	*RECC* 177, 178, *TCL* XIII 168

The 25 texts cited above cover a span of 11 years which gives an average of two references to Gubaru per year during that period. The number of times his name is attested falls below this average only in two places on the list, during the 5th and 7th years of Cyrus. The first definite reference to Gubaru (*NBRU* 43) dates to November, 535 B.C., and since Babylon fell in October, 539, this reference comes from four

years after that event, and three years after the death of Ugbaru in October, 538. Even though we are dependent upon the chance survival and recovery of materials of this type, as mentioned in Part I, the chronological distribution of these texts still appears to be significant. The complete absence of any reference to Gubaru, the governor, in the texts for four full years after the fall of Babylon raises the question whether he was governor during that time or not. The absence of Gubaru from the texts of those four years is emphasized by the fact that he appears fairly regularly in texts from the next 11 years after that. While a gap of a year or two in these references might be expected statistically (cf. the 5th year of Cyrus), four years in a row is more than one would ordinarily expect if Gubaru was governor during that time. However, this problem cannot be resolved with finality until texts turn up with the name of the governor of Babylon during the first three years of Cyrus. At the present time there is no evidence to connect Gubaru of the Nabonidus Chronicle with the governor in the economic texts except the fact that their names appear to be the same, and since this passage in the chronicle clearly applies to the accession year of Cyrus, the two names in these sources are separated by a gap of four years.

At first glance the fact that the name Gubaru is found in both the chronicle and the administrative texts might appear to be convincing evidence that both sources refer to the same person, but this is not necessarily the case. The onomasticon of this period shows that some personal names were used by many individuals, some were used by a few, and some are attested for only one person.[125] Gubaru was not a name that was commonly used in the texts of the early Achaemenid period, but other individuals by that name are known. Gaubaruva was one of the famous "six helpers of Darius" when he killed Gaumata, according to the Behistun inscrip-

[125] Cf. K. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors, 1905).

tion,[126] and he can be connected with the Gobryas Megabyzus of Herodotus.[127] Because of the different political circumstances in which Gaubaruva is found and because he appears on the scene four years after the last reference to Gubaru the governor in the Babylonian texts, it seems likely that the two should be differentiated. Herodotus also mentions another Gobryas who was the son of Darius I and Artystone.[128] Finally, another Gubaru appears in the Babylonian business texts from the time of Darius II. Thus the mere fact that Gubaru of the chronicle and Gubaru in the administrative texts have the same name does not necessarily prove that they were the same person.

On the other hand, there are two features of the Nabonidus Chronicle that may possibly support the identification of Ugbaru with Gubaru in the third column of the text. The first feature is found in the use of these two names when they are compared with the use of personal names in the chronicles in general as discussed above. Obviously, Ugbaru cannot be judged king of Babylon when he first appears in the chronicle as the governor of Gutium who led a part of Cyrus' army to victory over Babylon without a battle. Gubaru also is simply mentioned as "his [Cyrus'] governor" in line 20 of Column III. Presumably the governorship of Babylon is the office referred to here but that is not explicitly stated in the text and it may be significant in this connection that Ugbaru is mentioned as a governor of Cyrus before this. At any rate, neither of these two references could possibly be interpreted as applying to a king. However, to differentiate between Ugbaru and Gubaru here of necessity means that not one but two non-royal personages are mentioned by name in this chronicle passage. This is not impossible, as the two examples in the Babylonian Chronicle demonstrate, but when the other nine chronicles

[126] R. G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (2d rev. ed.; New Haven, 1953), p. 132, § 68. 4.83 (Behistun Inscription).

[127] Herodotus, *The Histories*, transl. by A. D. Godley ("The Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass., 1920), Bk. III, 70 ff.

[128] *Ibid.*, Bk. VII, 72.

surveyed above are taken into account, it seems statistically unlikely.

In the second place, there are quite a few elements in this part of the chronicle that can be readily organized into a brief chronicle of Ugbaru's career. When he appears on the scene in line 15 his background as the governor of Gutium is mentioned with his major military achievement, the conquest of Babylon. Ugbaru's control of Babylon before Cyrus arrived is evident from the fact that his Gutian troops are specifically mentioned as the guards of the temple precincts, and the text notes that they performed their duties so efficiently that "no appointed ceremony was passed over." [129] The chronicle does not specifically state when and by whom Nabodinus was arrested when he returned to Babylon, but the fact that this detail is located in line 16 implies that he was taken prisoner before the end of Tashritu, the date of the next event listed in the text, which means that Ugbaru probably was the principal authority to whom he surrendered. Even the triumphal entry of Cyrus is interesting in this regard, for after "Cyrus proclaimed peace to Babylon"[130] no further mention of him is present in the legible portions of the text, *i.e.*, this part of Column III certainly does not look like the beginning of a standard chronicle for his reign in Babylonia.

The next event listed in the chronicle after Cyrus sent his greetings to Babylon is Gubaru's installation of governors there. If this Gubaru is the same person as Ugbaru, then this observation also fits very well into a chronicle of Ugbaru's career as a reference to his most important act in post-conquest Babylonia—the organization of the Persian administration. Before considering the other possibility, that Gubaru and Ugbaru were not the same person, it should be pointed out that Ugbaru was present in Babylonia in the 8th month of the next year when he died. The evidence for this comes from the consecutive chronological interpretation of

[129] *BHT*, p. 117.
[130] *Ibid.*

the text in connection with the fact that his death is mentioned in the chronicle. If Ugbaru had returned to his post in Gutium and died there, it is very unlikely that his death would have been reported in a chronicle written in Babylonia. Since it appears reasonable to assume that Ugbaru remained in Babylonia until his death late in 538, the next question is, what position did he occupy during that year? And if Gubaru who appointed the governors was not the same person as Ugbaru and they were contemporaneous in Babylonia for a year, what was the relationship between them? It is difficult to imagine that Cyrus could have made Ugbaru, who conquered Babylon for him, subordinate to the governor he appointed there after the conquest. Since it seems more likely that Ugbaru would have occupied a position equal or superior to Gubaru, only two positions seem to be available that he could have occupied—military prefect over Babylonia, or king of Babylon vassal to Cyrus. However, instead of interpreting the text in such a way as to make Gubaru and Ugbaru two persons contemporaneous in Babylon for a year after the conquest, it seems easier and more reasonable to assume, in view of the dubious orthography of the names in the text, that they were one and the same individual. As stated above, this view of the names involved would fit the reference to the appointment of governors into a brief chronicle of the career of Ugbaru very nicely.

The return of the gods of Akkad to their cities from Kislimu to Addaru must also have taken place under the auspices of Ugbaru, either directly if he was the governor of Babylon at that time, or indirectly through Gubaru the governor who was subordinate to him, if they are to be differentiated. The return of the gods was completed by the end of the last month of the accession period, which takes the record down to the time of the New Year's festival in the spring of 538. The ceremonies of that New Year are not mentioned in the text, but, according to the chronicle materials discussed above,[131] in general it can

[131] See Shea, *AUSS*, X (1972), 110, 111.

be assumed that they were performed when the text does not specifically state that they were omitted. In this case, the gods were ready for the New Year because they all arrived home on time, by the end of Addaru, which implies that the festival was performed even though it is not noted in the text.

In addition, it is suggested here that Ugbaru was elevated from the office of governor of Babylon to be king of Babylon at the time of this same New Year's festival, even though there is no reference to his accession in this passage of the chronicle. In the preceding discussion on the classification of the Nabonidus Chronicle, several other important omissions from this section of the text were pointed out: the fate of Nabonidus and especially a summary statement for his reign, the labels and dividers that marked off the regnal years in the text, and the record of the accession of the king who succeeded Nabonidus, whoever he may have been. In other words, while Ugbaru's accession is not mentioned here, neither is anybody else's, including Cyrus'. In view of the unusual nature of this part of the Nabonidus Chronicle, the accession proposed for Ugbaru has been interpolated here on the basis of the other evidences examined in this study, even though it is not specifically referred to in the chronicle. Since no accession statement is present in this section of the text at all, the chronicle does not contradict this proposed accession; consequently it must stand or fall on the merits of the other materials that have been assembled in support of it. It may be that no events of outstanding importance occurred during Ugbaru's seven-month reign, so perhaps the statement of his accession was simply assimilated into his death date. As discussed above, death dates were used almost exclusively for royalty in the chronicles, so the reference to his death on the 11th of Arahsamnu brings the chronicle of Ugbaru's activities to a fitting close. The case of Nabu-shuma-ukin in the Babylonian Chronicle [132] provides a somewhat distant parallel in this connection, for he was also a governor who became

[132] I, 16-17; Delitzsch, *Die babylonische Chronik* (1906), pp. 8, 19.

king of Babylon. He ruled only very briefly, however, as his reign was cut short at a month and 12 days. The chronicle does not mention his relationship to Nabu-nadin-zeri who ruled for two years before him, but the Babylonian King List A informs us that he was his son.[133]

The third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle closes with the record of Cambyses' participation in the New Year's festival on the 4th of Nisanu. According to the consecutive chronological interpretation of the text, this act of his took place in the spring of 537; therefore it cannot refer to his installation as king of Babylon coregent with his father, for it comes at the end and not the beginning of the gap in Cyrus' titulary in the economic texts. It appears that Cambyses participated in the New Year's ceremonies at that time on behalf of his father Cyrus, to ratify his title to the throne of Babylon which he took up by decree some three months before, after the death of Ugbaru. In this context, Cambyses appears to be a dynastic representative as Saggs suggests, "Cyrus' young son, Cambyses, officiated at the New Year Festival in Babylon, whereby the dynasty received investiture from the god Marduk, henceforth exercising kingship over Babylonia not only by right of conquest but by divine vocation."[134]

In closing these comments on the problem of Ugbaru versus Gubaru it should be noted that the final decision on whether these names represent one and the same person or two different individuals does not materially affect the main proposal of this study, that Ugbaru was the official king of Babylon for seven months from the spring to the fall of 538. As a matter of fact, the argument for his kingship is somewhat stronger if they are distinct than if they are identical, as the preceding discussion indicates. It seems to me, however, that when all

[133] *ANET*, p. 272. Brinkman doubts the relationship expressed in King List A, *PHB*, p. 235.

[134] H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness That Was Babylon* (New York, 1962), p. 152.

aspects of the problem are considered, the most reasonable interpretation of the text is the view that all three names refer to the same individual. It is also my opinion that the name of the individual in question was actually Gubaru and not Ugbaru. This opinion is based upon two pieces of information. In the first place, the name Gubaru was used by several individuals of the time, both in Persia and Babylonia, but the name Ugbaru is otherwise completely unattested. Secondly, Gobryas is the name of one of the two generals of Cyrus who led the final attack on Babylon, according to Xenophon.[135] In the commentary on his translation of the Nabonidus Chronicle, Smith suggested that this Gobryas of Xenophon is the same person that is mentioned three times in the third column of the chronicle under the names Gubaru and Ugbaru.[136] This identification seems quite reasonable and it is accepted here. It may be significant, then, that the name of Gobryas in Xenophon gives no indication that it originally had an initial vowel in Akkadian, but this evidence is a bit remote from the time when the person who carried that name lived. Even though it seems more likely that the man's name was Gubaru than Ugbaru, the name Gubaru has not been used for him in this study in order to avoid introducing further confusion into an already complicated subject.

Whose Wife Died? The supplementary evidence assembled above in support of the hypothesis that Ugbaru was king in Babylon for a part of 538 naturally raises the question, if Ugbaru was the king of Babylon at that time, then why is not there a reference to the fact that he was a king in the Nabonidus Chronicle? The proposal presented in this section is that there may be such a reference in the chronicle after all. Two lines of the text are involved here, the 22d and 23d lines of the third column where the death of a person related to the king is reported immediately following the record of the death of

[135] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, transl. by W. Miller ("The Loeb Classical Library"; Cambridge, Mass., 1914), Bk. IV, 6:1-9; Bk. VII, 5:7-34.
[136] *BHT*, pp. 104, 105.

Ugbaru. Before considering the possible significance of this reference, however, a few problems connected with the translation of the text should be examined. The textual considerations here involve three questions: who died? when did he or she die? and, when did the subsequent period of mourning begin?

The first of these three questions stems from the fact that the identity of the person who died after Ugbaru is somewhat in doubt because the first sign in line 23 where that person was identified is badly damaged now. However, the nature of the official "weeping" that follows next in the text seems to indicate that the person mourned thereby was a female member of the royal household, *i.e.*, the mother, wife, or daughter of the king. In favor of the view that a female personage was referred to by this damaged sign is the fact that the BAD-sign for the verb "died" that accompanies it is followed by the complement *-at* as an indicator of the feminine, in contrast to the same verb in the preceding line where no such complement appears with Ugbaru as the subject. Concerning the sign in question Smith suggested that "the traces favour Pinches' reading DAM"[137] and the few wedges that he copied at the edge of the damaged area do coincide with the beginning of that sign. That being the case, the wife of the king (DAM/*aššat šarri*) is probably the person whose death is recorded at the beginning of line 23, and that is the interpretation accepted in this study.

The second question is, then, when did she die? The last sign legible at the end of line 22 in Smith's copy, although it is partly damaged, appears to be the determinative for the month. The actual sign for the month in question is completely missing in the damaged area at the end of the line, so the month in which she died cannot be determined from the text.

[137] *BHT*, p. 122. Dougherty is somewhat more reserved on this point: "The writer would state, after an examination of the tablet itself in the British Museum, that the traces which remain of the original cuneiform sign or signs at the beginning of line 23 are not sufficiently legible for decisive conclusion as to what the scribe actually wrote" (*op. cit.*, p. 174).

Oppenheim placed Arahsamnu in brackets here,[138] but that estimate cannot be verified from the text itself. There is some reason to suspect that she did not die in Arahsamnu. When two events listed in the text occurred in the same month, the scribe who wrote this chronicle generally dated the second of those two events by the day number only; at least there are four examples of this in Column III. In this case the determinative for the month appears to be present and there is not enough room at the end of the line for the month sign and the day number too, so she probably did not die in the same month of Arahsamnu that Ugbaru died.

If this wife of the king did not die in Arahsamnu, is there any way to determine when she died? The record of the death of Nabonidus' mother in Column II of the chronicle might be used here to arrive at a rough estimate as to when she died. The official "weeping" in Akkad for Nabonidus' mother was not performed until the month of Simanu, two months or more after her death on the 5th of Nisanu. Since the three-day "weeping" Belshazzar and his troops performed for her, presumably in Nisanu, is separated in the text from the general and official mourning in Akkad in Simanu, it appears that the length of time between those two events was necessary to take the news of his mother's death to Nabonidus in Tema, to return his decree concerning the official mourning for her to Babylonia, and to carry out that decree there. The fact that an official mourning was performed in Akkad for the wife of the king mentioned in Column III gives reason to suspect that she was in Babylonia at the time of her death. Then presuming that Cyrus was not in Babylonia when she died, the two months or more mentioned in connection with the previous case may also be assumed in this instance for the length of time necessary to notify Cyrus, wherever he may have been, and to return and carry out his order concerning the mourning for her. If the amount of time involved here was approximately equivalent to that in the earlier instance, then she could have

[138] *ANET*, p. 306.

died as early in the year as the 9th or 10th months, since the mourning for her began in the last week of the 12th month.

The third question concerning the text here is, when did the period of mourning begin? Related to this question is the corollary of it, how long did it last? This question arises because Oppenheim's translation of line 23 gives the 27th of Arahsamnu as the date on which the mourning began,[139] and since it ended on the 3rd of Nisanu, this would indicate that the mourning went on for over four months. This seems to be an inordinately long period of time; therefore Smith's older translation of the 27th of Addaru [140] is to be preferred here, a reading that D. J. Wiseman has confirmed for me in his recent examination of the tablet.[141]

With these preliminary considerations completed, we may address ourselves to the principal question of this section, whose wife died? I would suggest that there are five possible answers to this question: Belshazzar, Nabonidus, Cambyses, Cyrus, Ugbaru.

The first three persons listed above as possibilities for the king whose wife's death is referred to here can be dismissed quite readily. The second column of the Nabonidus Chronicle refers to Belshazzar five times, but only by his position of crown prince and never by name. He is not mentioned at all in the third column of the text where the end of the Chaldean rule over Babylon is detailed. Although Belshazzar did act as regent in Babylon for Nabonidus when he was off in Tema, he never was officially invested as king of Babylon, as far as we know. Obviously then, Belshazzar is not the king we are looking for and he can be eliminated from the list. Nabonidus comes a little closer to filling the requirements of this reference than Belshazzar. Since he was the king of Babylon at the time it fell to the Persians, it has been suggested that the queen who

[139] *Ibid.*

[140] *BHT*, pp. 114, 118. Another scholar who examined the tablet read the text as saying the 28th of Addaru (Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 172).

[141] "1.22 reads 27 ITU.ŠE ... 3 ITU.BAR" (personal communication, January 10, 1969).

died and was mourned thereafter was his wife. It seems unlikely, however, that such attention would have been paid to his wife after he was deposed, especially in view of the fact that he was a rather unpopular ruler in Babylonia, and since the kingship there had passed to an entirely different power, not to just another king in the ordinary line of succession. It becomes all the more unlikely that Nabonidus' wife would be referred to in this manner when the passage of the chronicle that mentions the death of this wife of the king is interpreted chronologically according to the consecutive order of the text. This interpretation places her death late in 538, a year later than formerly supposed, which makes it very unlikely that the queen whose death is reported in the text was the wife of Nabonidus. The case for Cambyses' kingship as coregent with Cyrus early in Cyrus' reign in Babylonia has already been discussed at length and rejected.[142] It should also be noted in this regard that Cambyses appears in the chronicle only after the mourning for the dead queen was over, so it seems unlikely that he was the king whose wife died.

The elimination of the first three persons from the list above leaves only Cyrus and Ugbaru as possibilities for the king whose wife's death is mentioned in this section of the chronicle. The most common interpretation of this reference in the text has been to identify this king as Cyrus. This is quite a reasonable identification to make, for Cyrus was ruler over Babylonia at the time this woman died. In addition, a reference to Cassandane (the wife of Cyrus, the daughter of Pharnaspes, and the mother of Cambyses) in Herodotus says that "when she died before him, Cyrus himself mourned deeply and bade all his subjects mourn also." [143] The queen whose death is recorded in the Nabonidus Chronicle could be fitted into this comment about Cassandane very nicely, but this subject is complicated by the fact that there are several conflicting traditions in the classical sources concerning the wife of Cyrus

[142] *AUSS*, IX (1971), 100-105.
[143] Herodotus, *op. cit.*, Bk. II, 1.

who was the mother of Cambyses. Herodotus also recounted the tradition that identified her with Nitetis, the daughter of Apries of Egypt, but he rejected that tradition.[144] A third tradition about this wife of Cyrus appears in the writings of Ctesias who says that she was Amytis, the daughter of Astyages the Mede.[145] Smith identified the queen whose death is recorded in the chronicle with Amytis, but in so doing he noted that "Amytis is considered by some a legendary figure." [146] Unfortunately, there are no further details in Herodotus' account that tell us exactly when and where Cassandane died, which makes it difficult to connect her with the queen referred to in the chronicle with assurance. Also, the reference to "all his subjects" is not really specific enough to indicate that the whole empire, and Babylonia in particular, was supposed to mourn for her.

The absence of any reference to Cyrus in the passage of the chronicle that mentions this queen's death may have some significance in this connection. If she died in Persia then it does not mean very much. However, if this queen died in Babylonia, which might be inferred from the fact that her death is recorded in the chronicle and that an official mourning was performed in Babylonia for her, then it may be significant. If this was Cyrus' wife and she died in Babylonia, then one might have expected Cyrus to visit Babylonia sometime thereafter, but there is no record of it in the chronicle, and Cambyses is the one who appeared in the New Year's ceremonies the day after the mourning for her ended. On the other hand, if this was a vassal king's wife who died in Babylonia, and not a wife of Cyrus, then his absence from the record is quite natural. This is a rather indirect line of reasoning, but it may imply that the woman whose death is recorded in the chronicle was not the wife of Cyrus but the wife of somebody

[144] *Ibid.*, Bk. III, 2.
[145] R. Henry, *Ctesias, les sommaires de Photius* (Brussels, 1947).
[146] *BHT*, p. 105.

else. At the time she died Cyrus was the suzerain or "King of Lands" over Babylonia, but it is not certain, pending a more precise determination of the date of her death, that he had become the official king of Babylon by that time.

While the view that the wife of the king whose death has been discussed here was a wife of Cyrus must remain a distinct possibility, I would suggest that another interpretation of this reference is also possible. According to this proposal, the antecedent of the word "king" at the beginning of line 23 in Column III is simply the male personage mentioned in the immediately preceding phrase of the text, Ugbaru. The interpretation proposed here is that Ugbaru the king died in Babylon first, on the 11th of Arahsamnu. Then his wife died shortly thereafter, also in Babylonia, and an official mourning was held for her throughout the land at the end of the year. At the close of the week of mourning, Cambyses participated in the ceremonies of the New Year to reaffirm Cyrus' accession to the kingship of Babylon that he had decreed a few months before when he received the news of Ugbaru's death.

There is no definite proof at the present time that this interpretation of whose wife died is correct. It is simply offered here as an alternative to the view that the queen referred to was Cyrus' wife. It is consistent, at least, with the other materials assembled above in support of Ugbaru's kingship and therefore may be considered a currently viable alternative to the preceding view. In answer to the question that introduced the discussion of this section it can simply be said that there is a possibility that Ugbaru is referred to by the title of king in this text, as the king whose wife's death is recorded in line 23 of the third column of the chronicle.

Some Problems for Consideration. Before the final summary of this subject is presented, three further problems related to it that have not been discussed before need to be examined. Two sources of a somewhat similar nature are involved in the first problem, Ptolemy's Canon and the Saros Table. It is clear that no king Ugbaru is mentioned in these sources, nor

does there appear to be any room for him in these lists. This problem is readily resolved, however, when the location and length of Ugbaru's reign is noted. According to the interpretation proposed in the preceding section, Ugbaru's term of office as king of Babylon began in the spring of 538, at the time of the New Year's festival in Nisanu, and ended with his death on the 11th of Arahsamnu of the same year. From this it can be seen that all seven months of his reign fell within the same Babylonian calendar year. It is well known that kings who ruled for only a part of a year were omitted from Ptolemy's Canon,[147] and a similar practice can be assumed for the Saros Table. The reason for this procedure is evident from the mathematical construction of these sources. To credit one year to a king who reigned for only a part of that year would have increased the total number of years in the list by one beyond the absolute number of calendar years involved, since the other part of that year was reckoned with the years of the king who reigned in the preceding or succeeding year. This evidence in conjunction with the text (*RECC* 5) that is dated to the 4th of Nisanu as the 1st year of "Cyrus, King of Babylon" appears to indicate that Ugbaru did not become king of Babylon until Nisanu in the spring of 538, and that he was the governor, not the king, before that. The case of Cambyses provides a parallel to this, for the evidence indicates that he too was installed as coregent with Cyrus in Nisanu, 530.[148]

The second problem for discussion here relates to a recently published king list from Uruk that includes Nabonidus, the last Chaldean king of Babylon, and the first ruler of the Persian period. Since there is no sign of Ugbaru in the list, the question may be raised whether he ruled in Babylon or not.

[147] On Nabu-shuma-ishkun, mentioned above on p. 164, Brinkman says, "The 'Ptolemaic Canon,' in accordance with its usual custom, omits this ruler because he had no official regnal year" (*PHB*, p. 62). The same phenomenon occurs in the cases of Marduk-zakir-shumi II and the second reign of Merodach-baladan II (*ibid.*, n. 303).

[148] See *AUSS*, IX (1971), 103-105.

A prominent feature of the text in connection with this subject is how badly damaged the list is where the Achaemenid kings begin. Only the ends of the names remain for the first three kings there. To illustrate this point, the translation of the last four lines before the break at the bottom of the obverse of the tablet is given here: [149]

[x] + 15 years: Nabonidus
[9 years: Cy]rus
[8 years: Cambys]es
[36 years: Dari]us

Assuming that these names have been restored correctly, we still lack the number of regnal years the text indicated for these kings. The number of regnal years listed for both Cyrus and Cambyses would be of considerable interest here, to see if any acknowledgement was given thereby to the coregency between them. If Cambyses' position as king of Babylon when he was coregent with his father was recognized then he should have one more regnal year to make nine instead of the usual eight. If the year when Cambyses was king of Babylon vassal to Cyrus was not acknowledged in the king list, then there is good reason to expect that Ugbaru's position as king there vassal to Cyrus would not have been recognized in the list either. In other words, the time that these two individuals ruled in Babylon as vassals to Cyrus may very well have been absorbed into the regnal years reported for Cyrus, since he was suzerain over them and Babylonia at the time. However, this is mere speculation until we have a better king list for this period. It should also be noted that this king list was written more than three centuries after the time of Cyrus, for the last king listed on the reverse side of the tablet is Seleucus II (245-226), and additional Seleucid kings were probably listed below him where the text is broken off.

The final and most obvious question of this section is, if Ugbaru was king of Babylon for the period of time proposed

[149] *SANET*, p. 130.

above, why do we not have any contract tablets dated to him? The first possible answer to this question may be emphasized by referring to Table II.[150] While it appears that the textual materials assembled there are statistically significant enough to support the conclusions drawn from them, texts from the first eight months of Cyrus' first year are not as abundant as we might like. With some difficulty, 13 texts with usable titles that definitely date from Nisanu of that year to the time of Ugbaru's death have been collected for use in Table II. Besides that, only a few of the rather modest number of texts available from this period come from the important centers of northern Babylonia: Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar. There are several museums, especially in Europe, that possess significant numbers of Babylonian texts from the Achaemenid period that have not been published, and it is possible that they might supply some useful information related to this subject. The texts from Sippar in the British Museum are of particular interest in this connection. Oppenheim referred to these texts with the comment, "The Sippar of the Neo-Babylonian (Chaldean) period is known by many administrative and legal texts; only a fraction of these tablets have been published." [151] One possible answer to this question, then, is simply that the texts dated to him may not have been recovered yet, or they have not yet been recognized among the texts that have been excavated.

The other possible answer to this question is that the Babylonian scribes did not date their tablets to him. It is clear that they dated their tablets to "Cyrus, King of Lands" during the first five months after the fall of Babylon, when Ugbaru was governor there, according to the interpretation offered here. It is also obvious that at least some scribes continued to date their tablets to Cyrus as suzerain even after the New Year's festival at which it is proposed that Ugbaru was installed as king of Babylon. Since a similar situation obtained

[150] *AUSS*, IX (1971), 107, 108.

[151] A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), p. 405.

in the cases of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu, and Cyrus and Cambyses, this is not unusual in and of itself. The only question here is whether other scribes dated their documents to Ugbaru the vassal king at this time, as they did for Kandalanu and Cambyses in the other two cases. To the present time we have no evidence that they did, but this remains an open question until a more extensive examination of the unpublished Babylonian texts of the Achaemenid period has been made.

Summary

In spite of the amount of documentation and discussion presented in the preceding pages, the procedure followed in this study is quite simple. The first major piece of evidence utilized here comes from the royal titles in the economic texts that date to the first two years of Cyrus' rule over Babylonia. The gap in those titles that the older interpreters observed has been confirmed and amplified by the addition of a few more titles from texts that were not available at the time they made their observations. The few exceptions discussed above notwithstanding, it is clear that the standard title regularly used for Cyrus in the economic texts from the accession period and the first nine months of his 1st year was simply "King of Lands" and that only. Toward the end of his 1st year, "King of Babylon" was added to his former title in these texts, producing the titulary "King of Babylon, King of Lands" that became the standard title used for him thoughout the rest of his reign. No satisfactory explanation has yet been arrived at for this gap in Cyrus' titulary during which time he carried only the title "King of Lands" in the economic texts. The coregency of Cambyses with Cyrus must logically be located at the end of Cyrus' reign, not at the beginning, so that explanation does not suffice. That leaves us with only Gray's suggestion that this change in the titulary of Cyrus occurred "for reasons unexplained." [152]

[152] Gray, *CAH*, IV, 14.

The second major piece of evidence presented in this study comes from the Nabonidus Chronicle and it provides, for the first time, a reasonable explanation for the gap and change in Cyrus' titulary in the economic texts. The dated events in the third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle interpreted chronologically in consecutive order demonstrate that Ugbaru died in the fall of 538, not in the fall of 539, as formerly supposed from the retrospective interpretation of the text. When this piece of the puzzle is placed alongside the preceding piece of evidence, they fit together with chronological precision, for it becomes clear thereby that the texts of the time took up the title "King of Babylon" for Cyrus shortly after the death of Ugbaru. That being the case, it has been proposed here that the death of Ugbaru and the change in Cyrus' titulary relate to each other as cause and effect, *i.e.*, when Ugbaru whom Cyrus appointed as king of Babylon died, Cyrus himself took over the kingship there, and the scribes added the title to it into his titulary in the texts they wrote after that. Three supplementary pieces of evidence have been added to support the identification of Ugbaru as king of Babylon that is based on the two lines of evidence summarized above: the way in which his personal name was used in the chronicle, the presence of his death date in the text, and how well this passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle fits as a brief chronicle of Ugbaru's career. The major and minor lines of evidence summarized here, in conjunction with other aspects of this subject discussed elsewhere in this study, have led to the conclusions that Ugbaru, the governor of Gutium who conquered and governed Babylon for Cyrus, was elevated to the kingship of Babylon in the spring of 538, at the time of the New Year's festival in Nisanu, and that he occupied the throne there until his death on the 11th of Arahsamnu, October 26, 538 B.C. A summary of the results arrived at in this study follows in Table XII.

Table XII

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS OF THIS STUDY

Babylonian Calendar Dates	*Years and Dates B.C.*	*Date Formulae in the Economic Texts*	*Events in the Nabonidus Chronicle*	*Ugbaru's Career*
	539			
Tashritu	October	17th Year of Nabonidus, *King of Babylon*	Cyrus attacks Sippar falls	Governor of Gutium
14 Tashritu	10 October		Babylon falls	Conquers Babylo
16 Tashritu	12 October		Cyrus enters Babylon	Military Prefect
3 Arahsamnu	29 October			
Kislimu	November-December	Accession Year of Cyrus, King of Lands	Return of the gods begins	Governor of Babylon
	538			
Addaru	February-March		Return of the gods ends (New Year's Festival)	
Nisanu		1st Year of Cyrus, King of Lands		(Enthroned)
11 Arahsamnu	26 October		Ugbaru's death (Cyrus becomes king of Babylon)	(*King of Babylon*
?			Queen's (?) death	
	537	1st Year of Cyrus, *King of Babylon*, King of Lands		
27 Addaru	8 March		Mourning begins	
3 Nisanu	14 March		Mourning ends	
4 Nisanu	15 March	2d Year of Cyrus, *King of Babylon* King of Lands	Cambyses in New Year's Festival	

Statements in parentheses are the author's interpretations.

(Concluded)

BOOK REVIEWS

Childs, Brevard S. *Biblical Theology in Crisis.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970. 255 pp. $ 8.00.

The author, Professor of OT at Yale University, is prompted to write this book as an attempt to understand the shift in the winds in contemporary theology, specifically that which is related to Biblical studies. Both professional theologians and informed laymen know that theology is undergoing at present considerable change, that much of the so-called theological consensus has come to an end, especially as it is identified with "neo-orthodoxy," and that therefore there is an opening up of new theological fronts.

In Part I (pp. 13-87) Childs describes as the initial purpose of his book the emergence of a distinctive American way of understanding theology in its relation to the Bible. He believes that the period that followed World War II in America can be best described in its approach to Biblical studies as the "Biblical Theology Movement." It emerged as a distinctive American way of combining modern theology with the study of the Bible and arose largely in response to certain European influences and American problems. Critical scholars were faulted for having lost themselves in the minutiae of literary, philological, and historical problems which resulted in a hopelessly fragmented Bible whose essential unity was distorted and forgotten. "Biblical scholarship had deteriorated into an exercise in trivia, in which tragic process the profound theological dimensions were overlooked" (p. 15). The peculiar historical and sociological matrix of America which led to the "Biblical Theology Movement" was the aftermath of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy which had been waged from about 1910-1930. It had split major denominations and rocked others to a degree not known before. By the middle thirties it had become apparent that the liberals had won the battle. At the end of World War II the wounds of the battle between liberals and conservatives were far from healed. A new alternative to the "liberal-conservative syndrome" was offered by those who at that time suggested the possibility of accepting Biblical criticism as carried on with the use of the historical-critical method as a vital tool, while at the same time recovering a robust, confessionally oriented theology. The "Biblical Theology Movement" emerged thus by joining a historical-critical approach to the Bible with a confessional theology. It attempted to bridge the long-standing gulf between conservatives and liberals. Its elements consisted of an emphasis on the theological dimensions of the Bible under the conviction that the Scriptures were highly relevant for modern man. Other emphases of the "Biblical Theology Movement" stressed the dynamic unity of the Bible in terms of a unity in diversity, the conviction that

God's revelation was mediated through history along the lines of "revelation in history" which considered history as the medium of revelation. It also generally agreed that there is a distinctive Biblical mentality, which was used polemically against both liberals and conservatives. The final special feature of the "Biblical Theology Movement" in America was a concentration on the Ancient Near Eastern setting of the Bible and the Bible's relation to its environment. The Bible reflects the influence of its environment and "yet in spite of its appropriations the Bible has used these common elements in a way that is totally distinct and unique from its environment" (p. 48) so that the differences between the Bible and its environment are so remarkable that one cannot speak of derivation, but of originality.

The decade of the fifties witnessed the return of unresolved problems such as the failure to understand the Bible as a fully human book, as affirmed by the historical-critical approach, and yet as the vehicle of the revealed Divine Word, the problem of relating the Old and New Testaments to each other in a consistent and unified way, the problem of the authority of the Bible, and the problem of having a "canon within the canon." These and other unresolved problems brought about a cracking of the walls of the "Biblical Theology Movement" which was a beginning of the breaking up of the older theological alliances that constituted the "Biblical Theology Movement" in America.

Childs speaks of "the collapse" of the "Biblical Theology Movement" as a dominant and cohesive force in American theology which resulted from the impact of "erosion from within" precipitated by the influence of disparate views of scholars (Eichrodt, von Rad, Cullmann, Bultmann) on American theologians. This influence showed itself in regard to the questions of the nature of history and revelation in history, the unity of the Bible, the distinctive Biblical mentality, and the theological dimension. Alongside the forces of erosion from within another set of pressures made itself felt from without, namely economic, social, and political developments of American culture in the sixties on the one hand, and the writings of J. A. T. Robinson, Harvey Cox, and Langdon Gilkey, on the other. The "Biblical Theology Movement" was thus brought to a "virtual end as a major force in American theology in the early sixties" (p. 87).

In Part II (pp. 91-147) Childs engages in the quest of "seeking a future" for a Biblical theology by asking the question, Where do we go from here in the use of the Bible? He affirms the need for a "new Biblical theology." He sees this need arising out of the failure of the "Biblical Theology Movement" and the trend of American OT and NT studies in the seventies which is in danger of dealing with historical, literary, and philological studies so that the Biblical disciplines will again be fragmented. The "new Biblical theology" as a discipline "will attempt to retain and develop a picture of the whole, and . . . will have a responsibility to synthesize as well as analyze" (p. 92). Its task lies not primarily in sifting, simplifying, and ordering, but "in ap-

proaching the material in a theologically significant way and addressing questions that are not only compatible to the Biblical material but relate to the theological task as well. . . . It simply will not do to limit Biblical Theology to the descriptive task" (p. 93). The "new Biblical theology" must benefit from active confrontation with the new questions of our age and society and would seem to have a decisive role to play in meeting the challenge of a "new American theological liberalism that finds its warrant for social action in a vague reference to 'making human the structure of society' " (p. 94). Another need for the "new Biblical theology" comes from the Christian pastors who will be informed and in turn will inform the "new Biblical theology" of the future on the front lines of the church's confrontation with the world.

As a fresh alternative, Childs defends the thesis that the most appropriate context for the shape of the "new Biblical theology" is the canon as a normative body of tradition contained in a set of books which God uses as a channel of life for the continuing church. He states that "one of the major factors in the breakdown of the Biblical Theology Movement was its total failure to come to grips with the inspiration of Scripture" (p. 103). Approaching the Bible with all the assumptions of liberalism and using at the same time orthodox Biblical language for the constructive part of theology proved in the end to cause an impossible tension. In Childs' understanding, "the claim for the inspiration of Scripture is the claim for the uniqueness of the canonical context of the church through which the Holy Spirit works" (p. 104), which is to be distinguished from the theology of Scripture as revelation during the period of the "Biblical Theology Movement." Childs moves here along the lines of a Calvinistic-Barthian approach. He rightly rejects the old proof-text method as well as the more recent approaches which work primarily with themes and motifs. Accordingly the proper approach or method for the "new Biblical theology" is "to begin with specific Old Testament passages which are quoted within the New Testament" (pp. 114, 115). This provides a Biblical category from the outset and the variation in usage of the OT by the NT serves to resist the temptation of moving into the abstract. Childs' method includes as the first task to determine how an OT text functioned within the OT setting. The question here is, What did it mean to the ancient Hebrew people? The second task is to see the function of this text within the NT canon. Once the relation between the original function of a passage and its later theological role within the Biblical canon is assessed, then the third task must be engaged in, namely, to wrestle with the Biblical witness in constant relation to the extra-Biblical witness of the community of faith (the church). In other words, the "new Biblical theology" must also bring to bear the history of interpretation of the church in the "precritical" and historical-critical periods upon the Biblical passage for the elucidation of the reality it contains. Childs is daring enough to speak of the inadequacy of the historical-critical method for the theological task as it concerns the extent to which "it sets up

an iron curtain between the past and the present . . ." (pp. 142, 143). On the other hand, he maintains that "precritical interpretation of the Bible has much of great value to offer the modern Biblical theologian" (pp. 143, 144).

Part III (pp. 149-219) tests the method for the "new Biblical theology" by outlining concrete examples in support of the new model. A study of Ps 8 stresses the different roles which a text can have within the context of the canon and the significance of these roles for theological reflection. An investigation of Moses' slaying in the theology of the OT and NT and its later interpretation points out steps which are involved in genuine theological reflections. A third example, Pr 7, is used to explore the Biblical approach to sex, and the final attempt deals with the question of the God of Israel and the Church. Footnotes on the three chapters are given on pp. 225-246 which provide references to authors and studies pertinent to the discussions. Indexes of authors, subjects, and Scripture references are included.

This highly stimulating book shows that its author is quite familiar with current issues in his own and other fields. He has provided in his first part an invaluable description of recent movements in Biblical theology and shown in which areas the pendulum has been swinging back and forth. No informed student and scholar can afford to neglect these issues. He has answered in a twofold way the question, "Toward Biblical Theology?" which is the title of the last chapter of E. G. Kraeling's well-known book, *The Old Testament Since the Reformation* (1969 [2]). The kind of Biblical theology of which Kraeling spoke has apparently collapsed in America. Childs' proposal for a "new Biblical theology" is rather different from the new step taken by G. E. Wright of Harvard University, who was a champion of the "Biblical Theology Movement" and who dissociated himself from his own earlier approach of "a God who acts" in history (cf. *God Who Acts. Biblical Theology as Recital* [1952]) at the time he moved close to G. von Rad's theological views. Wright now maintains that the correct approach to OT theology must be seen in relation to the work of W. Eichrodt (cf. *The Old Testament and Theology* [1969], pp. 61 ff.). Whereas Childs speaks of a "collapse" of the "Biblical Theology Movement," Wright gives the impression merely of a reorientation, reshuffling, with a new emphasis. The future alone is able to determine whether Childs has drawn his distinctions too sharply or whether in fact his proposed new method will prove to be a catalyst for a really "new Biblical theology."

We have arrived at a point where we need to pause in order to reflect critically on some problem areas in the proposed new approach and method of Childs. Space in this review does not allow a detailed discussion. Thus we must be brief. First, the argument of the context of the Scriptural canon, as understood with reference to the claim that only those NT ideas which have their roots in the OT determine the categories of Biblical theology, is hampered with crucial shortcomings. This procedure seems to lead to "a canon within the canon"

unless one assumes that all OT categories are reflected in one way or other in the NT. One will first of all have to determine what the OT writers mean on their own terms without recourse to the NT. On this basis it will become apparent whether or not all aspects of the theology of the OT are directly or indirectly reflected in the NT. The concept of the Scriptural canon necessitates that a Biblical theology will also contain categories that are not reflected in the NT. Contrariwise, the NT may contain categories which are not clearly or not at all contained in the OT. These must also receive justified attention in a Biblical theology. On the whole it is to be affirmed that there is a movement from the OT to the NT and a current of life is also flowing from the NT to the OT. It appears that the "new method" of Childs is another "selective method" now based singularly on NT categories. This approach is too restrictive and one-sided.

Second, it is not at all clear how Childs' new approach is to solve the problem of the authority of Scripture in view of his apparent emphasis on the history of the interpretation of Scripture as a theological reflection on equal footing with the canonical reflection in both OT and NT. It appears that at this point distinctions are needed in order to move beyond the present impasse. Finally, in view of the fact that Childs has pointed out that one of the major factors for the dissolution and collapse of the "Biblical Theology Movement" was its total failure to come to grips with the inspiration of Scripture, one wonders whether his new method resolves the "impossible tension" (p. 103) between the inspiration of Scripture and its reinterpretation. Does Childs' affirmation to take seriously the confession of a canon in conjunction with his affirmation of the historical-critical method of research, which *a priori* rules out the inspiration of Scripture, really provide an alternative to the ill-fated liberal attempt to reinterpret the inspiration of Scripture as a quality of imagination? Unless the alternative proposed by Childs proves to come to grips with this problem, his proposed "new Biblical theology" may be also doomed to collapse. These points are not raised to diminish in any sense the Herculean effort of Childs to move beyond the collapse of the "Biblical Theology Movement" while attempting to affirm some of its basic tenets. It is not difficult to agree with him that his method is not being proposed by him as a "final solution" (p. 114). We are deeply indebted and grateful to Childs for having stimulated us to re-evaluate and question yet more consistently and radically.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

Fuller, Reginald H. *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971. xiv + 225 pp. $ 6.95.

New methods of study call for the reexamination of old material and a reevaluation of former conclusions. Reginald Fuller does this in applying the tools of form and redaction criticism to the study of the resurrection narratives.

Fuller begins with an examination of the account in 1 Cor 15:3-8, which incorporates the earliest Easter traditions. Using this account as the foundation, he then examines the accounts in Mk, Mt, Lk-Acts, and Jn (Jn 20 and 21 separately). He includes chapters also on the various endings in Mk, the problem of transposed resurrection narratives, and, in the appendix, resurrection narratives in the apocryphal gospels. His excellent final chapter makes a bridge from his historical study to the present situation and is entitled, "The Resurrection Narratives in Contemporary Faith and Proclamation."

Fuller makes a careful and meticulous study of these narratives, delineating what seems to be tradition which the evangelist used and the evangelist's own comments. While on the whole there would be general agreement, the nature of the material precludes unanimous agreement on every point. Some of his significant conclusions are: (1) the primitive tradition did not narrate the resurrection but proclaimed it; (2) the presupposition of the kerygma comes later with the listing of appearances which are revelatory encounters, not simply subjective experiences; (3) the encounters are for the purpose of establishing the church and inaugurating its mission; (4) the resurrection of Jesus was "the transformation of his whole being into the new mode of eschatological existence" (p. 170). The concept is derived from Jewish apocalyptic; (5) the empty-tomb tradition is early and completely congruous with the mode of resurrection proclaimed; (6) the narratives of the resurrection developed later but must be understood from their purpose and intention. "They can no longer be read as direct accounts of what happened, but rather as vehicles for proclamation" (p. 172).

Fuller does not discard the resurrection narratives simply because they do not measure up to the standards of authenticity. Through the methods used he can explain them. "They have nothing to do with a primary uncertainty about the resurrection faith. Rather they represent varying attempts to give that faith expression" (p. 170). Instead of eliminating, he interprets the meaning and intention of these stories. This constructive approach makes his last chapter most helpful to contemporary Christians and to preachers confused by the inconsistencies and discrepancies of these accounts.

The reviewer would question the author's explanation of the "third day" as the "dawn of the end-time, the beginning of the cosmic eschatological process of resurrection" (p. 27). The evidence for this is weak. The same can be said about the appearances to Peter and the Twelve as "church-founding appearances." It is true that the resurrection, in effect, fulfilled this role, but it is difficult from the evidence to speak of these two appearances as specifically intended for that purpose. The significance that Fuller gives to the appearance to James cannot be accepted on the basis of the evidence given. Too much is also made of Acts 13:29. His view that Mark thought of Galilee as the place from which the mission to the Gentiles was to go forth and, therefore, that the appearances of Jesus in Galilee must be understood in that way, is not conclusive.

The combination of resurrection as the apocalyptic-type transformation of the whole being and the early tradition of the empty tomb is very significant. As Fuller says, the faith of the disciples did not rest on the empty tomb but on the revelatory encounters with the Risen One. Nevertheless, the story of the empty tomb was "wholly compatible" and "congruous" with the resurrection faith. While in the last resort the story of the empty tomb is "a matter of theological indifference" yet "it has some importance for that faith. It indicates that for them the resurrection appearances were not manifestations of Christ's human spirit as having survived death, as when the medium of Endor conjured up the spirit of Samuel (1 Sam 28:8 ff.), but rather the eschatological reversal of death which was the content of apocalyptic hope" (p. 179). Does this mean that if the corpse remained it would negate his statement?

Unfortunately the book is marred by too many typographical errors. The following list is too long for any book, especially one with such an eminent author: "Galations" (p. 38), "Philemon 3:21" (p. 47), "multilation" (p. 65), "act" missing after "God's eschatological" (p. 68), "perciope" (p. 73), "suppressing" (p. 84), "later" instead of "latter" (p. 98, twice), "used" instead of "use" (p. 99), period missing after "Luke" (p. 102), "occures" (p. 106), "not" instead of "no" (p. 113), "tomb tomb" (p. 136), "anabaino" should be "anabainō" (p. 138), "zur" should be capitalized (p. 200), "Linders" instead of "Lindars" (p. 201, twice), "eschatolological" (p. 170), "early" seems to be an error for "earthly" (p. 174), "kergyma" (p. 179).

Andrews University SAKAE KUBO

Han, Nathan E. *A Parsing Guide to the Greek New Testament.* Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1971. xvi + 479 pp. $ 12.95.

Analytical Greek lexicons parse and decline Greek verbs and nouns in an alphabetical arrangement. What the author of the book under review has done is to parse all Greek verbs and participles according to the order in which they are found in the NT. Only when a form is repeated in the next verse is it omitted. This will mean a tremendous saving of time for the student who is working his way through the NT, especially the student who is weak in verbal forms. A summary of noun and verb forms is provided at the back of the book.

It would have been better appreciated by teachers of Greek if the basic and regular forms of the verbs were not given in the list. Such elementary forms as ἐστίν, διδάσκειν, εἶπεν, λέγεις, λαλῶ, μένει are not necessary since it is presumed that those who would be using this tool will be those who have studied or are studying Greek. A certain amount of the study of grammar must be presupposed before such a tool can be handled with profit. Therefore, such things as the regular forms of the present, aorist, imperfect, and perhaps all future forms should have been omitted. Teachers will object to the use of this

tool if it tends to dependence rather than to the learning of the basic forms. Another danger one should avoid is to give the impression that the learning of the forms itself is the goal without learning how to translate these forms.

If the student does not rely on this tool for the basic forms, it can be helpful and time-saving. Otherwise it can, ironically, become an obstacle for the learning of Greek.

Andrews University SAKAE KUBO

Keen, Sam. *Apology for Wonder*. New York: Harper & Row, 1969. 218 pp. $ 5.95.

Sam Keen cannot seem to make up his mind. Will he describe grace as our maintaining balance and harmony, being wise, or will grace be the sense of wonder we feel when fascinated and awed by the holy? Keen writes a book that is beautiful in structure, style, and content, a book that appeals simultaneously to the mind and to the sensibilities. But he never resolves the issue of whether his book is an apology for wonder or a defense of balance.

One of the most appealing things about Keen's book is the way he moves carefully from an analysis of general human experience, step by step to theological affirmation. The first three chapters use the methods of phenomenology and history of religions to describe the essence of wonder and its past. Chapters Four and Five rely primarily on a philosophical approach to describe the contemporary loss of wonder. Not until Chapter Six does Keen present his constructive position, and it is only in the last chapter, subtitled "A Quasi-Theological Postscript," that Keen relies heavily on theological terminology. Keen has organized his book carefully for the general reader, educated in psychology and philosophy, who has a difficult time affirming or confessing faith. Keen hopes he can entice this reader to believe, to trust, to be grateful to a power outside of himself. He would be grateful if such a reader could find it in himself to call that power God. He does not argue that that power should be described in Christian terms.

Keen prepares the way for stating his own constructive position by carefully showing how the sense of wonder shared by "traditional" man (primitive, Greek, Jewish, and Christian) has been lost by modern man since Kant and Hume. Primitive and Greek men were awe-struck by the cosmos (ontological wonder); Jewish and Christian men more by the *kairos* (historical wonder). But all these traditional men trusted the reality they encountered outside of themselves. With Hume's insistence that there was no necessary connection between any two matters of fact, modern man was "confronted with dialogue that lacks logical connection, events which bear no relationship to each other, action without consequence, and consequences which happen but are not caused" (p. 102). Before such a world man can not respond in wonder. "He is weightless, with nothing to push against;

he must form his identity in a void. The universe is neither caring nor alien—only neutral. Nothingness is the final word about the nonhuman world" (p. 114).

With this diagnosis of man's condition we expect Keen to respond with an unabashed plea for fascination and awe at the world around us; especially after he spends a whole chapter dismantling man's contemporary attempt through work to escape his sense of insignificance in a meaningless cosmos. But instead of proposing wonder, Keen makes a case for balance. "I will suggest that healthy personality involves a balance between receptivity and manipulation, between wonder and action" (p. 151). To put it another way, Keen has been diverted from the logic of his book by the fascination of two Greek gods, Apollo and Dionysius.

He uses the two symbols of Apollo and Dionysius to describe not only distinct, but conflicting "modes of being in the world" (p. 152). Apollonian man works, creates, knows, promises. Dionysian man plays, responds, feels, celebrates. Grace is to be found by becoming *homo tempestivus*, the timely man who relies on wisdom to know how to alternate between Apollo and Dionysius. "Health lies in the both/and (not in the either/or): in granting proper reverence to both Dionysius and Apollo. In the mature personality the pendulum is constantly swinging between wonder and action" (p. 195). The "healthy personality is structured upon a principle of oscillation" (p. 195).

The reader's surprise at finding a wise balance instead of wonder as the recommended mode of living is heightened by the fact that Apollo is identified with the principle of action and Dionysius with the principle of wonder. Keen has shown sensitively how much man has lost by no longer having fascination and awe for reality outside of himself, by not having a capacity for wonder. But instead of showing how wonder can be recaptured and what contemporary forms it takes, Keen suggests we be timely, "opportune, wise men of balance." Has not Keen's structure distorted his content? By deciding on a bipolar structure to describe reality he has pre-ordained that he will have to find an overreaching, third, category to unify the two, and balance is an obvious choice. But is not balance precisely an Apollonian term? Keen himself describes balance as a key to the Apollonian way. "He is the god of ego, light, youth, purity, reasonableness, order, discipline, and balance" (p. 152). Keen has driven throughout his book towards the need for wonder, which he identifies with the Dionysian way, only to end by prescribing balance, an Apollonian trait.

Just as we are adjusting ourselves to this amusing turn of events, Keen in his concluding theological postscript again reverses his field. Keen has equated wonder, in the first chapter, with the holy. "Both have as their object a mystery that is at once awful and desirable (*mysterium tremendum et fascinans*). I will suggest further that there is no substantial difference between wonder and the experience of the holy" (p. 35). Now, at the end of his book, just after he has invoked not wonder but balance as modern man's way out of his

meaninglessness, Keen invokes wonder again. "Our judgment must be that the basic attitudes a person adopts toward the world are a more significant indication of psychological spiritual health than the specific symbols he uses to express these attitudes. Whether we continue to talk about God is not so important as whether we retain the sense of wonder which keeps us aware that ours is a holy place" (p. 211). In the end Keen returns to his original purpose, to show how modern man can find meaning by standing in awe before creation. Keen's dalliance in the groves of Grecian gods has simply confused the issue.

It remains only to mention what must be regarded as Keen's greatest contribution, apart from structure and style. Keen has tried nothing less than to relate the experience of grace, not to the doctrine of redemption, but to the doctrine of creation. If we were to describe the theologian as dancer (one of Keen's favorite symbols for *homo tempestivus*) we would have to say that Keen stumbles in executing a central *pas de deux*, but impresses us mightily with his overall performance.

Andrews University ROY BRANSON

McKane, William. *Proverbs: A New Approach.* "Old Testament Library." Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970. xxii + 670 pp. $ 12.50.

The author has placed in our hands the first major commentary in English on the book of Proverbs since 1899, when Toy's commentary appeared in the "International Critical Commentary" series. The "new approach," as the subtitle indicates, pertains to a thoroughgoing form-critical analysis of Pr 1-9; 22:17-24:22; and 31:1-9 in the light of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian wisdom literature. The author's threefold aim is (1) to show that these passages belong to a different literary genre than the wisdom "sentences" in Pr 10:1-22:16 and 24:23-29:27; (2) to reinvestigate the argument which maintains that the history of Israelite wisdom tradition and the tendency of its development is reflected in Pr; and (3) to analyze basic characteristics of Biblical "proverbs."

A highly significant introduction (pp. 1-47) contains four essays which set forth McKane's conclusions on Pr 1-9, on the "sentence literature" in Pr, on the meaning of *māšāl*, and on a detailed comparison of the text of the Septuagint with the Masoretic text.

Part I (pp. 51-208) deals with a study of international wisdom, namely the Egyptian instruction as found in Ptahhotep, Kagemni, Merikare, Amenemhet, Duauf, Ani, Amenemope, and Onchsheshonqy. This is followed by the Babylonian-Assyrian instruction as represented by the "Counsels of Wisdom" from the Kassite period (1500-1200) and by Ahikar from the 5th or 4th century. The final section in Part I deals with Babylonian and Assyrian proverbs.

Part II (pp. 211-670) is devoted to the book of Proverbs and opens with a continuous translation of the OT text. The three chapters following the translation are made up of the exegesis of the book of Proverbs in the following groupings: (1) the "instruction" genre includes chs. 1-9; 22:17-24; 31:1-9; (2) the "sentence" literature comprises chs. 10:1-22:16; 24:23-34; 25:1-29:27; and (3) "poems" and "numerical sayings" are found in chs. 30:1-33; 31:10-31.

The main conclusions reached by this "new approach" are of considerable importance. The author maintains that there is a basic distinction between the genres of "instruction" and wisdom "sentence." The imperative is proper to the "instruction" genre and its aim is to command and persuade (p. 3). The formal structure of the "instruction" genre can be described and its life setting defined (pp. 5,6). The genre of wisdom "sentence," on the other hand, contains the indicative and gives "an observation in an impersonal form which states a truth but neither exhorts nor persuades" (p. 3), nor is there any context. The "individual wisdom sentence is a complete entity" (p. 10). In this connection there is another conclusion which has its bearing on form-critical analysis. The "instruction" genre is not a development from the simple admonition (*Mahnspruch*) (versus J. Schmidt, *Studien zur Stilistik der alttestamentlichen Spruchliteratur* [1936]) nor from prohibition such as the apodictic laws (versus E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts"* [1965]; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos* [1966]), but is derived from "an international genre of which the Israelite wisdom teacher made use" (p. 5).

The "instruction" genre, argues the author, probably first appeared in Israel in connection with the training of men for civil service, during the reign of Solomon, but its influence as seen in chs. 1-9; 22:17-24:22; and 31:1-9 is that of a later stage when it had become instruction for a way of life in the community and for its young men. This is a very different starting-place from that allocated to the "instruction" by those who describe it formally as a stringing together of wisdom "sentences." McKane believes that the extant examples of "instruction" in Pr 1-9 "do not have the character of career advice for officials" (p. 9), which leads him to hypothesize that the introduction of the "instruction" genre in Israel in the time of Solomon involves a process of extrapolation which make the pieces in Pr 1-9 representative of later stages in the history of tradition.

This type of argumentation has its serious problems. Basic for its cogency is the supposition that the origin of "instruction" was uniquely connected with Solomon's creation of civil service and its vocational instruction (perhaps on an Egyptian model). But such a hypothesis is hardly convincing. On the basis of ancient Near Eastern parallels it seems that the broadly based instruction for the community and for the young men of the community was original from the viewpoint of the history-of-tradition and organizational patterns.

The two following studies on the crux of Pr 8 should be added: M. Dahood, "Proverbs 8, 22-31," *CBQ*, XXX (1958), 512-521; and J. de

Savignac, "Interprétation de Proverbes VIII 22-32," *SVT*, XVII (1969), 196-203.

McKane has plowed new furrows and overthrown firmly established views as a result of painstaking research. No scholar or serious student of Pr can afford to neglect this commentary. Many of the conclusions will have to be reckoned with. This work is indispensable.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

Miller, David L. *Gods and Games: Toward a Theology of Play*. New York: World Publishing Co., 1970. xiii + 209 pp. $ 5.95.

David Miller frolics through this book insisting that play is serious, but theologians saying so are playing. Five sentences from three successive paragraphs in the last chapter illustrate this: "If a book purports to witness to life lived *sub specie ludi*, perhaps then there should not be a serious word in the whole book. . . . I seriously hope there is not one serious sentence in the whole of this book. Including this last one. . . . The danger with a book like this one is that someone might take it seriously. Or that the author might take the preceding sentence seriously" (pp. 170, 171). Frankly, it is a little difficult to take David Miller seriously, and I mean it.

Somehow Miller got diverted into spending well over half his book on introduction; not a typology of previous comments on play, or a searching analysis of their work, but an annotated bibliography on everyone who has mentioned play from Wittengenstein to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—46 authors in seven widely diverse fields (including mathematics). Still, it may be the most useful part of the book. At least none of the authors writing on theology of play do the same thing. In the last half of his book, Miller surveys what anthropologists and psychologists write about play being a central characteristic of man, and even defining what phenomenologists and theologians say about religion as play. The topic has been discussed in greater depth by Robert Neale and Sam Keen.

The point that Miller stresses more than Neale, Keen, or even Harvey Cox is that theology of play should be playful. "A theology *of* play, *by* play, and *for* play," is the formula he propounds. Why? Why should a theology of play be any more playful than other theologies, especially if play is as significant as Miller proposes? Should theologies of faith be pious, theologies of hope ecstatic, and theologies of love erotic? Theology by definition is reflection. Its purpose is to clarify feelings, actions, thoughts. If a religious person wishes to reproduce in others a quality of his experience, he will probably break into poetry or song. Instead of theology he will involve himself in devotional literature and liturgical practice. Theology and liturgy are both needed, sometimes they can even overlap, but to demand that a theology of play *must* hop, skip, and jump means that careful reflection may well be sacrified to a forced ebullience.

Miller himself is sometimes superficial, other times inconsistent. He connects the word play with many other words. He describes play as the sense of pleasure, by which the "meaning comes through the interplay of the senses" (p. 141). But he also says that the language of a theology of play is witty, full of puns, joke-like (p. 161). But is humor necessarily the language of pleasure? Aren't play and humor related, but distinct? And what about joy? Repeatedly he describes the play of children as joy. They experience a joyful sense of freedom and unity. In his introduction, when Miller describes the purpose of his book, he invokes the word joy. "It is a quest, not for a serious theology about play, but rather for a playful theology about seriousness—in fact, about Ultimate Seriousness, which is Joy" (p. 5). What then is the relation of play to pleasure, to humor, to joy? Clearly, they are related, but how? Miller enthuses about all of them, but does not clarify their relation to each other.

On whether play is essentially individual or corporate Miller is inconsistent. He emphasizes that in Anglo-Saxon the word *pflegan* meant not only play, but pledge. In the process of trying to emphasize the seriousness which the word play has connoted in the past, Miller reveals an ethical dimension inherent in play. To play is to be with, and therefore concerned about, others. Later, in his analysis of the psychology of play, Miller separates play in general, found in infants, from game-playing begun in the late childhood and adolescence. Activity within rules, within regularized concern for others, is not play. "Games may well seduce us into purposiveness. Into wanting to win something. But play: that is a different matter. Play is purposeless" (p. 174). When Miller comes to describe religion as play he sees no reason for play to be directed outward toward other people. "To refer to play as the religion behind man's everyday existence is to imply a radical reformation in the history of religious consciousness. . . . Whereas previously man found meaning in social contexts, now he finds it individually" (p. 154). Miller has obviously forgotten the meaning that he himself reported that play had in Anglo-Saxon. Miller's religion as play finds no pledges to others.

Miller's lack of clarity on the relation of play to humor compounds his problem here. If humor is part of play, can one persist in saying play is individual? Does not noticing incongruity assume attention to reality external to the individual? Does not humor and wit demand an audience to hear the incongruity pointed out?

If Miller's book were the only one published on theology of play, we could be grateful for his at least reminding us that play has been overlooked as a place for God to be revealed. As it is, those willing to spend a limited time dallying with theology of play should read Ralph Neale, Sam Keen, or Harvey Cox.

Andrews University ROY BRANSON

Olsen, V. Norskov. *The New Testament Logia on Divorce: A Study of Their Interpretation from Erasmus to Milton.* "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblischen Exegese," Nr. 10. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1971. vi + 161 pp. Brosch. DM 30.-; Leinen DM 36.-.

This volume is a fitting addition to a prestigious series on the history of Biblical exegesis. Not only does it provide a comprehensive review of interesting interpretational material on a most practical subject from a crucial period in church history, but in so doing it also gives valuable insights regarding the hermeneutical principles used by various leaders of the Reformation as they have dealt with this subject. As the author indicates in his Foreword, the "investigation has been confined to primary sources, in which marriage and divorce have been considered in the light of the texts under discussion [logia on divorce recorded in Mt 5:32; 19:3-12; Mk 10:2-12; Lk 16:18; and Paul's treatment in I Cor 7:1-15]"; and an "attempt has been made to seek the answer as to what motivated the expositors in their interpretations and to compare the exegetical results of the various writers (p. iii).

The scope of coverage in the publication is evidently based on the consideration that in "the history of the interpretation of the New Testament logia on divorce during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there is a direct line from Erasmus to Milton" and that "by his concept of divorce Erasmus began to draw a circle which was closed by Milton. Within this circle the exegetical arguments of the Reformation period were exhausted" (p. 143).

The book is divided into four main sections: "The Interpretation of Erasmus and Roman Catholic Reaction" (pp. 2-42); "Martin Luther and Associates" (pp. 43-63); "The Reformed Theologians" (pp. 64-109); and "English Expositors" (pp. 110-142). The main text closes with a "Summary and Conclusion" (pp. 143-149). A valuable bibliography is given (pp. 150-157), followed by useful indices of names (pp. 158, 159) and Bible references (pp. 160, 161).

The first main division of the text not only treats Erasmus and his critics but also lays a necessary background by considering the traditional medieval Catholic approach to marriage and divorce. The following three divisions note the views of such individuals as Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, John Brenz, Huldreich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, John Calvin, Theodore Beza, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, John Hooper, William Fulke, John Raynolds, Joseph Hall, Henry Hammond, Lancelot Andrewes, Godfrey Goodman, Edmund Bunny, and John Milton. For most of these individuals there is a comprehensive review and analysis of their treatment of marriage and divorce. And consistently there is a serious effort to trace lines of influence and to provide comparisons and contrasts wherever possible, a procedure which greatly enhances the value of Olsen's work.

There is very little negative to say about this book. Even typesetter's errors are virtually absent (one example of such an error is "dubt" for "doubt" on p. 83, l. 23). One might question whether orthographically it would not have been better to refer to "Noel Beda" rather than to "Natalis Bedda" on pp. 30-33. Also, one wonders if the reference on p. 99 to the "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" of John Calvin in Geneva as being first proposed in 1545 and adopted by the "Little and Large Councils" in 1561 is not somewhat misleading. But any deficiencies of this kind are trivial and negligible when compared with the vast amount of material which has been supplied with such exceptional accuracy and clarity.

This book is competently done and authoritative; moreover, it provides fascinating reading. For anyone interested in NT Studies or in Reformation History—as well as for anyone interested in the simple human-interest element of seeing Reformation leaders seeking to mesh their concept of Scripture exegesis with the problems met in every-day life—this book is a "must." It is the kind of work which gives a reviewer pleasure to read and to recommend.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *Basic Questions in Theology*. Vol. I. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970. viii + 238 pp. $ 9.75.

If the alternative to a radical atheistic theology is not to be found in a retreat to silence, it must look to the future. It is to explore this possibility that the series of essays in this book were written.

One primary concern is with the distance between contemporary theology and the theology of the primitive Christian period (p. 6). Another is with the "history of Jesus" and the interpretations given to that history by the NT writers. The problem of "hermeneutic" is that of honoring the difference between perspectives of past and of present, and yet of "fusing the horizons" within which both see. The crisis of the "Scripture principle" lies in the fact that we no longer see as did the writers of the NT.We can no longer take its perspectives and make them our own, nor are we able to affirm the historicity of all that purports to be historical, in both of which respects we differ from Luther. To be able to speak in the universal terms demanded by theology, whose task is to talk about God, demands an understanding of the world as history and of God as the God of history; and there must be an attempt to see the totality of history. Then the modern and the Biblical horizons may be brought together within an encompassing whole. "Understanding the world as history" will lead in its turn to an understanding of the God of Scripture. But how is it possible to see the whole of history?

The principle of homogeneity in history (that present experience is the measure of what has happened in the past) is inadequate as a basis for interpretation of the past. Going against the grain of present-day

assumptions in historical work, Pannenberg contends that rather than assume a fundamental homogeneity of all events as a prelude to an assessment of what happened, one should be prepared to recognize a revelatory significance in the events themselves. That a reported event, the resurrection, for example, bursts analogies is not ground for disputing its facticity (pp. 48-49). Bultmann is criticized for failing to relate the text to the present by not allowing the text to speak in its disparateness from the present. The remedy of this essential failure (similar to that of Schleiermacher and of Dilthey) would be to consider the question of "universal history" (p. 113).

The NT interprets the particularity of the history and person of Jesus (p. 156). Such is the character of his history that the expression "revelation of God" may be used in connection with it. Pannenberg argues repeatedly that understanding of the significance of part of history involves viewing it from the perspective of the whole of history. If the whole of history (the whole of reality) is unknowable, the significance of the part remains a mystery. Anticipation of the future provides a key to the interpretation of the past. The alternative is a thorough-going relativism. One must maintain the relativity of all thought and at the same time insist that the "whole of reality" has come to view in the history of Jesus.

A future-oriented theology also provides an answer to a long-standing and fundamental problem—of analogical speech about God. Rejecting the classical Thomist approach (seeing the world as caused, and thence inferring God as Cause) that an analogy exists between our speech and God, Pannenberg contends that the analogy exists only between theological and non-theological speech. At the point where, in Thomas, the analogical move is made from the world to God as Cause of the world, Pannenberg puts the act of God in revelation in history. The particular history when the revelation is made, where the "totality of reality" comes to focus, is the history of Jesus. Jesus' claims were attested by the resurrection, in which, proleptically, the "final future of man" came (p. 236). "Doxological," in contrast to "analogical," speech about God is speech rooted in the adoration of God, deriving from experience of a specific divine act. The Resurrection, being an anticipation of the end, cannot be fully understood now, but only at the end. We are thus borne forward to the eschaton.

Pannenberg's concept of a proleptic revelation of the end is a difficult one, as indeed is his understanding of the "future." Speaking naïvely, how can the future be present and not be present? We would certainly want to endorse his insistence on the dynamic character of revelation and link it with the ongoing acts of God in history—specifically in the history of Jesus Christ—and with the central importance of the Resurrection. We would also insist that revelation must point forward and satisfy hope, by keeping hope alive. If this dimension (the future, hope) must be preserved, it will stand in tension with the present and the past, the Being-Becoming duality expressed in temporal terms. It is characteristic of the culture in which we live that

we think historically. But the unsolved problem of eternity-temporality, universality-particularity cannot be easily solved by a change of terminology.

Revelation in the present can be understood as an extension of the understanding of a revelation (experienced) in the present. What sense does it make to speak of future revelation extended, in part, "proleptically" backwards into history, and known in the present? Insistence upon the provisionality of revelation-apprehension of revelation and its inevitable grounding in past history are important steps beyond Barth and Bultmann. Whether one can take the further steps required must depend upon further considerations.

Nottingham, England EDWARD W. H. VICK

Rackman, Emanuel. *One Man's Judaism*. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1970. 397 pp. $ 8.95.

Emanuel Rackman, having previously published two well-received volumes on Jewish values and many studies and reviews, has become a major interpreter of Judaism among American Jewish thinkers. In this volume containing 24 articles published previously in journals, he sets forth his philosophy of Judaism. His discussion is not encyclopedic nor is it a systematic analysis of his belief and practice, but it is analytical and creative. Not only are the comparisons to law, political science, and social philosophy correctly drawn; not only is there a mastery of the *tanna'im*, *'amora'im*, and response literature; not only are the contemporary expressions of American Judaism effectively discussed, but all is adorned with a polite polemic against the detractors of Halakha who have rejected the revealed character of both the Written and Oral Law. What this amounts to is a radical Halakhic treatise on Jewish norms, practices, and mores which argues for innovations in Jewish law to meet the needs of modern man.

Rackman begins with a detailed definition of his traditionalist belief based on the primacy of Torah teaching and guided by a teleological approach which proclaims that the purpose and end of human existence has been established by God. Man's role is conditioned by these pristine ends in developing the living rabbinic law or Halakha. He then analyzes the scope of Jewish law pertaining to festivals and Sabbaths, health and holiness, medical and legal problems, human rights and equality. He devotes a number of chapters to the multihued make-up of American Jewry. He speaks with authority in relating the existential experiences of the contemporary observant Jew, and he is sympathetic to the non-observant elements in the Jewish community. His account on God and man and his thoughts on the encounter between Israel and God make little advance over what is already generally known and often accepted by informed circles of Jews. Turning to the methodology of Jewish law, he maintains that the

immediate functions of the doctors of the Oral Law is to direct their research with a critical perspective, to bring about a classification of Halakha, to resolve uncertainties in the tradition, and to fill the lacunae in the Oral Law. His statements on the role of the synagogue, prayer, Jewish academy, and the Land of Israel represent a cogent model of the Jewish exegetical tradition. In a section identified as the "Contemporary Scene," the author writes on the alienation from Jewish life and religion of Jewish intellectuals (writers, scientists, academicians), explicates the ferment in American Orthodoxy, and pleads for the involvement of Halakha-committed Jews in the social issues of our time. Also, he argues that Jewish-Christian dialogue is possible only in the area of social action, not in the realm of theology.

It is possible to praise the book without ignoring its limitations. It is by no means a complete survey of modern expressions of Judaism. It is selective, impressionistic, and, at times, apologetic. There is a cloud of evasiveness on the subject of dogmas in Judaism, particularly for the thorough-going assimilated Jew who, disillusioned by the secular and religious options offered to him by Western civilization, is now seriously seeking to find the meaning of Judaism for himself and his family. There are no rational explanations nor simple theological answers to interpret the bloodbaths of the Holocaust period, but to ignore the event as Rackman does in a contemporary statement on Jewish theology is unpardonable. The concept of the Jewish people as witnesses to a living God and the significance of the invincible, universal, and national kingdoms of God may have been fashioned by the Sinai event, but the contemporary religious Jew must find and test the meaning of these ideas ironically in Hitlerian Germany even though the attempt is usually futile and blasphemous.

It is refreshing to read a volume that explores the primary sources of the Bible and of the rabbinical codes, establishing what the text says rather than stating what is said about the text. But it is annoying to see an almost complete indifference to origin, date, authorship, oral, written, and theological traditions of the sources cited. For example, the methodology of Lower and Higher Criticism of the Bible and the Talmud must be given serious thought in establishing the faith and message of Judaism, and not dismissed as mere polluters of the springs of *Yiddishkeit*. One wishes also that the author had devoted several chapters to such basic problems as the age-old Jewish belief in bodily resurrection now seriously questioned by science which theorizes a universe where matter is energy and the earth a minute speck of the planetary systems, the problem of who is a Jew, *mamzeruth* (bastardization), presently plaguing the religious courts of the State of Israel, conversion, and the determination from the view of Halakha of when a war is holy and just or limited and ideological.

However restricted this book may be, Rackman has done his best to demonstrate "how one man feelingly and creatively lives in the past, present and future, and integrates the best in the many civilizations which are his patrimony." This widening of the Jewish consciousness

through intense awareness and pride of the Jewish psyche in all its manifestations is surely one of the primary obligations of a teacher in Israel; and it is one which very few have successfully performed.

Los Angeles Valley College ZEV GARBER
Van Nuys, California

Schmidt, Johann Michael. *Die jüdische Apokalyptik. Die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung von den Anfängen bis zu den Textfunden von Qumran.* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969. xvi + 343 pp. DM 44.80.

In this revised *Habilitationsschrift* presented to the Protestant faculty of the University of Hamburg in 1967-68 the author provides a systematic analysis of the history of research on apocalyptic. This work secures for itself a prominent place in the recent renaissance of scholarly and general interest, historical and theological, in apocalyptic. The recent renaissance of interest in apocalyptic in Germany and far beyond its border has had an unusual catalyst in the exciting finds at Qumran and in the controversial thesis of E. Käsemann ("Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie," *ZThK*, LVII [1960], 162-185) that apocalyptic "is the matrix of all Christian theology" (p. 180) as well as in the claim of K. Koch ("Spätisraelitisches Geschichtsdenken am Beispiel des Danielbuches," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXCIII [1961], 1-32) that apocalyptic is the historical link bridging OT prophecy and Christianity (cf. K. Koch, *Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik* [Gütersloh, 1970]). There are also three systematic theologians, W. Pannenberg, J. Moltmann, and G. Sauter, at the center of the revival of interest in apocalyptic for a proper understanding of eschatology. They have in part received their impetus in dialogue with the Marxist philosopher E. Bloch, whose recent work *Atheismus im Christentum* (1968) maintains that apocalyptic gave a revolutionary thrust to Christianity, *i.e.*, it is a positive inheritance which, rightly understood, makes Jesus an apocalyptic revolutionary whose purpose was not to bring peace but the sword.

The time dealt with by Schmidt's analysis of the history of research covers nearly two centuries, up to 1947, when the Qumran finds were made. (Recently Schmidt in "Forschung zur jüdischen Apokalyptik," *Verkündigung und Forschung*, XIV [1969], 44-69, carried his research further in an essay that treats studies on apocalyptic published between 1964 and 1969 in German, with only one reference to an English monograph.) Schmidt divides his monograph into two main parts according to the two major periods of research breaking around 1870 with the work of A. Hilgenfeld. The investigation as a whole is thematic rather than merely chronological.

A general introduction (pp. 1-8) justifies that the point of departure for an analysis of the history of research is the last third of the 18th century when the so-called historical-critical method was first employed in the study of Dan, Rev, and the OT Pseudepigrapha.

Part I (pp. 11-156) carries the title "The Origin and Development of Research on Apocalyptic till *ca.* 1870." It opens with brief surveys of research on post-exilic Judaism and OT prophecy. These are followed by presentations of the historical-critical research on the book of Dan, the OT Pseudepigrapha, and the book of Rev, each subdivided into problems of forms, content, and the apocalyptic nature of the respective works. Finally special attention is given to three major attempts to deal with the total nature of apocalyptic: (1) Friedrich Lücke (1832) is considered to have founded the systematic study of apocalyptic through his attempt to gather in a pragmatic way in a single book the critical evaluations of older and more recent studies and views. (2) Eduard Reuss (1843) followed Lücke in his presentation of apocalyptic literature in connection with a monograph on Rev. (3) Adolf Hilgenfeld's work (1857) attempts to prove his thesis that Jewish apocalyptic mediates the historical connection between Christianity and OT prophecy. During the period between the last third of the 18th century and *ca.* 1870 the term "apocalyptic," with such adjectives as Jewish, Christian, Biblical, or extra-Biblical, became in historical-critical research an independent literary and religious entity whose heyday reached from *ca.* 150 B.C. to A.D. 150. The impulses for the study of apocalyptic came from rationalism, romanticism, and salvation-history interests. In short, this period of research presents "a colorful palette of answers to the question for the nature and meaning of Jewish apocalyptic" (p. 155).

Part II (pp. 159-305) is entitled "Research on Apocalyptic from *ca.* 1870 to 1947." The first subdivision deals with the older stage of the historical and literary-historical interpretation with attention to its peculiar presuppositions, the origin and precursors of apocalyptic in OT prophecy, and the nature of apocalyptic. In the discussion of the latter point such questions as the nature of pseudonymity, visions, predictions, eschatology, dualism, messianism, syncretism, ethics, understanding of history, succession of empires in Dan, etc., are treated. The second subdivision discusses the history-of-religions and traditio-historical interpretation of apocalyptic by H. Gunkel, H. Gressmann, W. Bousset, and their followers, who bring Babylonian, Persian-Iranian, Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Hellenistic materials to bear on the question of the origin of apocalyptic. Under S. Mowinckel's influence attention is also given to the cultic origin of eschatology, and S. H. Hooke's myth-and-ritual pattern sees apocalyptic as a child of this pattern where apocalyptic is the attempt of a hope to vindicate Israel as the center of world history and the central object of God's purpose. The last subdivision concerns itself with the younger stage of the historical and literary-historical interpretation which comes largely as a reaction to the history-of-religions excesses. It draws attention to political, sociological, inner-religious, and Israelite movements in regard to the origin of apocalyptic.

A final section contains the "Conclusion, Retrospect, and Prospect" (pp. 306-317) in which the author ventures to point into directions in

which historical-critical research on apocalyptic, which represents all the colors of the spectrum, may be carried on fruitfully. He argues for a consistent combination of earlier methods of research *and* the consistent application of the form-critical method with due emphasis on the consistent unity of form and content. On this basis an advance in the understanding of the origin, nature, and development of apocalyptic can be expected. "Research in apocalyptic literature had entered a new stage with the finds of Qumran" (p. 317).

This monograph closes with an extensive and invaluable bibliography which contains the titles of 625 studies by *ca.* 380 different scholars. Unfortunately Anglo-American scholars have not received as much attention in the analysis of research as German scholars. For example, no mention has been made of the contributions of H. T. Andrews (1917, 1920), E. J. Price (1919), L. Ginzberg (1922), L. E. Fuller (1929), C. C. McCown (1925), J. Kaufmann (1928), J. Oman (1934), and others. The index of authors lists only 343 names, which means that it is inadequate. At the same time it contains names of people not listed in the bibliography. A short "index of texts" serves as an aid in finding treatments on specific Biblical and non-Biblical texts. This reviewer believes that in a study dealing with as many topics, themes, and subjects over nearly two centuries an "index of subjects" is indispensable. Unfortunately such an index is missing. In this connection it needs to be said that the thematic-chronological treatment used by Schmidt makes it extremely difficult to follow the development of research from beginning to end on a given theme or subject. These remarks on shortcomings are not meant to detract from the over-all value of this volume. It goes without saying that the information gathered and presented by Schmidt is of extraordinary importance for an understanding of the *Wege und Irrwege* of historical-critical research on Biblical and non-Biblical apocalyptic literature during almost 200 years. No informed scholar can afford to bypass this book. All, whether scholar or layman, can learn much from this presentation of critical research.

One erratum was noted: "diverce" for "diverse" (p. 268). The review copy supplied by the publisher lacked the print of the title page, the foreword, and pp. x, xi, xiv, xv of the table of contents.

Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL

Schwantes, Siegfried H. *The Biblical Meaning of History.* Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1970. 192 pp. $ 1.95 (paperbound).

A work such as the one being here reviewed poses several serious problems for an author: (1) To deal with historical *meaning* (a rather elusive quality) is never easy; (2) to cover a spread of history from the ancient Near Eastern civilizations to current times is an overwhelming task for a book of fewer than 200 pages and tends to lead to

unavoidable oversimplification; (3) to seek to present technical material in popular language (which seems to be the intent here) again leads in the direction of oversimplification. But in spite of these and other hazards, Schwantes not only has attempted a herculean task but has also, in the opinion of this reviewer, accomplished that task with a remarkable degree of success.

The first three chapters ("The Quest for Meaning," "Chance and Providence," and "Providence and Freedom") set the stage for the chapters that follow. The author interprets Biblical meaning as involving neither pure determinism nor simple fortuitousness. Rather, it embraces both divine providence and human freedom. Also, a survey of various concepts of history is given, a survey which is good in spite of its brevity. However, it does seem somewhat unfortunate—especially in view of the current dialogue on the *meaning* of history—that the author did not give adequate attention to, and evaluation of, Rudolf Bultmann's existentialist views and Wolfhart Pannenberg's concept of "Revelation as History." It is true that Bultmann is touched upon in chapter 11 (Pannenberg is not mentioned), but without sufficient detail to give an adequate portrayal, much less an adequate critique, of his position. Incidentally, Barth is also mentioned in that chapter, but in a vein which gives the reader quite a distorted picture of Barth's actual position (the comment is made on p. 134 that "Barth's existentialist frame of reference with its obsession for the present moment forbids him to regard past history seriously").

As a specialist in Near Eastern antiquity, Schwantes can speak with authority in his chapters 4 through 9. These chapters carry the following titles: "The Old Testament and History," "Paul's View of History," "The Burden of Egypt," "Mesopotamian Civilization on Trial," "A Prophet in Persia," and "The Fullness of Time." Chapters 10-15 carry the following titles: "Christianity Against Its Environment," "The Time Between," "The Second Fall," "The Unfinished Reformation," "History as the Story of Freedom," and "Mankind's Finest Hour." In these chapters dealing with the Christian era, Schwantes has again manifested a high degree of competence.

Perhaps the main shortcoming of the historical treatment given in this book is its sketchiness. The reader can at times be led into misunderstandings which may altogether too easily arise because of overly brief treatment of historical data. As an example, the description of the development of emperor worship as given on p. 122 may be noted: Here it is indicated that "emperor worship ... became fashionable after Domitian's insistence on being recognized as *dominus ac deus* ["lord and god"]. Originated in the province of Asia, where a temple to *diva Roma* ["goddess of Rome"] and Augustus had been erected as early as 29 B.C., emperor worship gradually extended to the West. Deification was decreed for Julius Caesar by the senate in 42 B.C., and later it became customary for that body to deify the 'good' emperors after their deaths. ..." The reader unaware of the actual history may assume that Domitian himself made emperor worship fashionable and

that deification of emperors after their death was an integral part of emperor worship. On the contrary, Domitian's influence on emperor worship was basically negative (at least, in Rome; after his death the senate cursed his memory), and "emperor worship" relates to worship of *living* emperors, not to deification of emperors after their death.

The hazard of oversimplification, of which the foregoing is but one example, could have been minimized by a more modest scope for this volume or by extending the coverage into a series of volumes the size of the present one. However, in spite of difficulties one may sometimes face in looking at the various individual building blocks of which Schwantes' book is composed, the reader who stands back to look at the complete edifice is likely to observe a structure of considerable strength and beauty. Disagree with the author he may at points, yet he cannot help but admire what the author has attempted to do. Indeed, this book deserves serious attention from scholars and laymen alike, and both the author and the publisher are to be commended for their interest in making available a publication of this sort.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Scott, William A. *Historical Protestantism: An Historical Introduction to Protestant Theology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971. 229 pp. $ 6.95.

The present book is designed to give an introductory evaluation of historical Protestantism from its beginnings in the 16th century to modern times. The appraisal is made within twelve chapters, beginning as would be expected with Luther and Calvin and followed by a description of Anabaptism. The theological development in England is analyzed within its main phases of Anglicanism, Puritanism, and Methodism. Nineteenth-century Liberal Protestantism is illustrated by the theology of Friedrich Schleiermacher and Albert Ritschl as well as by the subject of Biblical criticism. Contemporary Protestant theology is represented by the theologians Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Rudolf Bultmann, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich.

The author does not make any personal contributions in the common search for a better analysis of the views of the various theologians and the different phases through which Protestant theology has passed. With each chapter is listed a selective bibliography dealing with the men under discussion. The author relies on the material in these books, but his contribution is synthesis of the material in a very readable and orderly manner, thus making available to the common reader what otherwise might only have been meaningful to the trained theologian and student of historical theology. That is no mean task.

This book falls within the category of William E. Hordern's *A Layman's Guide to Protestant Theology*, and both in turn are indebted

to *Protestant Christianity* by John Dillenberger and Claude Welch. Compared with these two books the one by Scott is not as coherent; it is rather fragmentary inasmuch as each theologian forms a case study and the various streams of thoughts and movements within Protestantism are not brought together. While each chapter ends with a short conclusion, a concluding chapter and summary would have been most helpful.

The unique merits of the book lie in the fact that the author is a Roman Catholic who seeks to appraise historical Protestantism and then wishes to share his findings with his fellow believers. This being the case, the author ought to be commended for his positive and unbiased treatment of the subject matter. Thus, for example, the chapter of Anabaptism is written more objectively and sympathetically than often is the case by writers of the classical Protestant tradition.

The irenic spirit in which this volume has been written gives all good reason to believe that the book, as the author intended, should make "a contribution to the developing dialogue between Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians." As long as it is understood that the book is "an initial introduction," it will be most helpful for any reader who wishes to acquaint himself with the formative and formulative period of Protestantism and the giants among its thinkers within the modern period.

Loma Linda University
Riverside, California

V. Norskov Olsen

Van Buren, Paul M. *Theological Explorations*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968. 181 pp. $4.95.

The writer of *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* has from time to time let it be known that he has changed his position since he wrote that book. We are still awaiting the constructive statement of that new position.

This "meantime" book is a series of essays on various themes, with no attempt at unity. The book is rather a conversational piece—indeed, specific sorts of conversation are attempted: with Bonhoeffer, who is brought into comparison with William James on the basis that both were concerned with "the hypothesis of a limited God within a pluralistic universe" (p. 125); with James himself, whose radical empiricism is found to be the basis of his pragmatism, and which meant for him "that we must take seriously and start always from a position open to all of our experience" (p. 143). This latter involves the recognition of the self-referential character of all truth, as well as the acceptance of the "metaphysical risk" that the ultimate is the "telos that may yet appear, the unity of things that may yet arise" (p. 145).

The third attempted conversation is with Gordon Kaufman, to whose employment of the term "transcendence" van Buren objects. Why, he asks, should we be so concerned about some ancient ways of speaking, *e.g.*, the mythological forms which the Hebrews used to express transcendence, when we are really interested in talking about human experience (p. 167)? Are we not confining our speech to the experience of the few, the strange ones, the Augustines? More basically, is not the sense of limitation (Kaufman's category for the making meaningful of the concept of God) too narrow a base from which to move to speak about God? Van Buren suggests that "wonder" is a more satisfactory starting point. To Kaufman's duality of experience and its limits, van Buren proposes the duality of the ordinary seen as ordinary and the ordinary as extraordinary (p. 170). The essential question, which van Buren raises at this point and then drops, is that of the justification of the ways in which we see. He renews his suggestion, made in the *Secular Meaning*, that the term "God" be dropped for a while. Kaufman's point is that the term does have a reference point in the duality he selects from human experience. Van Buren admits, "I do not see a clear connection between a sense of the ordinary as extraordinary and speaking of the gods" (p. 174). So the word "transcendence" is meaningless.

What, we might ask, are the explorations of? The answer to this appears to be that we are examining an empiricism which can be (because it is) accepted by contemporaries, but less rigid than the traditional British type. We demand that the network of our understanding, whatever that understanding be about, "should 'touch base' in sense experience at important points" (p. 46). An empiricist will demand "enough contact with experience to give a grounding for the whole subject of discussion" (p. 47). We have shifted here from a narrow definition of experience as a basis for theology—or non-theology! A "theological method" acceptable to the empiricist is one in which "we begin with the theological assertions and assume that we are already playing on the field of experience" (p. 58).

It is difficult to see how the concept of God can be dropped, even temporarily. The word is used!

The problem is that of the respective validity of differing perspectives, different ways of viewing. The important question for the believer is whether, with the radical shift of focus in our way of looking at things, theology and faith can survive.

If the assumption that in the language of theology we are playing on the field of experience continues to be held, it will have to show its meaningfulness by reference to particular areas of experience. If it is not to be secularized and so cease to be *theological* discourse, it will have to show that a restrictive empiricism which assimilates purported religious discourse to secular discourse is inadequately conceived. What is at stake is the status of theology itself. Van Buren is still making up his mind. Whether, as he claims, such a state is normative for the theologian would be a matter of dispute. If he still has to make

up his mind as to what theology is, we can hope for another tentative theological construction in the future. In the meantime we have to make up our own minds, or live with our minds in process of moving on from the last decision.

Nottingham, England — EDWARD W. H. VICK

Von Campenhausen, Hans. *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*. Tr. by J. A. Baker. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1969. vii + 308 pp. $ 8.95.

This publication is an English translation of the author's *Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953). The translator has done a valuable service indeed in making this work available in eminently readable English. On rare occasions the language may even become too colloquial, as for example in the expression on p. 68, "Paul makes no bones about recognizing this arrangement. . . ." On the whole, however, the language is superb.

Inasmuch as this work has been in existence for some years in the original German, no full-scale review of it will here be necessary. However, a few comments will be in order.

First of all, that this work has become and will continue to be one of the standard treatments of the subject seems assured by the author's thorough acquaintance with and wide attention to both the primary and secondary literature relating to the subject. He moves as a master in the field and not only gives the reader provoking food for thought in the text itself but also furnishes a valuable introduction to the sources by means of extensive footnote references. In any serious study of ecclesiastical development during the earliest Christian centuries, this book is one which cannot afford to be overlooked.

Second, the thesis presented in this work is certainly subject to debate, but this is not surprising in view of the gaps in knowledge pertaining to the field. For the reader unfamiliar with the author's thesis, a reading of the concluding chapter entitled "Retrospect" (pp. 293-301) will give a quick synopsis. Briefly stated, some of the high points of the thesis are as follows: The apostle Paul developed a charismatic church order which was devoid of office except for "the quasi-office of his own apostolate" (p. 296). Alongside this Pauline church, there "grew up at the same time the opposite type of congregation, led by presbyters" (*ibid.*). The two forms began to fuse early, Luke playing an important role in this fusion. Official authority tended to gain ascendancy, and this "trend toward an unbalanced ascendancy of office is the one uniform feature in the otherwise widely varying concepts of power and authority in I Clement, the Epistles of Ignatius, and the Pastoral Epistles from Asia Minor; and in the course

of the second century this development continued unchecked" (p. 297). In the 3d century "the exclusive authority of office" attained "full stature" (p. 299).

Third, although there are various strengths in von Campenhausen's presentation, there are also, in my opinion, some rather crucial weaknesses, relating especially to a lack of appreciation for historical backgrounds and a somewhat unbalanced treatment of the textual materials themselves at times. Three examples will be noted:

(1) In chapter 3, the author elucidates a concept which becomes fundamental to the further development of his thesis; namely, that Paul played down the concept of any official type of church office, laying stress on the charismatic manifestations within the congregation. Not only are inadequate historical foundations laid for the discussion, but of some 300 citations from Pauline epistles, nearly 200 of them come from the Corinthian epistles alone! Furthermore, when it is later concluded that Luke puts into Paul's mouth the reference in Acts 20 to "elders" and that Luke is active in fusing the Pauline charismatic system with the non-Pauline system of elders, one may wonder whether von Campenhausen is not depending more on his own presuppositions than on analysis of historical backgrounds.

(2) In dealing with Clement of Rome, the author admits difficulty in knowing what the real historical situation was; but without knowing what that situation was, he nevertheless seems to have little difficulty in discerning that the concept that "everything should be done 'decently and in order' " has become for Clement "a piece of sacred knowledge which touches the essence of the Church," whereas for Paul it was only a "peripheral comment" (p. 87). "It is no longer faith in Christ which directs and defines what concrete application is to be made of the idea of order," he says, but the idea of order itself "is now extolled as, so to speak, an autonomous principle of an abstract and formal kind, the power controlling both the world and the Church, and the true norm of the spiritual life" (*ibid.*). I Clement is referred to as exhibiting "an impoverishment of spiritual content" (pp. 85, 86); in it the "abstract concept of order has become completely detached from any specifically Christian meaning" (p. 94). Is this fair treatment of I Clement?

(3) Ignatius presents, according to von Campenhausen, a fundamentally new picture, his letters revealing "an advanced stage of developed hierarchical order, which is connected with the fact that they are of Syrian provenance" (p. 97). But why is the fact ignored that most of these letters are addressed to churches in the Roman province of Asia? Furthermore, the fact that Ignatius' letter to the Romans does not portray this "advanced stage of developed hierarchical order" should in itself be a warning that the supposed and so-called Syrian provenance has less to do with the church organization depicted in most of the Ignatian letters than do actual conditions in the province of Asia at the time. But von Campenhausen appears to be strangely unaware of this.

In my opinion, a careful study of what the documents themselves say is indeed basic, but such a study must be made within the context of the most serious attention to what is known (both on internal and external grounds) of the specific historical conditions related to those documents. To do otherwise may lead the scholar to a reconstruction more in line with his own fancy than with what actually happened in history. One wonders if von Campenhausen's book does not suffer from a certain degree of weakness along this line. But regardless of any shortcomings it may have in this respect, and regardless of how serious those shortcomings may seem to be, this book must be considered as a classic in the field. From it we may learn much, and no one with a serious scholarly interest in the topic can afford to bypass it.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Von der Osten-Sacken, Peter. *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit.* "Theologische Existenz heute," 157. München: Chr. Kaiser, 1969. 63 pp. DM 6.80.

This is a brief but significant study. The author's undertaking is a critical investigation of the thesis of the famous OT scholar Gerhard von Rad, who claims that apocalyptic had its origin singularly in the wisdom tradition. It should be noted that von Rad is the first German scholar in this century who treated the theme of apocalyptic within a work on OT theology (cf. his *Old Testament Theology* [1965], II, 301 ff.). He thus has a prominent place in the renaissance of interest and study of apocalyptic among German scholars of various theological disciplines, *viz.*, O. Plöger, *Theokratie und Eschatologie* (1959); W. Pannenberg, *Kerygma und Dogma*, V (1959), 218-237; D. Rössler, *Gesetz und Geschichte, Untersuchungen zur Theologie der jüdischen Apokalyptik und der pharisäischen Orthodoxie* (1960); E. Käsemann, "Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie," *ZThK*, LVII (1960), 162-185; etc. Von Rad denies vehemently the widely held view (especially among Anglo-American scholars) that apocalyptic is a child of OT prophecy. To his mind, "this is completely out of the question" (*Old Testament Theology*, II, 303; the wording in the 4th German edition of 1965 is softened into "this is not possible."). What is new in von Rad's position is not that he considers the wisdom tradition to have a partial influence upon apocalyptic (so already G. Hölscher, "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, XCII]1919], 113-138, to whom curiously von Rad does not refer), but rather that apocalyptic has its exclusive origin in wisdom literature. In his view there is a one-way street moving from wisdom to apocalyptic whereby he expressly denies any inner contact with prophecy.

Von der Osten-Sacken attempts to go beyond the justified critique of von Rad's thesis by P. Vielhauer in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. by W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia, 1965), II, 596 ff., who has pointed out that in the wisdom materials of the OT "there is

no eschatology and imminent expectation ... [and this fact] forms an insurmountable objection to his [von Rad's] thesis" (p. 598). The author begins with the book of Daniel, which he considers to be the oldest preserved apocalyptic work. He justifies this procedure on the basis that the total later apocalyptic literature may have incorporated non-apocalyptic material, and if it be investigated for the real matrix and origin of apocalyptic it would tend to lead to erroneous conclusions. Since von Rad had called for traditio-historical study of the spiritual home of apocalyptic, this procedure appears as the proper one on methodological grounds.

The first part of this study (pp. 13-34) concentrates on Dan 2. The author shows that the determinism in the apocalyptic thought-world of Dan 2 contains the beginnings of the later view that all that happens happens precisely according to the fixed plan of God, which human plans and actions can neither advance nor hinder. It turns out that the spiritual origin of this determinism is rooted in Is 40-66 and in the "Enthronement Psalms." In Dan 2 the center is the message of God found in Is 40-66, namely, Yahweh's power to announce that which is future. Beyond this Is 40-66 represents the traditio-historical basis for the understanding of the apocalyptic scheme of Dan 2. The author of Dan 2 makes an essential move beyond the scope of the picture of history as presented in Is 40-66, *i.e.*, he announced the total course of history to the end. "This comprehensive ... announcement of history is what is new in Dan. 2 and may be judged to be the essential character of apocalyptic" (p. 33).

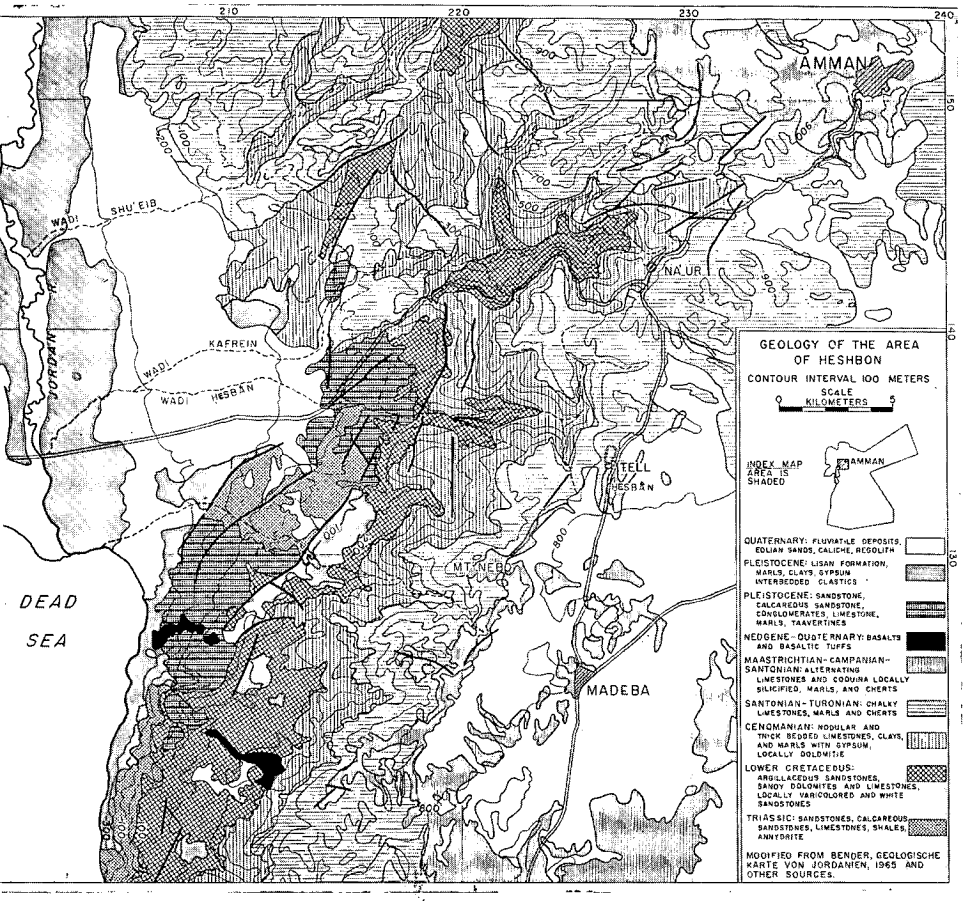
The second part (pp. 35-52) deals with Dan 7:8-12 with a view to describing its traditio-historical background. These chapters in the book of Dan show on the one hand that they must be understood as drawing further conclusions from the religious conception of God's determining the course of the world. On the other hand, Dan 8-12 contains eschatological terminology such as "in the latter days" (10:14) and "at that time" (12:1) which have their origin in prophetic writings and belong to the prophetic "Day of Yahweh" tradition. This same tradition is the background for a great number of other eschatological key motifs in Dan 7-12. Von der Osten-Sacken concludes further that "the visions of Dan. 7-12, which contain an analogous prophecy of history, are dependent in this on Dan. 2" (p. 46).

The last part (pp. 53-63) deals with the question of the sapiential influence in apocalyptic which caused von Rad to develop the thesis that apocalyptic as such has its origin in wisdom. The author examines OT wisdom passages which contain a deterministic concept. These passages, mostly found in Qoheleth, show that they are concerned with the individual and with events in the natural sphere. They do not demonstrate a relation to the kind of history which is concerned with political events that move nations and lead them to a final goal. These considerations point to a negative answer to the question whether or not OT wisdom was in the position to be the native soil for apocalyptic and its scheme. The horizon of apocalyptic in its most

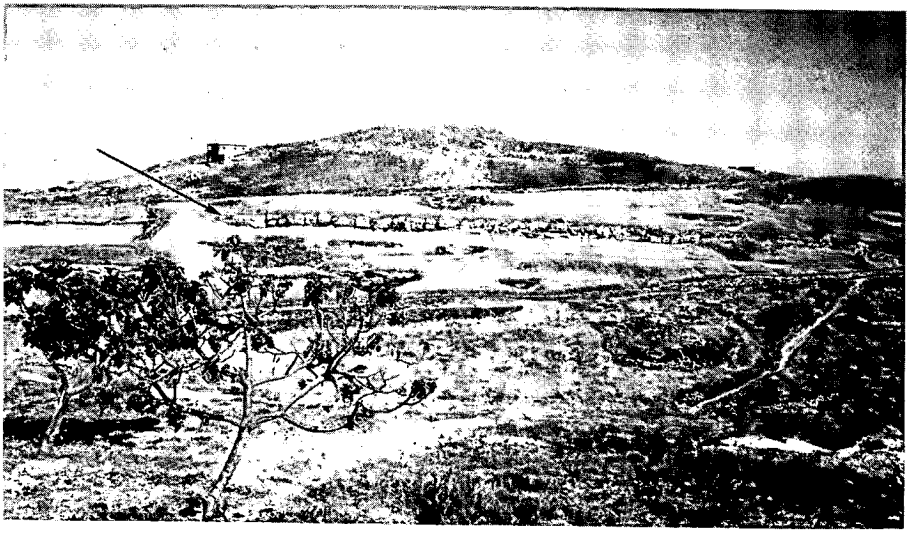
original form is not the cosmos but history, that is to say the history of nations. The point of intersection of the genuinely apocalyptic conception of determinism and determinism in wisdom was the belief in God the Creator, who had power over both history (Dan) and nature (wisdom literature). This detailed critique of von Rad's one-sided thesis concludes with a pregnant summary: "Apocalyptic is a legitimate, even though late and unique child of prophecy, which is already in its young years not without erudition but has opened itself up to wisdom only with increasing age" (p. 63).

The indisputable merits of this little book should not be overlooked. No responsible scholar dealing with the problem of the origin and rise of apocalyptic can neglect this study. This reviewer tends to agree with the author that on the whole apocalyptic is a child of prophecy. At the same time I need to register reservation concerning the tendency on the part of von der Osten-Sacken to declare an ill-defined "determinism" as the center of apocalyptic without any real exegetical support. Is the one-way road upon which one is now to travel "determinism" instead of von Rad's "wisdom"? If this were the case, would we be much better off? Hardly so, despite the fact that it leads to prophecy. If "determinism" were the center of apocalyptic, should it become a hermeneutical schema for the interpretation of apocalyptic *per se*? But this would lead to other one-sided emphases. Apocalyptic has a multiple and variegated world of ideas among whose essentials are dualism in various forms of expression, hope and pessimism, individualism and universalism, and, of course, determinism. It is certainly to be emphasized that von der Osten-Sacken deals with determinism because von Rad sees it as the supporting presupposition of apocalyptic through which its origin is linked with wisdom. Although it has been shown that determinism is derived from prophecy, and not from wisdom, one must guard against making it more than it is. Of necessity one must ask whether one could not use dualism, pessimism, universalism, or another characteristic feature of the thought-world of apocalyptic as the center of apocalyptic. If one accepts the view that the book of Dan is the earliest apocalyptic work, then the question is raised whether the eschatological dualism of world epochs (Dan 2 and 7), the individual judgment (Dan 12), and the universalistic mode of world history (Dan 2:7-11), etc., all of which are recognized essentials of apocalyptic, can also be traced back to prophecy or whether there are other early and late influences at work. Undoubtedly much work has been done, but even more needs to be done, especially under the challenge presented by as fruitful a study as the one under review. The author has shown that wholly unexpected avenues of research are wide open. For this, among many things, we are indebted to him.

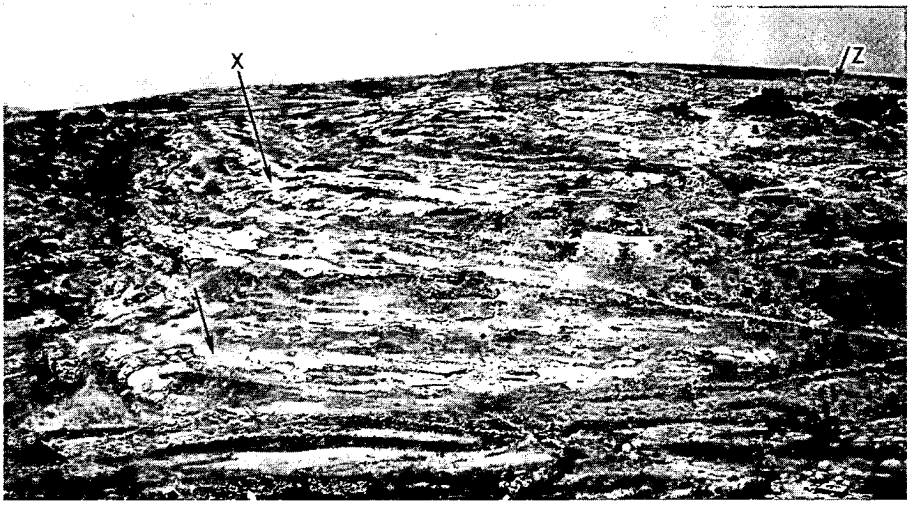
Andrews University GERHARD F. HASEL



A. Geological Map of the Heshbon Area.



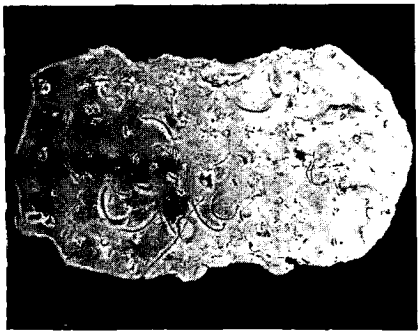
B. *Tell Ḥesbân* from the northwest. A massive, thick-bedded fossiliferous limestone forms a significant outcrop belt along the slope (arrow).



A. Lithic outcrop pattern on the hill across the *Wadi Ḥesbân* tributary immediately northwest of *Tell Ḥesbân*. Alternating Turonian limestone and chalky limestone occur above and below X. Thick-bedded Cenomanian nodular limestone occurs at and below Y. A massive, hard, fossiliferous cherty limestone occurs on top of the hill at Z.

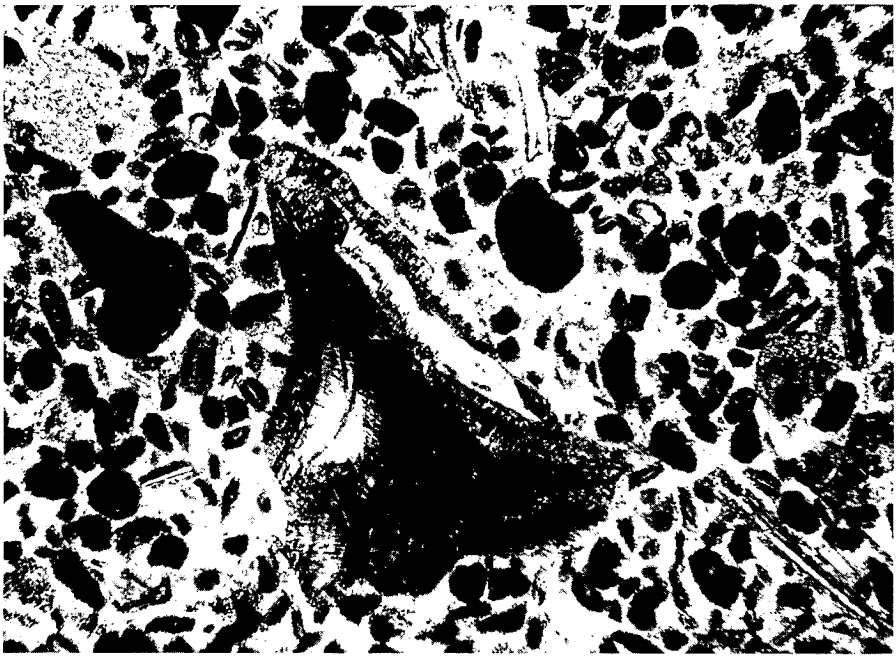
B. Stone block quarry site on the hill northwest of *Tell Ḥesbân* (At X on Plate XIII:A). The chisel marks are quite distinct, but the block was not successfully quarried in its entirety. (Scale 15 cm.)

A. Partially quarried columnar section from the same lithic material as shown in Plate XII:B, but at an outcrop location about .5 km. to the west (right) of that view.



B. Polished section of the fossiliferous limestone (pelecypodal biomicrite) from a column base of the church in Area A at *Tell Ḥesbân*.

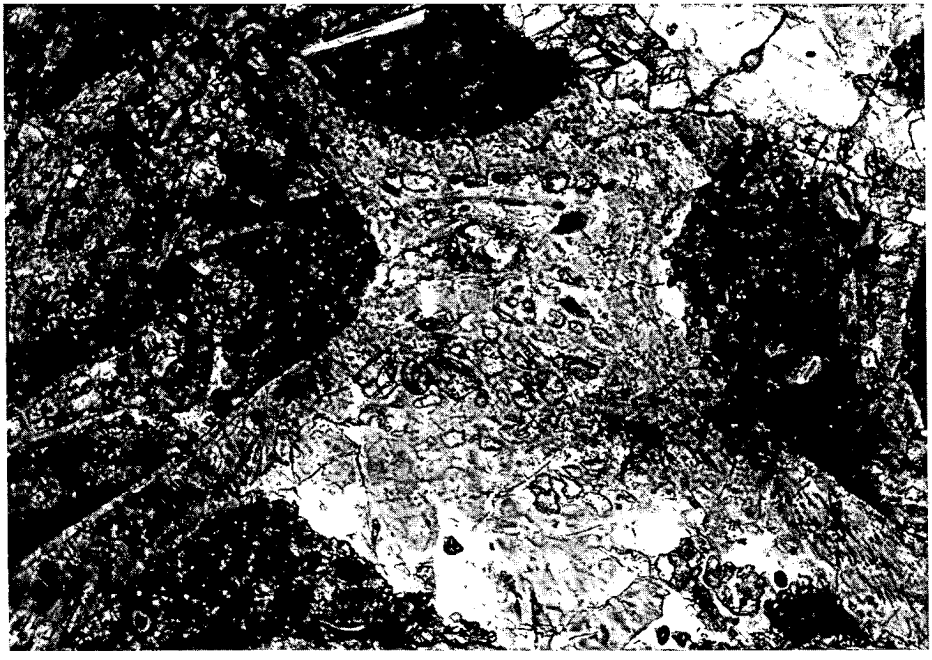
C. Microphotograph of the fossiliferous limestone shown in B, showing pelecypod (upper left) and gastropod (lower right) in a matrix of broken shell fragments, mostly replaced with sparry calcite. (20 ×)



A. Microphotograph of a very hard millstone from the surface float on the north slope of *Tell Ḥesbân*. Fish tooth (center) with phosphatic grains in a chert matrix. (40 ×)

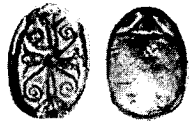
B. Microphotograph of a coarsely crystalline basalt from *Umm al-Jamal*. Mineralogy: olivine (large angular crystals), plagioclase (elongate lathes), pyroxene (inter-crystalline area). (40 ×)

A. Microphotograph of a fragment of a basalt bowl with legs, found at *Tell Ḥesbân*. Light mass, lower right, calcite vesicle filling, altered olivine (angular crystals, upper left) in a ground mass of plagioclase lathes. (40 ×)



B. Microphotograph of a fossiliferous limestone, back fill debris from the north side of the apse, Area A of *Tell Ḥesbân*. Cross-section of a fish vertebra in a matrix of sparry calcite. (40 ×)

1



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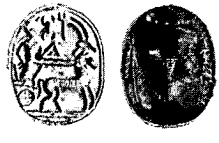

8

Palestinian Scarabs in the Andrews University Archaeological Museum
Photos: Avery V. Dick

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

א	= ʾ	ד	= *d*	י	= *y*	ס	= *s*	ר	= *r*		
ב	= *b*	ה	= *h*	כ	= *k*	ע	= ʿ	שׁ	= *ś*		
ב	= *b*	ו	= *w*	כ	= *k*	פ	= *p*	שׂ	= *š*		
ג	= *g*	ז	= *z*	ל	= *l*	פ	= *p*	ת	= *t*		
ג	= *g*	ח	= *ḥ*	מ	= *m*	צ	= *ṣ*	ת	= *t*		
ד	= *d*	ט	= *ṭ*	נ	= *n*	ק	= *q*				

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ַ	= *a*	ְ, ֱ	(vocal shewa) = *e*			ֹ	= *ō*	
ָ	= *ā*	ֵ, ֶ	= *ê*			וֹ	= *o*	
ַ	= *a*	ִ	= *i*			וֹ	= *ô*	
ֶ	= *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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