# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

# SEMINARY STUDIES

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# THE MODERN APPLICATION OF
## MARTIN LUTHER'S *OPEN LETTER ON TRANSLATING*

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Translating the Bible has been one of the functions of the church to help meet the needs of people for personal study of God's Word. As early as the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, there was an attempt to make the reading of the Scriptures intelligible in the language of the people—in this case orally (Neh 8:1-8)—although the first real translating of the Scriptures took place much later, namely in the production of the LXX and the Aramaic targums.[1] With this brief historical perspective we will proceed to a discussion of Martin Luther's *Open Letter on Translating* in which the reformer has set down the principles which he thinks are proper for translating.[2] We will endeavor to show how these principles are relevant for present concepts and practices.

Without doubt, Martin Luther is a giant in the field of translating.[3] E. G. Schwiebert concurs with Oskar Thulin that Luther's translating of the Bible was the "crowning accomplishment" of Luther's whole life work.[4] K. A. Strand points out that "with Luther, a new era for the German Bible began. It was an era which ushered in a truly widespread dissemination of the Scriptures among the German people. It was an era significant for the stabilization of the German language through the

[1] Ira M. Price, *Ancestry of our English Bible* (3d rev. ed.; New York, 1956). pp. 50-71, 101-108, has provided an excellent discussion of these developments.

[2] This document, the *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen,* is given in English translation as "On Translating: An Open Letter" in T. G. Tappert, ed., *Selected Writings of Martin Luther,* IV (Philadelphia, 1967), trans. by C. M. Jacobs, rev. by E. T. Bachmann, 173-194. Hereinafter abbreviated SW, IV.

[3] M. Reu gives the following five points with illustrations to show the greatness of Luther's ability at translating: (1) wealth of words and choice of words; (2) construction of expression and phrases; (3) construction of sentences; (4) order of words; and (5) sonorous, melodious, rhythmic and musical quality of his translations. M. Reu, *Luther's German Bible* (Columbus, Ohio, 1934), pp. 277-283, cited by K. A. Strand, *Luther's "September Bible" in Facsmile* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972), pp. 11, 12. Strand's work hereinafter cited as LSBF.

[4] E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis, Mo., 1950), p. 643.

medium of the German Bible."[5] With this "new era" of the German Bible also came some very important points that are helpful today in making the Bible intelligible to the common people. We will note these as we proceed with an analysis of Luther's *Open Letter on Translating.*[6]

It may be observed that the "new era" of vernacular Bibles was by no means restricted to Germany. To mention just one example, we may recall that a similar process was taking place in England. William Tyndale said at that time to a churchman that if God would spare his life, ere many years he would cause a boy driving the plough to know more of the Scriptures than *he* did.[7]

On Sept. 15, 1530, Luther published his famous open letter in which he set forth his views on translating. This letter was to deal with two questions posed by "N," a pseudonym for Luther's lord and friend: (1) the Reformer's translation of Rom 3:28 (righteousness by faith *alone*), as well as his translation in general; and (2) the question of intercession by departed saints.[8]

Bachmann, along with the editors of the Weimar edition and the Clemen edition, suggests that the questions posed by "N" were a literary device for airing the two doctrinal issues of which the first was intimately connected with translating. The second question is "palmed off" by Luther with the comment

[5] Strand, *Reformation Bibles in the Crossfire* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), p. 96.

[6] Luther wrote this letter while at the Coburg Castle, awaiting the outcome of the Diet of Augsburg. During the time of this "wilderness" experience (from Apr. 23 to Oct. 4, 1530) Luther was working on translating the prophetic section of the OT besides keeping in touch with the doctrinal issues at the Diet. Bachmann, in his Introduction in SW, IV, 169-172, says that it was the combination of the doctrinal issues at Augsburg and the work of translating at the Coburg Castle which gave rise to the *Open Letter on Translating.* Other examples of Luther's attitude on translating can be found in the "Postface" to the 1531 translation of the Psalms and *Summarien über Ursachen des Dolmetschens.* See LSBF, p. 9, n. 21. For other contributions, see also M. Trinklein, "Luther's Insight into the Translator's Task," *BT*, 21 (1970), 80-88.

[7] See, e.g., M. G. King, ed., *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (Old Tappan, N.J., 1968), p. 169. E. A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden, 1964), p. 14, remarks that Tyndale's work parallels Luther's and shows an unmistakable dependence upon Luther's principles of translation.

[8] See SW, IV, 170, 171.

that he would treat this point more fully in a sermon. His basic argument is that the Bible does not command the practice.[9]

Luther's *Open Letter on Translating* could be considered as a polemic against Jerome Emser, the "Dresden scribbler."[10] The basic reason for this derogatory description is that the Catholics condemned Luther's translation but that Emser then provided a translation in which he plagiarized Luther's work, and the Catholics said that this translation was good. Emser did make a few changes, but Luther indicated that "not all of it pleases me, still I can let it go; it does me no particular harm, so far as the text is concerned."[11]

The question had been raised over Luther's use of *sola* (*solum*) in Rom 3:28 when neither the Latin nor the Greek had it.[12] In explaining why he chose to use "by faith alone" here, Luther gives the very important points of translating to which I wish to call attention, as mentioned above:

1. The translator is to translate into the nature of the German language.

> But it is the nature of our German language that in speaking of two things, one of which is affirmed and the other denied, we use the word *solum* (*allein* [= alone, only]) along with the word *nicht* [not] or *kein* [no]. For example, we say, "The farmer brings *allein* grain and *kein* money. . . ."
>
> In all these phrases, this is the German usage, even though it is not the Latin or Greek usage. It is the nature of the German language to add the word *allein* in order that the word *nicht* or *kein* may be clearer and more complete.[13]

2. One is to inquire how the common man would use the language.

> We do not have to inquire of the literal Latin, how we are to speak German. . . . Rather we must inquire about this of the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the marketplace. We must be guided by their language, the way they speak, and do our translating accordingly. That way they will understand it and recognize that we are speaking German to them.[14]

[9] SW, IV, 190.

[10] SW, IV, 176.

[11] SW, IV, 177. Cf. Strand, *Reformation Bibles*, pp. 65, 66. Luther's "September Bible" came out in 1522, and by Sept. 21, 1523, Emser attacked the translation with his critique, "On what ground and for what cause Luther's translation of the New Testament should justly be forbidden the common man." Cf. ibid., pp. 35-60.

[12] SW, IV, 174, 177, 179-181.

[13] SW, IV, 181.

[14] *Ibid.*

**3. Translators are to have a great store of words for each word or expression in the original because one vernacular word may not fit all contexts.**

I believe that with the Greek *kecharitomene* [Luke 1:28] St. Luke, a master of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, wanted to render and clarify the Hebrew word that the angel used. And I think that the angel Gabriel spoke with Mary as he speaks with Daniel, calling him *Chamudoth* and *Ish chamudoth, vir desideriorum,* that is, "You dear Daniel"; for that is Gabriel's way of speaking as we see in the book of Daniel. Now if I were to translate the angel's words literally, with the skill of these asses, I should have to say this, "Daniel, thou man of desires." That would be pretty German! A German would hear, of course, that *Man, Lueste,* and *begyrunge* are German words—though not altogether pure German words, for *lust* and *begyr* would be better. But when the words are thus put together: "thou man of desires," no German would know what is said. He would think, perhaps, that Daniel is full of evil desires. Well that would be fine translating! Therefore I must let the literal words go and try to learn how the German says that which the Hebrew expresses with *ish chamudoth.* I find then that the German says this, "You dear Daniel," "You dear Mary," or "You gracious maid"; "You lovely maiden," "You gentle girl," and the like. For a translator must have a great store of words, so that he can have them on hand in the event that one word does not fit in every context.[15]

**4. The exact literal translation may in special cases have to be retained, where important issues depend on precise terminology.**

On the other hand I have not just gone ahead anyway and disregarded altogether the exact wording of the original. Rather with my helpers I have been very careful to see that where everything turns on a single passage, I have kept to the original quite literally and have not lightly departed from it. For example, in John 6 [:27] Christ says, "Him has God the Father sealed [*versiegelt*]." It would have been better German to say, "Him has God the Father signified [*gezeichnet*]," or, "He it is whom God the Father means [*meinet*]." But I preferred to do violence to the German language rather than to depart from the word. Ah, translating is not every man's skill as the mad saints imagine. It requires a right, devout, honest, sincere, God-fearing, Christian, trained, informed, and experienced heart. Therefore I hold that no false Christian or factious spirit can be a decent translator.[16]

**5. The translator must take into account the immediate contextual meaning in light of the author's whole message.**

Now I was not relying on and following the nature of the languages alone, however, when, in Romans 3 [:28] I inserted the word *solum* (alone). Actually the text itself and the meaning of St. Paul urgently require and demand it. For in that very passage he is dealing with the main point

[15] SW, IV, 184, 185.
[16] SW, IV, 186.

of Christian doctrine, namely, that we are justified by faith in Christ without any works of the law. And Paul cuts away all works so completely, as even to say that the works of the law—though it is God's law and word—do not help us for justification [Rom 3:20].[17]

6. It is necessary (and right) to translate it as plainly and fully as possible. It is, says Luther,

not only right but also highly necessary to speak it out as plainly and fully as possible, "Faith alone saves, without works." I am only sorry that I did not also add the words *alle* and *aller*, and say, "without *any* works of *any* laws," so that it would have been expressed with perfect clarity.[18]

These principles give an excellent basis for present trends in translating.[19] They provide a vital factor if people of today are to be reached by Scripture, and it is interesting to observe that the American Bible Society has been proceeding on such principles. Their first purpose in translating the NT in what we have now as the *Today's English Version, Good News for Modern Man* was to provide an understandable Bible for those people who use English as their own mother tongue or as an acquired language.[20] Phenomenal success has now made the TEV the world's most widely distributed paperback NT. Since 1966 when it was first published, until Oct. 1972, more than 35 million copies have gone into world-wide circulation.[21]

In connection with the recently published books of Psalms

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[17] SW, IV, 187.

[18] SW, IV, 190.

[19] Cf. also the similar principles of Luther's contemporary Etienne Dolet (1540), summarized by Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating*, pp. 15-17: (1) The translator must understand perfectly the content and intention of the author whom he is translating. (2) The translator should have a perfect knowledge of the language from which he is translating and an equally excellent knowledge of the language into which he is translating. (3) The translator should avoid the tendency to translate word for word, for to do so is to destroy the meaning of the original and to ruin the beauty of expression. (4) The translator should employ forms of speech in com· mon usage. (5) Through his choice and order of words the translator should produce a total overall effect with appropriate "tone."

For modern theories of translation, see J. A. Loewen, "Form and Meaning in Translation," *BT*, 22 (1971), 169-174; P. Ellingworth, "Talking About Translations," *BT*, 23 (1972), 219-224; Nida, "Linguistics and Translators," *BT*, 23 (1972), 225-233; and Nida, "Implications of Contemporary Linguistics for Biblical Scholarship," *JBL*, 91 (1972), 73-89.

[20] The NT in *Today's English Version, Good News for Modern Man* (New York, 1966), p. iv.

[21] *American Bible Society Record*, 8 (1972), 5.

and Job (appearing in 1970 and 1971, respectively), the follow-
ing principles of translation are set forth:

> Like the New Testament in *Today's English Version,* this is a distinctively
> new translation that does not conform to traditional vocabulary and style,
> but seeks to express the meaning of the Hebrew text in words and forms
> accepted as standard by people everywhere who employ English as a
> means of communication. . . . Where there is general agreement that
> the Hebrew text cannot be translated as it now stands, the translation
> employs the evidence of other ancient texts or follows present-day
> scholarly consensus. All such modifications are noted in the footnotes.[22]

Also the following is worth quoting:

> As a distinctly new translation, it does not conform to traditional vocabu-
> lary or style, but seeks to express the meaning of the Greek text in words
> and forms accepted as standard by people everywhere who employ English
> as a means of communication. *Today's English Version* of the New Testa-
> ment attempts to follow, in this century, the example set by the authors
> of the New Testament books who, for the most part, wrote in the standard,
> or common, form of the Greek language used throughout the Roman
> Empire. As much as possible, words and forms of English not in current
> use have been avoided; but no rigid limit has been set to the vocabulary
> employed.[23]

It is obvious that the translators of The American Bible
Society are following the principles that Martin Luther followed.
This, we may assume, accounts very much for the success that
has attended their translation. It is interesting that Nida has
made the following statement after describing Luther's prin-
ciples by which the Bible was made understandable and avail-
able to the masses:

> Fortunately, in a number of biblical translations now coming out in
> English and other world languages there seems to be a growing aware-
> ness of the necessity of vital communication. At last, some of the meaning-
> less phrases are giving way to sometimes blunt, but intelligible, language.[24]

In the above discussion I have tried to treat fairly Luther's
principles of translating, indicating their value; but we must also
disagree with a radical application, such as R. H. Bainton has
pointed out:

> Palestine has moved west. And this is what happened to a degree in
> Luther's rendering. Judea was transplanted to Saxony, and the road from

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[22] *Today's English Version, Job for Modern Man* (New York, 1971), p. vi.

[23] *Today's English Version, Good News for Modern Man,* p. iv.

[24] Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating,* p. 29. Nida is a member of the
American Bible Society Translations Department (p. v). It is interesting to
note that he acknowledges receiving help from colleagues and friends for
his book. Among these is listed R. G. Bratcher, the translator in charge of
*Today's English Version.* Realizing this fact throws light on Nida's statement
about the forthcoming translations.

Jericho to Jerusalem ran through the Thuringian forest. By nuances and turns of expression Luther enhanced the graphic in terms of the local.[25]

How much this was actually carried out in Luther's translating, it is difficult to say, but the point to be made is this: The Bible story occurred at a certain time and place, and this must be kept in mind in order for accuracy to be maintained. If there are technical terms that need explaining, footnotes should be used to give explanations and relationships. The important point in translating is to make the Bible understandable, but not necessarily to transform it to modern customs.

In looking at Luther as a translator—seeing the principles that he used and advocated—we find that they are extremely up-to-date and are successfully being employed today. It is important to know these principles and use them in dissemination of the good news of salvation to modern man.

In closing, it will be fitting to quote a paragraph from Luther's letter of Dec. 18, 1521, to Johann Lang in Erfurt, written during the Reformer's stay at the Wartburg Castle:

I may stay hidden in this place until Easter. Meanwhile, I plan to write the Postil and to translate the New Testament into the vernacular, which our friends desire. I hear that you are doing the same thing. Keep on as you have begun. Oh that every city had its own translator and that this Book could be found in all languages, hands, eyes, ears, and hearts![26]

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[25] R. H. Bainton, *Here I Stand* (Nashville, 1950), pp. 328, 329.
[26] Weimar Briefwechsel II, 413: no. 445, as quoted in LSBF, p. 2.

# SEMANTIC VALUES OF DERIVATIVES OF
# THE HEBREW ROOT Š'R

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The intensely theological remnant motif of the OT comes to expression primarily by verbal and nominal derivatives of the Hebrew root š'r. Modern scholars have investigated the remnant motif for over seven decades with contradictory results.[1] The late R. de Vaux, however, has the credit of taking as his point of departure etymological considerations in an essay on the prophetic concept of the remnant.[2] He has concluded that the root š'r "expresses the fact that a part remains out of a large quantity which has been divided up, consumed or destroyed."[3] Later the articles by G. Schrenk and V. Herntrich appeared[4] without contributing materially to the semantics of derivatives of š'r. Renewed attention was given to the root š'r by E. W. Heaton.[5] His methodology has limited his investigation of the

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[1] The pioneering study on "the origin, meaning, and history" of the idea of the holy remnant since the rise of critical biblical scholarship has been undertaken by J. Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte.* Band I: *Der heilige Rest.* Teil I: *Elias Amos Hosea Jesaja* (Bonn, 1903). For a complete history of research on the remnant motif, see Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant* (AUM, V; Berrien Springs, Mich., 1972), pp. 1-44.

[2] R. de Vaux, "Le 'reste d'Israël' d'après les prophètes," *RB*, 42 (1933), 526-539; reprinted in de Vaux, *Bible et Orient* (Paris, 1967), pp. 25-39, and translated in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Garden City, N.Y., 1971), pp. 15-30.

[3] De Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East,* pp. 15f.

[4] G. Schrenk, *"leimma* ktl. A. Der griechische Sprachgebrauch," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* 4 (1938), 198-200, now in *Theological Dictionary of the NT* (hereinafter cited as *TDNT*), 4 (1967), 194-196; V. Herntrich, *"leimma* ktl. B. Der 'Rest' im AT," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum NT,* 4 (1938), 200-215, now in *TDNT,* 4 (1967), 196-209. These articles give no evidence of acquaintance with the essay by de Vaux.

[5] E. W. Heaton, "The Root š'r and the Doctrine of the Remnant," *JTS,* 3 (1952), 27-39. The dissertation by W. E. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im Alten Testament* (Borsdorf-Leipzig, 1939) did not concern itself at all with the Hebrew remnant terminology as such. Terminological considerations are done away with in five short pages by S. Garofalo, *La nozione profetica del 'Resto d'Israele'* (Roma, 1942), pp. 197-202. The root š'r is treated

derivatives of *š'r*, because of a total neglect to study the con-
textual word-combinations and sentence-combinations as well
as complementary remnant terminology derived from the Hebrew
roots *plṭ, ytr,* and *śrd*.[6] Heaton postulated that "the basic mean-
ing of the root *š'r* is to remain over or be left from a larger num-
ber or quantity which has in some way been disposed of."[7] He
has suggested that *š'r* has a "general bias" which is to make us
"aware that *š'r* primarily directs attention, not forwards to the
residue, but *backwards* to the whole of which it had been a part
and to the devastation and loss by which it had been brought
into being."[8] The overwhelming majority of instances supposedly
imply that "the residual part is less important than the part
from which it has been distinguished."[9] These claims regarding
a retrospective emphasis seem to rest on firm grounds, for
Heaton states that "other Semitic languages appear to confirm
this fundamental sense.[10] In direct opposition to these views are
the conclusions of de Vaux who suggests that the stress of the
remnant falls mainly on the aspects of promise and hope and of
D. M. Warne who maintains that the root *š'r* contains a dual po-
larity looking backward to the loss *and* forward to the renewal.[11]

This brief survey of major investigations of derivatives of the
root *š'r* has indicated that scholars have reached contradictory
conclusions. This fact alone warrants a reinvestigation. From the
perspective of modern linguistics, which has come to recognize
that the basic unit of oral and written communication is not the
word but the sentence, a renewed study is mandatory. The ex-

briefly also by O. Schilling, " 'Rest' in der Prophetie des Alten Testaments"
(unpubl. "Inaugural dissertation," University of Münster, 1942) , pp. 7-16.

[6] For a detailed study of these roots and their derivatives with due con-
sideration of their Semitic cognates, see Hasel, "The Origin and Early History
of the Remnant Motif in Ancient Israel" (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation,
Vanderbilt University, 1970) , pp. 171-203.

[7] Heaton, *JTS,* 3  (1952), 28.

[8] Ibid., p. 29  (italics his) .

[9] Ibid., p. 28.

[10] Ibid.

[11] De Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East,* pp. 17f.; D. M. Warne,
"The Origin, Development and Significance of the Concept of the Remnant
in the Old Testament" (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edin-
burgh, 1958), pp. 8-14.

cessive stress laid upon "the basic meaning of the root"[12] is
from the vantage point of modern semantics inadmissible inas-
much as it sacrifices the autonomous contextual meaning of each
derivative. The studies referred to above generally tend to fall
short in what has been called "root fallacy" and "etymologizing."[13]
Furthermore, modern methods of research along the line of
the history of the transmission of tradition and form-critical
analysis have often challenged what has been considered an
"early" and "late" usage. These considerations force us to in-
vestigate the various derivatives of the root *šr* (1) by providing
a statistical overview of the verbal and nominal forms in the
OT, (2) by giving a concise description of pertinent usages of
cognate forms in Semitic languages, and (3) by investigating the
various individual semantic ranges under due consideration of
the principles of linguistic semantics.

## Statistics of Derivatives of *šr*

The chart on p. 155 provides the statistical information of the
223 usages[14] of derivatives of *šr* according to Kittel's *Biblia
Hebraica*. The name of Isaiah's oldest son *Shear-Jashub*[15] is
omitted from this count.

Derivatives of *šr* appear in heavy concentrations in the Pen-
tateuch (30 times), Jos-2 Ki (54 times), and in the works of
the Chronicler (26 times plus six times in the Aramaic part).
Their usage, however, is most pronounced in the prophetic
writings (106 times), but almost completely lacking in the
wisdom literature (once in Job). This means that the root *šr*

[12] This phrase is used by Heaton (*JTS*, 3 [1952], 28) and is almost identical
to phrases used by other scholars (cf. de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient
Near East*, p .15; etc.) .

[13] J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London, 1961) , pp. 100-
106, 111-157. Barr, of course, has made a most valuable critique, but he
has failed to provide a constructive methodology.

[14] This count disagrees with that of Herntrich (*TDNT*, 4 [1967], 196) who
counts 220 and is followed by Warne. Mandelkern's *Concordantiae* (pp. 1137f.)
lists 221 examples. Schilling, " 'Rest'," p. 7, speaks of 222 examples. Lisowsky's
*Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, pp. 1393-95, lists 223
examples.

[15] On the translation and meaning of this widely debated symbolic name,
see Hasel, *AUSS*, 9 (1971), 36-46.

## Statistical Chart

| | Qal | š'r Niph | Hiph | šeʾār | šeʾērît | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gn | | 5 | | | 1 | 6 |
| Ex | | 7 | 1 | | | 8 |
| Lev | | 4 | | | | 4 |
| Num | | 1 | 2 | | | 3 |
| Dt | | 5 | 4 | | | 9 |
| Jos | | 8 | 9 | | | 17 |
| Jugs | | 2 | 1 | | | 3 |
| 1-2 Sa | 1 | 5 | 2 | | 1 | 9 |
| 1-2 Ki | | 12 | 9 | | 3 | 24 |
| Is | | 7 | | 12 | 6 | 25 |
| Jer | | 15 | 4 | | 24 | 43 |
| Eze | | 4 | | | 7 | 11 |
| Joel | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Amos | | | 1 | | 3 | 4 |
| Ob | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Mic | | | | | 5 | 5 |
| Zep | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Hag | | 1 | | | 6 | 7 |
| Zec | | 3 | 1 | | 3 | 7 |
| Mal | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Ps | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| Job | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Ruth | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| Est | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| Dan | | 2 | | | | 2 |
| Ezr | | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 7 |
| Neh | | 2 | | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| 1-2 Chr | | 5 | | 4 | 4 | 13 |
| OT | 1 | 93 | 37 | 26 | 66 | 223 |

is at home in legal, prophetic, and historical parts of the OT. The masculine noun šeʾār and the feminine noun šeʾērît hold a most prominent place in the prophetic tradition with 14 and 55 usages respectively (80% of the usages of the nominal forms).

The Niphal participle appears 40 times, usually as a sub-
stantive similar to the other two nominal forms.

In Biblical Aramaic the noun *šeʾār* appears several times (Dan
2:18; 7:7, 12, 19; Ezr 4:9, 10, 17; 6:16; 7:18, 20)[16] and is attested
also in Imperial (Official) Aramaic, as will be shown below.

## Semitic Cognates of *šʾr*

A number of Semitic languages employ various cognate terms
whose roots seem to have a common origin with the Hebrew
root *šʾr*. In Ugaritic the noun *šir* (*šʾr*) is attested in a number of
texts from Ras Shamra.[17] The meaning of "remnant/remainder"
is virtually certain in a text dealing with "land registry" (1079:
5-14), in which the noun *šir* occurs seven times in such phrases as
"the remnant/remainder of the field" (Text 1079:5, 7: *širm šd;*
1079:10: *šir šd*), "the remnant/remainder of the vineyard"
(1079:8, 12: *šir . šd . krm*), and the "rest (remnant/remainder)
of the field's acre" (1079:14: *šir . [š]d . mlth*).[18] In Text 1001:9
the term *šir* appears again in connection with a vineyard.[19]

Aside from these usages in economic texts the noun *šir* appears
also in Ugaritic literary texts. The mythological Baal and Anath
Cycle contains the term *šir* a number of times:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 49:II:35 | tdrʾnn širh . ltikl | Birds may not[20] devour his |
| | | remnants, |
| 36 | ʾsrm mnth . ltkly | the sparrow may not consume |
| | | his portions, |

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[16] L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*
(Leiden, 1958), p. 1128; W. L. Holladay, ed., *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic
Lexicon of the OT* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971) , p. 422.

[17] The same Ugaritic form *šʾr* can designate either "flesh" (*šir*, Heb. *šeʾēr*)
or "remnant/remainder" (*šir*, Heb. *šeʾār*), The former meaning is certain
in RS 22.225:3-5:

      "She eats his flesh (*širh*) without a knife.
      she drinks his blood without a cup."

Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome, 1965), p. 487, No. 2372 (herein-
after cited as *UT*) .

[18] *UT*, pp. 229f.: Text 1079:5-14.

[19] *UT*, p. 214.

[20] On the problem of the translation of "l," see Hasel, *The Remnant*, p. 113.

37 npr [š]ir . lšir . ysh̦    flittering from remnant to
                                    remnant.[21]

The term "remnant" (*šir*) refers in this passage to the remaining pieces of the god Mot who was slaughtered by goddess Anath. These pieces are not to be consumed by wild birds because new life is to spring forth again. These remnant pieces presumably were the seed from which Mot again arises to life. The connection of the remnant terminology with the life-and-death problem is here of importance as well as the future potential inherent in the remnant.

Another part of the Baal and Anath Cycle (Text 7b: I: 14ff.) again refers to the "remnant" (*šir*).[22] In this case the "remnant" is equated with the remainder of the "peoples" on earth which have survived the deadly drought[23] and will experience the life-giving rain from Baal, the Rider of the Clouds. The "remnant" are the survivors by whom the continued existence of mankind is assured after the catastrophe.

Verbal and nominal forms of the Aramaic root *šʿr* are attested in Imperial Aramaic. An example from a "contract for a loan," dating from 455 B.C.,[24] contains the phrase: ". . . and the interest on it which is remaining [yštʿr] against me, . . ."[25] The same verbal form (Hithpeel) appears in another economic text from 402 B.C.: ". . . that there does not remain [ʿštʿr] to us against you any part of the price."[26] The Aramaic noun *šeʿār* ap-

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[21] The present writer follows the growing consensus of translating *šir* as "remnant" with G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 111, n. 13; J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (2nd ed.; Budapest, 1964), p. 20; idem, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1963), p. 299, No. 2569. A. Yirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen* (Gütersloh, 1962), pp. 69f.; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (3rd ed.; New York, 1966), p. 221; Ginsberg, *ANET,* p. 140. This is against Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949), p. 45, who in *UT,* p. 425, No. 1338, now leaves the matter open by rendering for this passage "remains/flesh."

[22] For a full discussion, see Hasel, *The Remnant,* pp. 114, 115.

[23] Text 76:I:10, 19 indicates that "men die" of the drought (cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature,* p. 49; Driver, *Canaanite Myths,* p. 117).

[24] A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), p. 32.

[25] Ibid., p. 33; cf. C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* (Leiden, 1965), p. 287 (hereinafter cited as *DISO*).

[26] E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 270, 271; cf. *DISO,* p. 287.

pears on a 5th cent. ostracon from Elephantine: "Now (but) if
you sell ornaments of all kinds, then the children shall eat.
Behold, no small remnant [šʾr] (will remain)."[27] These sentences
are part of a dream and its interpretation.[28] The "remnant"
seems to refer to ornamental items which can be sold so that
the children may no longer suffer hunger. The idea is that
once some are sold there are still plenty of them left. The noun
šʾr appears eight times in an "account of produce" from ca. 300
B.C.[29] with the meaning of designating the value of the amount
of produce left over from a larger whole which was disposed
of.[30] The noun šʾry (Heb. šᵉʾērît) occurs three times in a mar-
riage contract from 420 B.C.,[31] which provides that the "remain-
der/rest"[32] of the goods of the bride's permanent property are
rightfully hers in case of separation in contrast to the other
goods. A letter written in the first decade of the 5th cent. by the
Jews of Elephantine to the Persian governor Bagoas in Jerusalem
employs the word šyryt rendered as "rest/remainder"[33] with
reference to the remainder of the furnishings or objects of the
temple at Elephantine.

In Palmyrene the noun šʾr is attested in a tomb inscription
dated to 213 B.C. and refers to the "remainder/rest" of the unde-
filed chamber which has been ceded to a certain individual.[34]

The noun šʾryt appears a number of times in Nabatean.[35] A
tomb inscription from Petra dated to about 1st cent. A.D.[36] speaks
of the "remainder" of property as that part of the whole which

[27] H. Donner und W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*
(Wiesbaden, 1962-64), I, 52, No. 270 B 5; II, 321, No. 270 B (hereinafter
cited as *KAI*).

[28] *KAI*, II, 323.

[29] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 191.

[30] Ibid., pp. 193ff., No. 81:61-63, 77, 106, 118, 131, 132.

[31] Kraeling, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 201.

[32] Ibid., pp. 204-207, No. 7:23, 26, 27; cf. *DISO*, p. 288.

[33] Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 112, No. 30:11.

[34] H. Ingholt, *Berytus*, 2 (1935), 96. J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du Palymy-
rénien épigraphique* (Le Chair, 1935), p. 103, points to another example in
the construct state *(šʾwr)* in an unpublished text. Cf. *DISO*, p. 287.

[35] *DISO*, p. 288, cites only two examples but others are known.

[36] G. A. Cooke, *A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1903),
p. 241.

is left over and is to be dedicated to the god Dushara.[37] Another text refers to "the rest of their noblemen"[38] and indicates that the "remnant" designates the larger part of the group, without implying that the other part has been disposed of.

In Arabic we find the verbal forms *sa'ara* with the meaning "to leave a remainder" of food or drink in a vessel and *sa'ira* which means "to be left over."[39] The shades of meaning of the Syriac *syara'* are "waste, scrap, what is left over."[40]

This evidence demonstrates that according to present information the root *š'r* is limited to the West Semitic languages. The idea of the remnant comes to expression in Akkadian literature by such terms as *riḫtu* = "remnant," *sittu* = "remnant," *sâtu* = "to remain over," *ezēbu* = "to leave," and *balaṭu* = "to save, survive" (Heb. *plṭ*).[41] On the basis of attestations of forms of *š'r* in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Palmyrene, Nabatean, Arabic, and Syriac it may be concluded that the root *š'r* is of common West Semitic origin. In the West Semitic languages, other than Hebrew, there is so far no suggestion that a remnant is left over after destruction by war.[42] The remnant terminology appears in connection with material objects and human entities. Heaton's claim that the "other Semitic languages . . . confirm" the basic meaning of the Hebrew root *š'r* as "to remain or be left over from a larger number of quantity which has in some way been disposed of"[43] is not supported. In one instance the remainder is clearly the larger number or quantity. In the majority of instances there is no evidence that the remaining

[37] Ibid.; cf. M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898), p. 451.

[38] Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1909), p. 213, No. 57:1.

[39] De Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, p. 15, n. 1.

[40] De Vaux, *RB*, 42 (1933), 525; *Bible et Orient*, p. 26.

[41] See Hasel, *The Remnant*, pp. 64-100.

[42] This is often a dominant semantic value in Assyrian annalistic literature. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest*, pp. 8-18, had been misled by his limited investigation of the extra-biblical remnant motif into suggesting that the biblical remnant motif arose from the politico-military sphere. This hypothesis has been accepted by G. von Rad, L. Ruppert, H. W. Wolff, H. Wildberger, O. H. Steck, U. Stegemann, and others, but must be given up on the basis of extra-biblical and biblical evidence. Cf. Hasel, *The Remnant*, pp. 382ff.

[43] Heaton, *JTS*, 3 (1952), 28.

balance is disposed of. In a few examples the remnant designates that part which is totally destroyed. Thus the semantic values may express a tendency to emphasize the residual part, either its future potential or meaninglessness, or may emphasize the idea of total destruction. There is a dual polarity with the possibility of both positive and negative aspects in each. Derivatives of the common West Semitic root š̆r can express the notion of the larger or smaller balance of a divided whole with the tendencies to emphasize either the future potential or lack of potential of the residual quantity, or the idea of total destruction.

## Semantic Values of Derivatives of š̆r

A review of the verbal forms of derivatives of the Hebrew root š̆r reveals that they are employed in connection with a wide variety of inanimate objects, non-human entities and abstract concepts: stones remain over after a city is sacked (2 Ki 3:25); some wood remains after an idol is carved (Is 44:17, 19); only the trunk of an image is left when head and arms are severed (1 Sa 5:4); gleanings remained over to be gathered up (Is 17:6; Jer 49:9) or were left over (Ob 5); some cities are left untouched while others were conquered (Jer 34:7). The plague tradition tells of frogs left in the river (Ex 8:9, 11) while flies did not remain (8:31). Hail left some produce (10:5) while locusts devoured it but were themselves not left over (10:19). Cattle were not left behind (10:25). Horses survived a siege (2 Ki 7:13). Blood was left over in a sacrifice (Lev 5:9). A part of the land of Canaan remains to be taken (Jos 13:1). A blessing will be left behind (Joel 2:14). Strength and breath did not remain (Dan 10:8, 17). Answers remain false (Job 21:34).

The masculine noun š̆e'ār can refer to the "remainder" of trees in a forest (Is 10:9), the "rest" of other provinces (Est 9:12), the "balance" of money (2 Chr 24:14), the "rest" of the acts of Solomon (9:29), of a city (1 Chr 11:18), and the "remnant" of the Spirit (Mal 2:15). The feminine noun š̆e'ērît is used only once each with an inanimate object and an abstract idea, i.e., the "remainder" of wood from which an idol is carved (Is 44:17) and the "remnant" of wrath (Ps 76:10).

It is now our task to investigate the semantic ranges of both

the verbal and nominal derivatives of *š'r* as they refer to human entities. The earliest appearance of a verbal form is found in the Hebrew flood story in connection with the survival of Noah and his family (Gn 7:33) from destruction by water.[44] Some Sodomites survived and escaped from their enemies (14:10). Benjamin is the only son left of Rachel (42:38). Og is the sole survivor of the Rephaim (Dt 3:11; Jos 13:12), the son of the woman of Tekoah of her family (2 Sa 14:7), and Naomi of hers (Ruth 1:3). Verbal forms designate the following as the ones left over: two men (Nu 11:26), a mother with her sons (Ruth 1:3), sons (1 Sa 16:11), brethren (1 Chr 13:2), few men (Is 24:6), the poor (2 Ki 25:12), a tribe (2 Ki 17:18), an army (Ex 14:28; 2 Ki 13:7), 10,000 men (Jugs 7:3), inhabitants of a city (Amos 5:3; Jer 39:9; 2 Ki 25:1f.), and a land (Jer 40:6). No Anakim were left in the Conquest (Jos 11:22). The Ammonites were so utterly destroyed that not even two men were left together (1 Sa 11:11); conversely, some nations were left in Canaan (Jos 23:4, 7, 12) and remained there after Israel's restoration (Eze 36:36).

The noun *š'ār* never occurs as a designation for an individual, but is employed for a group (1 Chr 16:41; Est 9:16; Ezr 3:8; 4:3, 7).[45] In the book of Isaiah it can designate the "remnant" of Israel (Is 10:20), "his people" (11:11, 16; 28:5), and Jacob (10:21), as well as Babylon (14:22), Moab (16:14), Aram (17:3), and Arabia (21:17).[46]

The noun *š'ērît* is used only twice for a group (Jer 39:3; Neh 7:72). Nine times it is employed to designate a part of a foreign nation or its territory, such as the "remnant" of the Amalekites (1 Chr 4:43), Philistines (Amos 1:8), Edom (9:12), Moab (Is 15:9), Ashdod (Jer 25:20), nations (Eze 36:3ff.), the

[44] It is very significant that the remnant motif in extra-biblical literature is also deeply embedded in the Sumero-Babylonian flood traditions which go back to before 2000 B.C. Cf. Hasel, *The Remnant,* pp. 51-58, 67-87.

[45] H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (Werl, 1966), pp. 103-105, on the remnant in Ezr.

[46] On the meaning of *š'ār* in the book of Isaiah, see Hasel, *The Remnant,* pp. 216-372, and on a much more limited scale U. Stegemann, *BZ,* 13 (1969), 161-186, whose study suffers from an artificial distinction of a "secular-profane" and a "theological" remnant motif in Isaiah which leads her astray in assessing the Isaianic remnant motif.

coastlands of Caphtor (Jer 47:4), and the sea coast (Eze 25:16). In these passages the foreign nation or territory is always doomed to destruction. Conversely, when $\check{s}^e\bar{e}r\hat{\imath}\underline{t}$ designates the "remnant" of ancient Israel, it always expresses the positive aspect of the salvation of God's people and appears in the following genitive constructions: the "remnant" of Israel (Mic 2:12; Jer 31:7; Eze 9:7; Zep 3:13), of the house of Israel (Is 46:3), of Judah (Jer 40: 11, 15; 42:15, 19; 43:5), of the house of Judah (Zep 2:7), of Joseph (Amos 5:15), of Jacob (Mic 5:7f.), of Jerusalem (Is 37:4=2 Ki 19:4), of Yahweh's inheritance (Mic 7:18; cf. 2 Ki 21:14), of his people (Zep 2:9), of his sheep (Jer 23:3). It is also a designation of the returnees from exile (Hag 1:12, 14; 2:2; Zec 8:6, 11, 12).

The statistical analysis of pp. 154-156 has indicated that both nominal forms are predominantly used by the writing prophets. The noun $\check{s}^e\bar{e}r\hat{\imath}\underline{t}$ is a major term in the prophetic proclamation of judgment and salvation, expressing the idea that the remnant of a foreign city or country which survived a prior catastrophe is doomed to total annihilation. Contrariwise, the remnant of God's elect people may expect preservation and survival in a future catastrophe. With regard to the noun $\check{s}^e\bar{a}r$ no such clear-cut prophetic usage can be detected.

Our attention needs to turn now to the variety of threats to human entities with which derivatives of $\check{s}^{\prime}r$ appear. The first scholar who attempted to pay attention to this semantic connection was W. E. Müller who suggested on insufficient grounds[47] that the unique threat from which the biblical remnant motif arose was a politico-military one, i.e., the (Assyrian) practice of complete annihilation.[48] This is supported neither from ancient Near Eastern texts nor from the more recent understanding of Israelite traditions. One of the most ancient memories contained in the OT concerns itself with the cataclysmic threat to mankind's existence in the form of a flood. Here is the earliest appearance of the remnant terminology (Gn 7:23).[49] For the moment this survived remnant of the flood was woefully small,

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[47] See Hasel, *The Remnant*, pp. 50-134.

[48] Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest*, pp. 18, 27. Cf. *supra*, n. 42.

[49] See Hasel, *AUSS*, 8 (1970), 182-188.

but in it were preserved the "seeds of life for the future"[50] as well as civilization.[51] In the surviving remnant is latent an enormous potentiality for mankind's future existence.

In Genesis are found other ancient traditions which know of a remnant. From the 19th-18th cent. B.C. comes the experience of the struggle between several city-states. The "remainder" of the Sodomite force which survived the battle and the succeeding misfortune (Gn 14:10) was able to save itself. The cataclysmic threat to the cities of the plain in the form of "brimstone and fire" (Gn 19:26) annihilated the total population with the exception of the rescued remnant of a father with his two daughters (vs. 31).

The Esau-Jacob narrative tells of Jacob dividing his household into two camps in hope that "the company which is left (hanniš'ār) will escape" (Gn 32:9). The threat here is a family feud. The anticipated remnant of Jacob's household is one half of the total clan, which is expected to preserve posterity. The positive forward-looking aspect of the remnant motif is here undeniable. Benjamin is "alone left" (Gn 42:38) of the two sons of Rachel while the other is believed to have been a victim of a wild animal (Gn 37:33). Jacob protects this survivor in order to preserve for himself progeny through this son (Gn 42:36ff.). The future potential inherent in this sole survivor is immense. In the Joseph narrative the threat which endangers the life and continued existence of the clan of Jacob is famine (Gn 45:6). In the touching scene of recognition, Joseph confronts his fearful brothers by saying that God sent him "to preserve for you a remnant (š²ērît) on earth, and to keep alive for you many survivors (p²lêṭāh)" (Gn 45:7).[52] This passage contains a remarkable relationship between the ideas of preserving a "remnant," the keeping alive of many "survivors" and life as such. The intricate connection between the remnant motif and the question of continued human existence and preservation of life is here demonstrated in its positive forward-looking emphasis.

[50] U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem, 1964), II, 97.

[51] W. Harrelson, *Interpreting the OT* (New York, 1964), p. 54.

[52] On these passages from Genesis, see Hasel, *The Remnant*, pp. 135-159.

Other threats to human entities, aside from war, are earth-quake (Is 24:1-6), natural death (Ruth 1:3, 5), and divine anger which can punish by sword and famine (Jer 44:7, 12) or un-specified means (Eze 9:8; Zep 3:11f.).

The final category of threats to be treated is that of war. H. Wildberger has proposed that "the derivatives of the root *š'r* belong to the typical semantic ranges of Holy War."[53] This claim can hardly be supported on the basis of the 223 occur-rences of derivatives of the root *š'r*. The masculine nominal derivative *š°'ār* never occurs in such connections. Of the 66 occurrences of the feminine noun *š°'ērît* there is only a single instance in which it is used in a Holy War context (1 Chr 4:43). Verbal derivatives appear only 17 times in connection with the "wars of Yahweh"[54] from the Red Sea miracle to the establish-ment of the monarchy[55] out of a total of 131. All of the 17 occurrences of the verb come from the time of the Conquest except one (Jugs 4:6) that belongs to the period of the judges, which some consider the period of "genuine holy wars."[56] In the early period there is no consistent application of the ban, for at times there were survivors (Jos 8:22; 11:22). We must note the radical distinction between the OT motif of total destruction and that of Assyrian warfare.[57] The great variety of threats, such as flood, fire, famine, natural death, and family feud, which all antedate the limited appearance of certain derivatives of *š'r*

[53] H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* (Biblischer Kommentar AT, X/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), I, 155.

[54] This phrase is taken from Nu 21:24; 1 Sa 18:17; 25:8. On the problem of whether or not such a sacral institution existed in ancient Israel, see H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (Philadelphia, 1966), pp. 53f., and especially G. Fohrer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (Berlin, 1969), p. 109, and H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 42-45.

[55] Ex 14:28; Nu 21:35; Dt 2:34; 3:3, 11; Jos 8:22; 10:28, 30, 37, 39f.; 11:8, 14, 22; 13:12; Jugs 4:6.

[56] R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London, 1961), p. 261.

[57] Against Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest,* pp. 18-21. It is now recognized that total warfare in Assyria was largely for psychological purposes. Its pur-pose was to inspire fear, to intimidate Assyria's enemies, and to break political independence, while its aim was complete subordination of Assyria's enemy. Cf. H. W. F. Saggs, "Assyrian Warfare in the Sargonid Period," *Iraq,* 25 (1963), 145-154; W. von Soden, "Der Assyrer und der Krieg," *Iraq,* 25 (1963), 131-144; Hasel, *The Remnant,* pp. 98-100.

with the Yahweh Wars, makes it impossible to connect the root
šʾr in a special way with the "semantic ranges of Holy War"
(*pace* Wildberger) or for that matter with any single threat.
The synonymous or parallel usage of derivatives of šʾr with
pᵉlêṭāh,[58] which appear frequently as designations of the
"escapees" which survived in war[59] but have no connection at all
with the Yahweh Wars, illustrates further that the derivatives
of the root šʾr must not be tied to a single threat or concept.

The remnant terminology appears also with wars during the
time of the united monarchy (1 Sa 11:11; 14:36). Rather frequent
reference is made to nations of the nearer[60] or more distant[61]
periphery of Israel whose remnant is spoken of without revealing
the means that caused or will cause the decimation.

The large variety of threats to human entities in the natural,
social, political, and religious spheres—flood, famine, drought,
earthquake, fire, family feud, natural death, war, and divine
wrath—indicates the manifold relations of the remnant motif.
It is likewise not limited to a single genre of literature. It appears
in historical narrative, oracle, annals, etc. These manifold con-
nections and multiple relations in connection with human en-
tities, such as an individual, a family, clan, tribe, army, city,
nation, and even mankind as a whole, indicates that its origin
is to be found in the common denominator which binds every-
thing together: the life-and-death problem or the tension of con-
tinued human existence in the face of a threat to life.

It remains for us to investigate whether the derivatives of šʾr
are primarily "backward-looking"[62] or stress mainly the idea of

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[58] Gn 32:9; 45:7; Ex 10:5; Is 4:2f.; 10:20; 15:9; 37:31=2 Ki 19:30; 1 Chr 4:43;
Ezr 9:14; Neh 1:2f.

[59] Gn 32:9; 2 Sa 15:14; Is 15:9; Jer 25:35; 50:29; cf. Is 45:20; 66:19; 2 Ki 9:5;
Lam 2:22; etc. Hasel, "The Origin and Early History of the Remnant Motif,"
pp. 176-180.

[60] The following must be mentioned: Philistines, Amos 1:8; Is 14:30; Jer
25:20; 47:4-5; Eze 25:15-17; Edomites, Nu 24:19; Is 15:9; Jer 49:9; Amos 9:12;
Ob 5; Moabites, Is 15:9; Jer 48:12; Dan 11:41; 2 Chr 20:24; Ammonites, 1 Sa
11:11; Jer 49:5; Eze 21:37; Arameans, 1 Ki 20:20, 30-32, 40; Tyre, Is 21:27;
Jer 49:32.

[61] The following must be mentioned: Assyria, Is 10:19; Babylon, Is 14:22;
Jer 50:3, 28; 51:43; Elam, Jer 49:36; Egypt, Ex 14:28; Eze 29:8f., 13-16; 30:26;
32:15.

[62] So Heaton, *JTS*, 3 (1952), 29.

"promise"[63] or whether other notions come to expression. We have already observed that many of the early usages of the remnant terminology derived from *š'r* contain the undeniable positive, forward-looking aspect with the immense future potentiality for life and continued existence inherent in the remnant. At the same time it is true that there are clear instances of the negative aspect. Verbal forms are at times employed in a sense in which the sifting process with the idea of separation places great emphasis upon the smallness or meaninglessness of that which remained (Ex 10:5; Dt 27:57, 62; 1 Sa 5:4). With regard to human entities verbal forms may stress the insignificance of the sole person who remained,[64] the smallness of the people who are left,[65] and the total destruction of even those who remained (Dt 7:20; 1 Ki 22:47). At times the negative particle is used with verbal forms to express the idea of total loss and meaninglessness.[66] This negative aspect can come to expression also with the nouns *š'ār*[67] and *š'ērît*.[68] To place primary or exclusive emphasis on the negative aspect[69] for all usages of derivatives of the root *š'r* is to fall into the trap of "etymologizing," i.e., transferring one particular semantic value to all appearances without paying proper attention to the individual semantic value of each usage in its own context.

There are many passages which contain undeniably positive semantic values[70] which emphasize the inherent potentiality in

[63] So de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, p. 17.

[64] Dt 3:11; Jos 3:12; Ruth 1:3, 5; Dan 10:8.

[65] Dt 4:27; 2 Ki 24:14; 25:11, 22; Is 17:6; 24:6; Jer 8:3; 37:10; Amos 5:3.

[66] Gn 47:18; Ex 8:31; 10:19, 26; 14:28; Nu 9:12; 21:35; Dt. 2:34; 3:3; 28:51, 55; Jos 8:17, 22; 10:28, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40; 11:8, 14; Jugs 4:16; 6:4; 1 Sa 11:11; 14:36; 2 Sa 14:7; 1 Ki 15:29; 16:11; 2 Ki 10:11, 14, 17, 21; Dan 10:8, 17; Ezr 9:14.

[67] Is 10:19, 21, 22; 14:22; 16:14; 17:3; 21:17; Zep 1:4; Dan 7:7, 19; Mal 2:15.

[68] Amos 1:8; Is 14:30; 15:9; Jer 8:3; 14:22; 47:4; 2 Ki 21:14; Eze 5:10; 9:8; 11:13; 25:16. On the remnant motif in the book of Ezekiel, see Y. Hattori, "The Prophet Ezekiel and His Idea of the Remnant" (unpubl. Th.D. dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1968).

[69] So Heaton, *JTS*, 3 (1952), 28ff.

[70] Gn 32:9; 45:7; Ex 8:11, 13; 10:12; Lev 26:36, 39; Nu 11:26; Jos 13:1, 2, 12; 23:4, 7, 12; Jugs 7:3; 1 Sa 9:29; 11:11; 16:11; 2 Sa 14:7; 1 Ki 7:13; 19:18; 2 Ki 10:11; 19:30; 25:11, 22; Is 4:3; 6:13; 7:3; 10:20; 11:16; 37:31; Jer 21:17; 24:8; 34:7; 38:4, 22; 39:9, 10; 40:6; 41:10; 42:2; 52:15, 16; Eze 6:12;

the surviving remnant whether it is small or large. The execution of the ban by ancient Israel indicates the future potentiality of even a remnant of the Canaanites.[71] The positive, forward-looking aspect also comes to expression in the parallel usage of "remnant and name" ( *šēm ûš⁰ᵉᵉrît*[72] or *šēm ûš⁰ᵉār*[73] ). When both remain life will continue in the offspring and progeny, even if the remnant is a last son (2 Sa 14:7). But if both "remnant and name" are uprooted all existence comes to an end (Is 14:22). "Name and remnant" are equal to "offspring and posterity" ( *nîn wānekèḏ* ), as is demonstrated in Is 14:22.[74] These couplets express in the fullest manner the immense potentiality of future existence and continued life inherent in the remnant. The same concept is emphasized in the parallelism between "remnant" and "root" ( *šoreš/š⁰ᵉᵉrît* ) in Is 14:30.[75] As long as there is a "root" (=remnant) there is the full potentiality for growth and life.

The semantic values of forms of *š'r* are not adequately treated without making reference to forms of *ytr, śrd,* and *plṭ* with which they appear. Space does not permit a detailed treatment.

9:8; 17:21; 36:36; Amos 5:15; 9:11f.; Zep 3:12; Zec 9:7; 11:9; Hag 2:3; Joel 2:14; 2 Chr 30:6; Job 21:34.

[71] The remnant of the Amalekites existed in the period of the Judges (Jugs 6:1-6) and posed a threat to Israel from the early monarchy (1 Sa 15; 30:17) until the turn of the 8th to the 7th cent. B.C. (1 Chr 4:43). The remnant of the Anakim left by Joshua (Jos 11:21, 22) were a major menace to Israel centuries later under Saul's kingship (1 Sa 17:4-58). Cf. Warne, "The Origin, Development, and Significance of the Remnant," pp. 10f.

[72] 2 Sa 14:7; K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT, VIII; Tübingen, 1902), remarks on this text that since the parallel use of "name and remnant" is otherwise not found in the OT the term "remnant" must be deleted. There is no reason to accept this arbitrary procedure! In Is 14:22 and Zep 1:4 we find the parallelism of *šēm/š⁰ᵉār* and the reading of IQIsᵃ in Is 14:22 is *šm wš'ryt;* cf. M. Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (New Haven, 1950), I, Plate XII. In view of the fact that the two co-ordinated terms *nîn wānekèḏ* represent a hendiadys (R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax* [Toronto, 1967], p. 17), one may indeed wonder whether the co-ordinated terms *šm wš'r* are not also a hendiadys, i.e. express a single concept.

[73] Is 14:22; Zep 1:4.

[74] In this passage the four nouns "name and remnant" and "offspring and posterity" form two pairs of words in alliteration and express in the most general and all-embracing manner the idea of progeny. Cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja* (2nd ed.; Zürich, 1966), I, 190, n. 21.

[75] See Hasel, *The Remnant,* pp. 353-356.

Nominal forms of *š'r* appear in certain phrases[76] synonymously or interchangeably with *yeṯer*, "remainder, rest." There are instances in which verbal forms of *š'r*, "to remain, be left over," are used synonymously with verbal forms of *ytr*, "to remain over, to be left over"[77] or the noun *yeṯer*, "remainder, rest."[78] This indicates that there is overlapping in certain semantic values of derivatives of the roots *š'r* and *ytr*. While this is true, it must be emphasized that this does not provide any justification for reading an alleged root meaning of *ytr* into all usages of *š'r*. At the same time there are a good number of instances which demonstrate that these terms contribute to the positive, future-directed semantic ranges of the remnant motif as it has come to expression in derivatives of both *š'r* and *ytr*.

The noun *še'ēriṯ* and the substantival use of the Niphal participle of *š'r* are used synonymously with the noun *śārîḏ*, "survivor" (Jer 47:4; 2 Ki 10:11). Derivatives of the root *śrd* appear primarily with the negative emphasis of destruction (24 of the total of 29 occurrences). But this shade of meaning is balanced by the positive nuance with the implicit potentiality of renewal and future existence inherent of the survivors.[79]

### Conclusions

This study has attempted to throw light upon the 223 occurrences of derivatives of *š'r* which represent the major terminology of the OT remnant motif. It may be safely concluded on the basis of cognates in Ugaritic, Aramaic, Palmyrene, Nabatean, Arabic and Syriac that the Hebrew root *š'r* is of common West Semitic origin. Our investigation into the semantics of *š'r* has revealed that it designates the residual part which is left over or remains after the removal of the balance of a small part, half, or the larger whole. In some cases the remnant also designates

[76] The phrase "the rest (*š'ār*) of the people" in Neh 10:29; 11:1 as well as the phrase "the rest (*š'ērîṯ*) of the people" in Jer 41:10, 16; Neh 7:71(72); Hag 1:12, 14; 2:2 is synonymous with the phrase "the rest (*yeṯer*) of the people/nation" in 1 Ki 12:23; Jer 39:9; 52:15=1 Ki 25:11; Hab 2:8; Zep 2:9; Zec 14:2; Neh 4:14, 19.

[77] Ex 10:5, 15; Jos 11:11, 14; 1 Sa 25:22; Is 4:3; Jer 34:7.

[78] Dt 3:11; Jos 24:12; 13:12; 1 Ki 22:46; cf. Jer 44:7.

[79] Jos 10:20; Is 1:9; Jer 31:1; Joel 3:5; Job 18:19; 27:15.

the whole without the loss of any part. The semantics of derivatives of *š'r* demonstrates its frequent usage (195 out of 223) with human entities, such as mankind as a whole, a people or nation, tribe or clan, group or family, and even a single individual. The great variety of threats in the natural, social, political, and religious spheres precludes a derivation or special connection of the root *š'r* and its derivatives with any single threat, whether the politico-military practice of total warfare (so W. E. Müller) or the Yahweh Wars (so H. Wildberger). The variegated threats and manifold relations of derivatives of *š'r* demonstrate that the remnant motif has its origin neither in eschatology (H. Gressmann), myth and cult (S. Mowinckel), election (O. Schilling), etc.,[80] but in the life-and-death problem, i.e., the fundamental question of human existence and its continuity.

Basic to the Hebrew root *š'r* is a bi-polarity of negative and positive aspects: Negatively derivatives of *š'r* can express total loss or painful decimation with emphasis on complete meaninglessness and utter insignificance; positively they can express the immense future potentiality inherent in the remnant, no matter what its size. To have a "remnant" (a "name" or "root") means to possess continued existence, guaranteeing life through perpetuation by progeny. This bi-polarity must not be understood or construed as mutually exclusive modes of thought. It interacts constantly by forming different emphases according to the particular semantic value of each individual context, sentence-combination and word-combination. In no case must any semantic value be blurred or obliterated by superimposing another semantic value from a different context.

[80] For details, see Hasel, *The Remnant*, pp. 2-40, 373ff.

# THE CROWN OF THE KING OF THE AMMONITES

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Only once in connection with the conquest of a city or country does the Bible mention the capture of a crown. This occasion was David's conquest of Rabbath-Ammon, the capital city of the Ammonites. The biblical record mentions that at that time much spoil was carried away, among it a golden crown containing a precious stone. This crown must have been considered an extraordinarily important object since it merited special mention by the biblical writers in two passages, 2 Sa 12:30 and 1 Chr 20:2.

Let us examine these two passages. They are almost identical, and it seems certain that the Chronicler took the story over from 2 Sa 12:30, eliminating in the process a few ambiguities of expression:

2 Sa 12:30: "And    he    took the crown of *mlkm* from his head and its
1 Chr 20: 2: "And David took the crown of *mlkm* from his head and its

2 Sa 12:30: weight was                a talent of gold and                a
1 Chr 20: 2: weight was found to be a talent of gold and in it was a

2 Sa 12:30: precious stone; and it was (put) on the head of David . . ."
1 Chr 20: 2: precious stone; and it was (put) on the head of David . . ."

The two passages pose problems which need to be briefly discussed.

The first problem concerns the question of the nature of the crown. The Hebrew knows three terms for crowns: (1) *keṭer* (only in Est), a headdress worn by queens and even horses;[1] (2) *nēzer*, a diadem, the usual headgear of kings and high priests;[2] (3) *ʿaṭārāh*, a wreath, or crown, worn by kings and

[1] For a queen, Est 1:11; 2:17; for a horse, 6:8.

[2] For a king, 2 Sa 1:10, 2 Ki 11:12, etc.; for a high priest, Ex 29:6; 39:30, etc.

high priests, but which was also put on the head of a beloved girl.[3] The *nēzer* is commonly interpreted to have been a diadem, a gold band worn around the head, while the *ʿaṭārāh*, the crown mentioned in the two passages discussed here, was a helmet-type or hat-type crown which could have been made of metal or other material.[4] A crown (*ʿaṭārāh*) of gold is mentioned in the Bible not only in the passages under discussion but also in different contexts in Ps 21:3 and Zec 6:11, while precious stones are said to have adorned a crown according to Zec 9:16.

The second problem is concerned with the Hebrew *mlkm*, which designates the original owner of the crown in question. The Masoretes vocalized it in such a way (*malkām*) that it received the meaning "their king," but the LXX translators evidently took it to be Milkom, the name of the Ammonite god, rendering it as *Melchol* or *Molchol*, two of the several transliterations used in the LXX for Milkom.[5] However, it should be pointed out that the LXX contains the additional phrase τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, "their king," after Milkom in both passages, thus giving the impression that the Hebrew *Vorlage* for the LXX translators was *milkōm malkām*, "Milkom, their king." It is, though, quite possible that the doubling of *mlkm* was simply due to dittography or conflation of two variants. The LXX is not the only source for the high antiquity of the tradition that David obtained a gold crown in Rabbath-Ammon from a statue of the Ammonite god Milkom and not from a king. Jerome mentions a Jewish tradition, according to which this crown was snatched from the head of Milkom by Ittai, the (non-Israelite) Gittite, because it was unlawful for a Hebrew to take spoil from an idol.[6] It is therefore not surprising that many modern commentators and Bible translators (e.g., NEB and Jerusalem

[3] For a king, Jer 13:18; for a high priest, Sirach 45:12; for a lover, Eze 16:12.

[4] Kurt Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon* (Tübingen, 1937), cols. 125-128; L. E. Toombs, "Crown," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1962), I, 745, 746.

[5] The transliterations in the LXX for Milkom are *Melchom, Melchol, Melcho, Molchol, Amelchou,* and *Moloch.*

[6] Quaestr. Hebr. on 1 Chr 20:2, according to A. F. Kirkpatrick, *Cambridge Bible for Schools* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 339.

Bible) prefer the reading Milkom to the Masoretic *malkām*,[7] although there are still a few defenders of the Masoretic tradition[8] which is reflected also in such Bible translations as the KJV, RV, and RSV.

The third problem is the weight of the crown—a talent, which amounts to ca. 75 lbs. Most commentators consider this to be an exaggeration and believe that it was merely based on an unreasonably high popular estimate indicating that this crown of solid gold was considered to be of immense value.[9] On the other hand, some commentators think that the weight is accurately recorded. They consider it proof that the crown had adorned a statue and not a human being, who could not have worn such a heavy headgear.[10] Furthermore there are a few commentators who accept the statement concerning the weight of the crown and believe it to have been worn by the Ammonite king. They point out that peasant women of the Near East are used to carrying heavy water containers on their heads which, in some cases, are heavier than 75 lbs., and that Oriental coolies can carry incredible loads on their heads.[11] Finally, some commentators who accept the weight of one talent recorded in the Bible think that the Ammonite king as well as King David would have worn this heavy crown for only a few moments as a symbolic act, or would have needed an extra support to wear it.[12]

[7] H. P. Smith in the *International Critical Commentary*, on 2 Sa 12:30; Kirkpatrick, *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, on 2 Sa 12:30; R. P. Smith in *Pulpit Commentary*, on 2 Sa 12:30; E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, on 1 Chr 20:2, referring as a parallel to our story to the statue of Apollo of Delos who also wore a crown; W. Rudolph, *Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, on 1 Chr 20:2; and A. Noordtzij, *Korte Verklaring*, on 1 Chr 20:2.

[8] C. F. Keil und F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, on 2 Sa 12:30; H. W. Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 319; C. J. Goslinga, *Korte Verklaring*, on 2 Sa 12:30; C. F. Keil in Keil und Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles*, on 1 Chr 20:2.

[9] R. P. Smith, *Pulpit Commentary*, on 2 Sa 12:30; Curtis and Madsen, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, on 1 Chr 20:2.

[10] E.g., H. P. Smith, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, on 2 Sa 12:30.

[11] E.g., Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel*, p. 319.

[12] E.g., Kirkpatrick, *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, on 2 Sa 12:30; *SDA Bible Commentary*, on 1 Chr 20:2.

A recently published alphabetic economic text from Ugarit shows that the talent of Ugarit was worth only five-sevenths of the Ashdod talent (Mitchell

In the fourth place there is the question of what David actually put on his head. Did he wear the golden crown containing a precious stone after capturing it in Rabbath-Ammon, or was it merely the precious stone which from that time on he wore attached perhaps to a *nēzer*, a diadem? The antecedent for the pronoun "it" in the phrase "and it was (put) on the head of David" is not clear. The text in 2 Sa 12:30 could be understood in such a way that David captured a golden crown weighing a talent as well as a precious stone, and if the antecedent of the "it" is the last-mentioned object, only the precious stone would have been worn by David.[13] On the other hand, 1 Chr 20:2 clearly says that the precious stone was in the crown, so that the assumption must be that the antecedent to "it" in the Chronicle passage is the crown containing the stone.

Although the two passages under discussion contain these several problems which with our present knowledge cannot be fully solved, they are clear in one thing and that is the importance of the crown captured by David—the only item of spoil specifically mentioned. The following conclusions can be reached from the foregoing discussion. The Hebrew text uses the word *ᵃtārāh*, indicating that the crown was more than a diadem or head band, but rather a helmet-type headgear made of solid gold so that it gave the impression that it was either as heavy as a talent or worth a talent. It is not certain whether this crown had been worn by the Ammonite king himself or by a statue of the Ammonite god Milkom, but it seems to me that David would hardly have worn a crown which came from the idol of a heathen nation. Hence I am more inclined to believe that it was actually the royal Ammonite crown which henceforth became King David's official crown, although I join those commentators who do not believe that its weight was 75 lbs. The statement about its weight simply cannot be taken literally whatever its correct explanation might be.

After having discussed the two biblical passages in question,

Dahood, *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, ed. by L. R. Fisher [Rome, 1971], pp. 31, 32). Therefore the possibility—though remote—must not be ruled out that the Ammonite talent was lighter than the Hebrew talent, and that the Ammonite talent was referred to in the biblical story.

[13] So H. P. Smith, *Int. Crit. Comm.*, on 2 Sa 12:30.

let me come to the purpose of my paper, namely the possibility that we have several Ammonite stone sculptures depicting the Ammonite royal crown. In Amman and in its direct vicinity seven crowned stone heads have come to light in recent years plus a complete stone sculpture of a human being wearing such a crown.[14] The crowns in question are all more or less alike. They consist of conical caps or hats similar to those worn by Ba'al or Resheph statues found in Palestine and Syria, with an additional feature, namely a plume or feather attached to each of its two sides.

This type of crown is known from Egypt as the 'atef-crown of Osiris.[15] Occasionally it is worn also by other gods such as Horus, Harsaphes, Khnum, Thoth,[16] and Satis,[17] and rarely also by the goddess Nekhbet,[18] although it seems to have been a crown worn almost exclusively by male deities in Egypt. On the other hand this crown rarely appears on the head of a male deity which did not belong to the native Egyptian pantheon,[18a] but it is worn by non-Egyptian goddesses. Some of our evidence in this respect comes from Egypt since Asiatic deities had found entrance to Egypt. The unknown goddess on the Baluah Stele (now in the Amman Museum) wears this crown,[19] as well as

[14] The seven sculptured heads are here published for the first time. I want to express my gratitude to Mansour Bataineh, director-general of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan from 1971 to 1972, for having given me permission to study and publish the five heads now in the Amman Museum; to C. B. F. Walker, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum, for permission to publish the head in the British Museum; and to Dimitri Baramki, Curator of the Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut, for permission to publish the head in the Beirut collection.

[15] A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (3rd ed.; Oxford, 1957), p. 492, S8.

[16] J. B. Pritchard, ed., ANEP, (Princeton, 1954), No. 573:7, 9, 12, 30.

[17] Jaroslav Černý, Bull., Inst. Franç. d'arch. orientale, 27 (1927), 159-203, Pl. 2.

[18] Pritchard, ANEP, No. 573:18.

[18a] A figurine of a standing male deity with an 'atef-crown was found in the 10th-century B.C. Stratum VB at Megiddo (Gordon Loud, Megiddo II [Chicago, 1948], Pl. 239), and a figurine of a seated male deity with the 'atef-crown, interpreted by Schaeffer to represent El, came to light at Ugarit (C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Nouveaux témoignages du culte de El et de Baal à Ras Shamra-Ugarit et ailleurs en Syrie-Palestine," Syria, 43 [1966], 7, 8, Fig. 3, Pl. II).

[19] W. A. Ward and M. F. Martin, ADAJ, 8-9 (1964), 16, Pls. I, III, and IV.

the Semitic goddess Anath (known also as Antit or Anta in Egyptian inscriptions) on the British Museum Stele 646,[20] on a stele found at Beth-shan,[21] and on a sculpture which Montet discovered during the excavations of Tanis.[22] Furthermore, the Semitic goddess Astarte appears frequently with this crown. She is depicted as a huntress on horseback crowned with the 'atef-crown on a stele in Turin,[23] on a cylinder seal,[24] on a Ramesseum stele,[25] on a sculpture in the *Wadi Abbad*,[26] on an Egyptian bas relief now in the University College in London,[27] and on a stele found at Beth-shan.[28]

From this evidence, it is safe to conclude that the 'atef-crown with rare exceptions was worn only by Egyptian gods and non-Egyptian goddesses.

But now we encounter this same crown on the heads of eight bearded male images, all found in or around Amman. Unfortunately all these sculptures came to light accidentally and not one was discovered in the course of controlled excavations, with the result that it is extremely difficult to ascertain a date of origin for them. Only one has so far been dated with reasonable certainty as coming from the Iron II age, namely the male statue which was exhibited at the World's Fair in New York a few years ago. This statue (Amman Museum J1657, in this paper referred to as No. 1), 81 cm. high, of hard gray stone, represents a barefooted well-dressed man. It was found outside the Roman city wall at the northern end of the Amman Citadel in 1949, together with three other sculptures.[29]

[20] Pritchard, *ANEP*, No. 473, lower relief.

[21] Alan Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 33, Pl. 50:a.

[22] Pierre Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)* (Paris, 1933), Pl. 54.

[23] Jean Leclant, *Syria*, 37 (1960), Pl. I:A.

[24] *Ibid.*, Pl. I:B.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 31, Fig. 10.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 33, Fig. 11, Pl. 2:A, B.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 14, Fig. 2.

[28] Rowe, *Top. and Hist. of Beth-shan*, p. 21, Pl. 48:2.

[29] R. D. Barnett, *ADAJ*, 1 (1951), 34-36. After this paper had been completed I learned that in October 1971 another limestone statuette had been found wearing an 'atef-crown. At an Iron Age II site, Khirbet el-Hajjar, 7 km. southwest of Amman, fragments of two statuettes came to light in local

One of these three bears an inscription, which has been dated by
R. D. Barnett[30] and R. T. O'Callaghan to the 9th-8th cent. b.c.,[31]
but by Y. Aharoni and Y. Yellin-Kallai to the 8th-7th cent. b.c.[32]

The first of the crowned stone heads is of gray basalt and
was found in 1921 in a river bed near Amman. It was presented
to the British Museum a year later (referred to henceforth as
No. 2).[33] The next one (our No. 3), a limestone head, came to
the Amman Museum several years later and was registered as
J2801 with the simple notation that it had been found in Am-
man.[34] No. 4 (J4767) was discovered in Amman in 1953,[35]
No. 5 (J6806) in 1958,[36] while No. 6 (J8882) was entered in

building operations. One, representing a male figure, is 51 cm. high. Its face
and body are badly mutilated. The statue is very similar to our statue No. 1,
though somewhat smaller. The individual depicted stands barefoot on a
socket. His right arm is extended along the body, but the left arm is bent
90°. Of the face no details are discernible, but the crown, similar in appear-
ance to that of No. 1, is rather well preserved. The ears are large and reach
from the lower edge of the crown to the shoulders. The second statue found
at Khirbet el-Hajjar represents a female and is 46 cm. high and less mutilated
than the male figure, so that some features of the garment, hair style, and
ears wearing rings can still be recognized. A brief trial excavation at the
site of discovery under the direction of Moawiyah M. Ibrahim of the De-
partment of Antiquities of Jordan produced a quantity of pottery, basalt
bowls and slingstones, all pointing to the Iron II period, according to the
excavator. This information was obtained from Moawiyah M. Ibrahim's
article in the official tourism magazine *Jordan*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1972), pp.
10-16, Plates I-7.

[30] Barnett, *ADAJ*, 1 (1951), 35.

[31] R. T. O'Callaghan, *Or*, 21 (1952), 184-193.

[32] Y. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 1 (1950-1951), 219-222; Y. Yellin-Kallai, *IEJ*, 3 (1953),
122-126.

[33] Thanks to information provided by Walker of the British Museum by
letter of April 5, 1972, the sculpture bears the registration number 1922-12-
22,1 with the entry: "Found in river bed near Amman, Transjordania, 1921.
Philby Collection. Presented by Miralai F. G. Peake, Inspector General of
Gendarmerie, Transjordania." The size of the sculpture is 43.5 cm. long, 23
cm. wide, and 24 cm. deep.

[34] It is probably the head mentioned by G. Lankester Harding in the *ADAJ*,
1 (1951), 34, note, as being "28 cm. high, with a mustache and beard and
a long neck."

[35] This limestone head is 25 cm. high and 17 cm. wide at the base of the
crown.

[36] This head of limestone was, according to the Amman Museum Registry
book, found in Amman and bought in 1958. It is 37 cm. high and 17 cm.
wide at the base of the crown.

1. Statue of a crowned Ammonite king or god in the Amman Museum. Photo: Abu Hannah

2. Sculpture of an Ammonite crowned head in the British Museum. Courtesy: British Museum

[116739]

PLATE XVII

PLATE XVIII
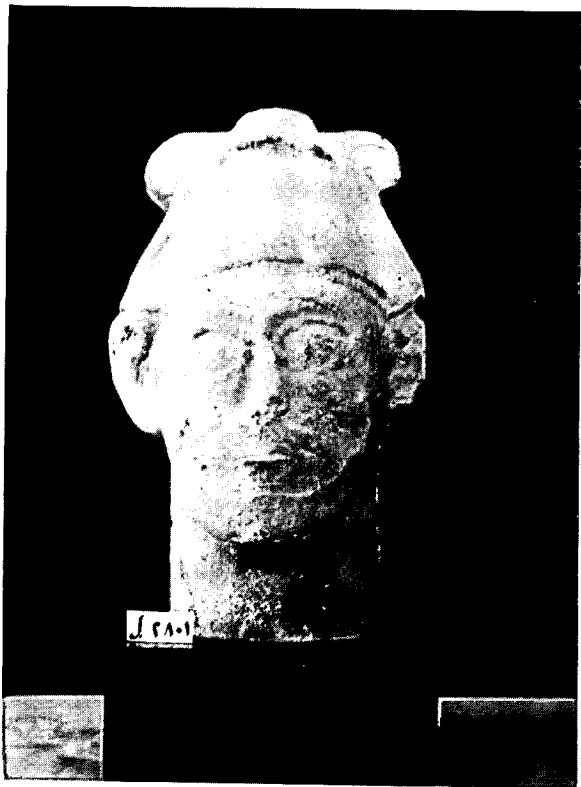


No. 3

No. 4

Sculptures of Ammonite crowned heads in the Amman Museum. Photos: Abu Hannah

No. 5 No. 6
Sculptures of Ammonite crowned heads in the Amman Museum. Photos: Abu Hannah

PLATE XIX

PLATE XX



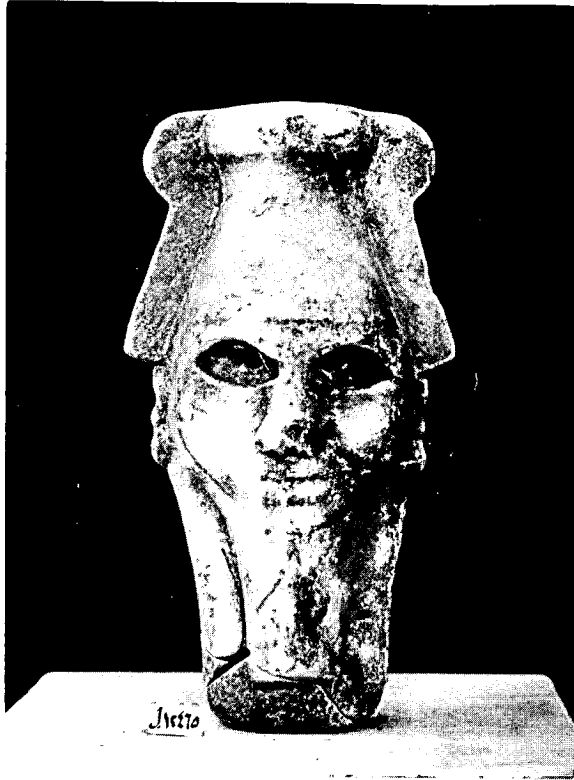**No. 7**
Sculpture of an Ammonite crowned head in the Amman
Museum. Photo: Abu Hannah

**No. 8**
Sculpture of an Ammonite crowned head in the Museum of
the American University of Beirut. Courtesy: D. Baramki

1960 in the Amman Museum registry with the remark that its provenance was unknown.[37] No. 7 (J12465) came to light at *Abu Alanda,* seven km. south of Amman, together with ten other badly weathered heads during the time I served as director of the American Center for Oriental Research in 1971.[38] Not a piece of pottery that might indicate its date was found with this hoard of sculptures, which had seemingly been dumped into a hole dug for it in antiquity. Finally, there is a mutilated crowned stone head in the Archaeological Museum of the American University of Beirut which was bought by Henry Seyrig in Amman[39] (henceforth referred to as No. 8). Its label, saying that it comes from Moab, is misleading and probably based on the information supplied by the dealer when the sculpture was purchased.

Not being trained to date ancient works of art on the basis of stylistic or other significant indications, I am not qualified to venture a dating of any of these sculptures. That they do not all come from the same period or from the same workshop is quite obvious if one compares various features which they have in common, for which reason a brief discussion is in order.

All sculptures depict a bearded man, but the shape of the beard varies greatly. Three beards (Nos. 1, 4 and 5) are well-groomed, rounded at the bottom, and run with a point toward the mouth. One round beard, of No. 3, simply frames the face; while another one, of No. 7, is long and pointed, leaving a clean-shaven chin. The beards on sculptures Nos. 2 and 6 are not preserved well enough to allow details to be distinguished, while that of No. 8 is missing along with the lower part of the face.

Mustaches are indicated on several sculptures. On No. 4 it is a long rectangle, and on No. 5 it is a long rectangle with a tongue pointing toward the nostrils. No. 3 has a mustache of an

[37] This badly battered limestone head is 38.5 cm. high and 21 cm. wide at the base of the crown.

[38] The head is again of limestone, 32.5 cm. high and 17.5 cm. wide at the base of the crown.

[39] It bears the Accession No. 60.30 and is on display in Case 20, as Exhibit No. 46. The fragment is of soft limestone, 11.3 cm. high, 10.8 cm. wide, and 9.8 cm. thick.

inverted flat V. On the other sculptures this part of the face is either damaged (Nos. 2, 6 and 8) or shows no mustache (Nos. 1 and 7).

The mouth is a thin line on two of the sculptured heads (Nos. 3 and 7), but shows full and thick lips on three sculptures (Nos. 1, 4 and 5). On three heads the mouth is destroyed (Nos. 2, 6 and 8).

As is the usual situation with ancient sculptures of humans, the noses have suffered most. The only well-preserved nose appears on head No. 5, and even there it is slightly damaged. It is well-shaped, rather wide at the base, and has a little downward protrusion at the lower end. The damaged nose of No. 4 seems to have been flat, and that of No. 7 gives the appearance of having been short and wide.

There is a great variety of ears. Those of Nos. 1 and 6 are simply plain ear-shaped protrusions from the sides of the heads, but the ears of Nos. 3 and 4 are well-formed. The ears of No. 5 are stylized, fanciful decorations which have hardly any resemblance to human ears, while those of No. 7 are little round pierced discs. The shape of the ears in Nos. 2 and 8 is unrecognizable.

The eyes also show different workmanship. No. 1 has flat and large eyes with no indication of pupils or eyebrows. No. 3 has only slightly incised eyes with no pupils, but double lines indicating eyebrows. No. 4 has lightly incised eyes with circular pupils and eyebrows represented by double lines. In No. 5 the eyes are flat with no pupils, but the eyebrows are shown as flat rectangular protrusions. No. 6 has deeply cut-out eyes without pupils, and barely noticeable lines as eyebrows. In No. 7 the eyes are deeply cut into the stone and contain two drill holes in each eye, with one always deeper than the other. It seems that this head must have been provided with inlaid eyes, now lost. There is no indication of eyebrows.

The crowns (or helmets) also show great variety in shape and workmanship. Three crowns are wide (Nos. 1, 3 and 4), four are long (Nos. 2, 5, 6 and 8), while the remaining one is in between as far as its length is concerned (No. 7). Three of the crowns are plain (Nos. 1, 6 and 7), while three are decorated

with lines at the lower and upper ends (Nos. 4, 5 and 8), and one with a border of little rectangles (No. 3). The caps of four sculptures (Nos. 2, 5, 7 and 8) end in spheres with a thinner waist underneath imitating the Upper-Egyptian royal crowns, while the others are either flat or round at the top.

The plumes or feathers attached to either side of the crowns resemble clearly the Egyptian ma'at-hieroglyph, which, attached to the Upper-Egyptian crown, made it the 'atef-crown, as has already been mentioned. On the crowns of sculptures Nos. 1, 6 and 7 the plumes are plain and show no decoration of any kind. Nos. 5 and 8 show border decorations, while Nos. 3 and 4 contain a decorative line following in the center the shape of the feathers. The feathers of No. 2 are not well enough preserved to allow recognition of their shape.

This brief discussion of the various features shows how much the heads differ in details of workmanship and forms. No two of the heads are alike in all the criteria discussed, for which reason I am unable to see a development of style and thus refrain from attempting to arrange them in a chronological order.

The main question still remains to be answered, Whom do these sculptures represent? Are they representations of a god (or gods), of kings, or of commoners? The last possibility can practically be ruled out, since outside of Egypt commoners hardly ever had images made of themselves. It is conceivable that the god Milkom is represented, although I am inclined to agree with Barnett and O'Callaghan[40] that No. 1 depicts a human, since it is a barefooted figure, probably a king standing on holy ground. Taking this sculpture to represent a human, probably a king, it is tempting to see the seven crowned stone heads from Amman as also representing crowned heads of Ammonite kings. I wonder whether it is a mere coincidence that no other place in Palestine or Transjordania has produced such an unusually large number of sculptures in the round, among them eight wearing the same type of crown, as has the capital of the ancient Ammonites, and that in all biblical records

[40] Barnett, *ADAJ*, 1 (1951), 34; O'Callaghan, *Or*, 21 (1952), 193. On the other hand Aharoni believes that J1657 represents a god (*IEJ*, 1 [1950-1951], 219-222).

significant mention is made of only one crown, i.e., the crown of the Ammonite king (or god). It seems to me that there is a connection between the crowned sculptures and the Ammonite crown captured by David. Although the possibility must be left open that the crowned heads are representations of Milkom made in different periods of the history of the Ammonites, I am inclined to believe that they represent Ammonite kings of the first half of the first millennium B.C., and that the crown captured by David at Rabbath-Ammon may have resembled those crowns of which we have sculptured examples from Amman.

*Postscript.* When this article was already in the hands of the printer a bronze statuette of a female deity wearing the *'atef*-crown from *Tell Kāmid el-Lōz* (probably ancient Kumidi) in the Lebanon was published by Arnulf Kuschke and Martin Metzger in the *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*, 22 ("Congress Volume, Uppsala 1971"; Leiden, 1972), 161, 172, 173, Pl. IV. This figurine, found in 1968 in a temple of the 13th cent. B.C., is identified by Metzger as representing the goddess Anath, an identification with which I am in full agreement. This find supports the observation, already made on the basis of earlier discoveries, that the *'atef*-crown is found in Syria-Palestine almost exclusively on female deities.

# THE BOOK OF REVELATION.
## A REVIEW ARTICLE ON SOME RECENT LITERATURE

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Recent years have seen an increasing interest in the study of the book of Revelation. There have been welcome reappraisals and new efforts toward getting at the real focus and meaning of the message of this important Bible book. To be sure, all that past scholarship has accomplished is not to be rejected; but it is gratifying to see the attempts now being made toward grasping the spiritual significance of a book which altogether too often in the past has either been neglected as insolubly enigmatic or been forced by expositors into somewhat precon- ceived molds.[1] The literary structure of Rev still needs much attention, a matter of prime importance which I have noted elsewhere, mentioning some recent endeavors along this line and also attempting an analysis of my own.[2]

In just the past few years several works dealing with Rev have appeared which deserve special attention for the kind of con- tributions they make or because of the sort of approaches they represent: Paul S. Minear, *I Saw a New Earth: An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse* (Washington, D.C., 1968); Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John: An Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969); and George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972). For the first of these I have already provided a brief critical review, and it is my hope to do likewise for the

[1] Interpreters within various "schools of interpretation," such as "preterist," "futurist," etc., have often been quite rigid as well as limited in their perspectives. The recent trend is toward a more comprehensive view which takes into account meaning and relevance.

[2] K. A. Strand, *The Open Gates of Heaven: A Brief Introduction to Literary Analysis of the Book of Revelation* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970), pp. 33-48. This book has been republished in an enlarged edition (Ann Arbor, 1972). Hereinafter citation will be *Open Gates*, with edition number indi- cated only if reference is made to new material in the 2d ed.

other two.[3] However, certain items falling largely outside the purview of such short reviews will be noted here.

### 1. Minear's I Saw a New Earth

On several previous occasions I have called attention to the significance of the work of Paul S. Minear regarding certain vital matters: (1) hermeneutical concerns important for understanding ancient symbolism; (2) literary structure of Rev; and (3) meaning and relevance of biblical literature, including Rev.[4] There is no question but that this scholar has made some outstanding contributions to NT studies generally and toward the study of Rev. Nevertheless, in spite of his thought-provoking material in *I Saw a New Earth* and other publications on Rev, I find it necessary to disagree on various points, including what appears to be a rather basic assumption; namely, that in Rev the line of demarcation between the two opposing sides (God's and Satan's) portrays a division within the Christian church itself, rather than embracing "outsiders" as the opponents of John's Christian addressees.[5] More will be said in this regard shortly.

In my previous discussions of Minear's work I have not dealt with the various essays which appear in Part II, except to note their titles and to make a brief favorable comment regarding the one entitled "Comparable Patterns of Thought in Luke's Gospel."[6] Those essays treat significant questions which Minear admits are "hotly debated among scholars."[7] Here attention will be focused briefly on five of them, whose titles and locations within Minear's book are indicated at the beginning of each of the following paragraphs.

*"The Significance of Suffering" (pp. 201-212).* This essay proposes that the early Christian church faced animosity, contrary to

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[3] *AUSS*, 8 (1970), 197-199.

[4] Respectively in *Open Gates*, p. 30; in *AUSS*, 8 (1970), 197, 198, and *Open Gates*, pp. 39, 40; and in *Open Gates*, 2d ed., p. 30, n. 4, and pp. 69, 70.

[5] See *Open Gates*, 2d ed., pp. 67, 68, as well as *AUSS*, 8 (1970), 199. M. M. Bourke, the writer of the "Foreword" to Minear's *I Saw a New Earth*, also takes issue, as indicated on pp. viii-xiii.

[6] *AUSS*, 8 (1970), 198.

[7] *I Saw a New Earth*, p. xxv.

what has sometimes been claimed on the basis of church growth,
etc. Minear substantiates his thesis with adequate evidence and
indicates the likelihood that the churches in the Roman province
of Asia lived amid hostility both before and after John's time.
To Minear, however, a more important matter than the attitude
of outsiders toward the church is the "interior" aspect of the
conflict. For him, the "ultimate adversary" was not to be
found in "Roman governors or Jewish priests," but rather "in
the invisible power which aroused and used this hostility as a
trial of Christian faith" (p. 209). So far, so good! But to interior-
ize to the degree that the "invisible power" becomes limited to
the situation of the addressed Christians is quite another matter.
To say, for example, that the reason why John "describes the
Great Prostitute as he does" is because "he discovers whoredom
among Christians themselves" (p. 211) seems to overdo the
point! Very worthy of consideration, on the other hand, is his
analysis of our modern notion regarding the "resistance" to
early Christianity as being an "exceptional and passing phe-
nomenon." He links this notion to several factors: (1) our
classification of Christianity under the somewhat innocuous
heading (politically and socially) of "religion"; (2) our concept
that "religion" applies to man's inner life but not to "the powers
which control historical destiny"; and (3) our tendency to find
crises "only in the extraordinary tides of historical development
and not in the ordinary sequences of daily life" (pp. 210, 211).

*"The Prophet's Motives"* (*pp. 213-227*). In this illuminating
study Minear points out at least eight different literary forms in
which John expresses "a distinct hortatory intention" (see p.
214). These forms cannot be detailed here, but it must be said
that once again the cleavage between good and evil is placed
within the framework of the Christian church—or individual
Christians—as they face the alternatives of choice for God or
for the forces of evil. A hortatory thrust might readily be taken
to suggest such a conclusion, and the strong element of exhor-
tation in Rev cannot be denied. Nevertheless, the very fact that
Rev is *epistolary* in nature can well account for this emphasis
without doing injustice to the apocalyptic character of the book.
That the reward of the righteous and fate of the wicked are

brought to attention in Rev in terms of striking opposites, and often within hortatory contexts, does not necessarily mean that the whole applies only to Christians addressed by John. Nor does it mean that the sides are determined by whether those Christians through their choices are redeemed by Christ or are lost through rejection of His grace. Rather, the lines seem *already* to have been drawn, and John's exhortations to Christians fall within the sphere of encouragement to make the right decisions, especially in view of the accomplished victory of the Lamb. The twin theme of Rev as given in 1:7, 8, and 22:12, 13, gives (1) assurance to Christians of Christ's presence with them even now in their trials (trials from outside, of course, and not just from within) and (2) promise that He will come again to set aright a "topsy-turvy" world (punishing all evil-doers, not merely apostate Christians).

"*Sovereignties in Conflict*" (*pp. 228-234*). Keen analysis is given in this essay regarding hierarchies of good (God, Christ, and those who rule with Christ) and evil (Satan, the Beast or other antichrist figures, and the kings of the earth).[8] Minear aptly points out the need of the Christian "soldier" for "help in identifying the antagonists and in determining his own immediate duties" (p. 232). John's role of clarification in this respect puts him, according to Minear, in the "vocation of the prophets of Israel" (p. 233). For John, he continues, "the victory of Christ over Satan had served to provide the essential definition of that kind of power by which God established his sovereignty" (ibid.).

"*The Kings of the Earth*" (*pp. 235-246*). For the most part this essay deals with the "seven kings" and "ten kings" portrayed by seven heads and ten horns of the beast in Rev 17:9-12. Minear raises questions about traditional preterist interpretation, whose general view of Rev 17 is that the beast represents the Roman Empire, Babylon designates the city of Rome, the seven kings refer to a sequence of Roman emperors (not "dynasty," as Minear has it), and the ten kings stand for heads of restless puppet states (p. 236). A consistent application of this symbolism

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[8] On p. 229 Minear places these in side-by-side listings, with slightly more description or identification than in my summarized form.

results in absurdities, as Minear has pointed out. Not only is there the well-known difficulty in identifying the seven emperors, but there are also a number of other incongruities such as the city of Rome sitting upon the series of emperors (see p. 239).[9] Perhaps the latter problem can in part be attributed to the "fluidity" of symbol, a factor with which Minear possibly has not sufficiently reckoned here.[10] Nonetheless, this scholar has succeeded well in pointing out difficulties in usual preterist-type interpretations of Rev. 17. On the other hand, he seems to have missed a vital factor of interpretation when he assumes that "heads, horns, crowns, and thrones" are all "symbols of royal power" (p. 235). Actually, with regard to the seven-headed, ten-horned animals, *"crowns"* are the symbol of regal authority, and Minear seems to have overlooked the importance of the fact that in Rev 17 *neither heads nor horns* have crowns, whereas in Rev 12 the *heads* have crowns, and in Rev 13 the *horns* have crowns. To this we shall return in discussing Minear's next essay. But it may be pointed out here that Rev 17:8, 10, refers to "was," "is-not," and "is-to-come" phases of the beast and to "five-are-fallen," "one-is," and "one-is-not-yet-come" aspects of the heads; and that Minear parallels these chronological aspects in what he considers three "stages" (see pp. 242, 243). He encounters an apparent contradiction, of course, in *"Stage two"* in that the supposedly parallel references state "is not" and "one is." Minear's explanation is that functionally "the *is not* assertion appears to indicate that the Lamb has conquered him [the beast]," whereas those "who worship the beast verify the fact that he *is*" (ibid.). Would not the judgment setting of the *vision* of Rev 17 imply that at that time the beast simply did *not* exist at all, whereas the *explanation* of the vision from the prophet's point of view in history would look upon five heads as fallen, *one in*

[9] For a brief and simplified discussion of the sequence of emperors, see T. S. Kepler, *The Book of Revelation* (New York, 1957), pp. 139-141; and also C. M. Laymon, *The Book of Revelation* (New York, 1960), pp. 118-120. On p. 119 Laymon includes I. T. Beckwith's chart revealing four alternative ways of trying to identify the Roman emperors with the heads of the beast (actually *eight* emperors on the basis of the statement in Rev 17:11 that the beast himself is "the eighth" head).

[10] See my discussion of "Fluidity of Symbol" in *Open Gates*, p. 28.

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*real existence* at that very time, and one yet to come? (See Fig. 1 for a suggested solution.)

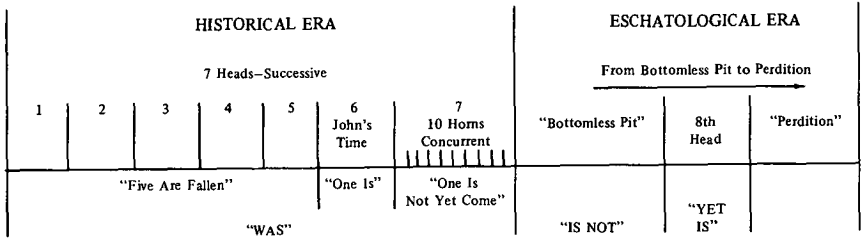| HISTORICAL ERA | | | | | | | ESCHATOLOGICAL ERA | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 Heads—Successive | | | | | | | From Bottomless Pit to Perdition | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 John's Time | 7 10 Horns Concurrent | "Bottomless Pit" | 8th Head | "Perdition" |
| "Five Are Fallen" | | | | | "One Is" | "One Is Not Yet Come" | "IS NOT" | "YET IS" | |
| "WAS" | | | | | | | | | |

Fig. 1. Diagrammatic sketch concerning the 7-headed, 10-horned beast of Rev 17. (Taken from K. A. Strand, *The Open Gates of Heaven* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970, 1972], p. 51.)

*"Death and Resurrection of the Sea-Beast"* (*pp. 247-260*). Minear's previous chapter has in a sense set the stage for his major thesis here, which concerns the wounded head of the Sea-Beast of Rev 13. Apparently this wounded head is considered to be the "now-is" or 6th head described in Rev 17 and thus correlates with the "is-not" stage of the Beast's existence. Again Minear argues against usual preterist interpretation which sees a connection with the *Nero redivivus* myth. Among his various arguments in this regard are the fact that the mortal wound to a head of the beast "simultaneously destroyed the authority of head, beast, and dragon by terminating the blasphemous adoration by men," and it would be difficult to see Nero's suicide as fulfilling such a specification. Moreover, whereas "the *healing* of the wound enhanced the prestige of the beast," there is no evidence to show that Nero's "rumored resuscitation" had induced "either Roman citizens or Christians 'to follow the beast with wonder'" (pp. 251, 252). Minear's interpretation of the wound is that the Messiah's crucifixion and exaltation brought about this death-blow to the beast (p. 254). Such an interpretation broadens the perspective beyond the drama of the Roman

Empire and the Imperial Cult as the prime adversaries of the Christians (though for the local situation in Asia at the time, it is hard to ignore the threat which these forces must have posed for Christians). On the other hand, Minear's failure to distinguish adequately between the historical setting of Rev 13 and "judgment" setting of Rev 17 may have closed the door to other possibilities regarding identification of the wounded head and the interpretation of the wound itself. The royal power in Rev 13 is with the *horns*, and these are described in the explanation of Rev 17:12 as ten kings "which have received no kingdom as yet." This raises the question as to whether it should not be the 7th or "is-not-yet-come" head rather than the 6th or "now-is" head that receives the mortal wound. In any event, a careful consideration of the "was," "is-not," "is-to-come," and "go-into-perdition" sequences of the beast itself in Rev 17 finds helpful recapitulation in chs. 19 and 20, whereas those latter chapters do not seem to have a similar relationship to Rev 13.

## 2. Morris' Commentary

Leon Morris' publication is a worthy addition to the Tyndale Bible Commentaries (Vol. 20 of the NT series). Interestingly enough, its interpretational stance is difficult to detect. It appears to have no strong or clear leaning toward "preterism," "futurism," etc. Rather it concerns itself primarily with commentary on the meaning of words, phrases, and verses of the biblical text— commentary enriched by the wealth of background knowledge that the author has regarding both ancient and modern literature relevant to the subject.

My main concern here will be to evaluate a basic premise which Morris seems to carry through in some eight points he incorporates within his "Introduction." In a section bearing the title "The Revelation of St. John and Apocalyptic" (pp. 22-25), he aptly describes apocalyptic as "usually expressed in vivid symbolism, sometimes of a bizarre kind"; as appearing in "difficult times"; and as conveying to its readers "the author's profound conviction that the troubles in which they find themselves are not the last word" but that "God in His own good time will intervene catastrophically and destroy evil" (pp. 22, 23). "Not

infrequently," he goes on to say, "this deliverance is associated with God's Messiah who would inaugurate the kingdom of God." He points out, as well, that "apocalyptists were usually pessimistic about the present world," despairing "of man's efforts ever overcoming evil," and looking "to God to bring the victory" (p. 23).

Although Morris states that there "are good reasons for classing the Revelation with apocalyptic" (such as its abundance of "symbolism of a typically apocalyptic character," its expectation regarding the establishment of God's kingdom, and "revelations made through heavenly beings"), he feels that some eight marked differences should not be overlooked. In dealing with these in the following paragraphs, I shall use the designations "Morris" and "Response" and adopt his numbering for the various points.

*1-3. Morris:* The writer of Rev claims to be in the prophetic tradition, his visions conveying "the word of God." Also, the writer uses his own name, whereas apocalypses are pseudonymous. Furthermore, the "typical prophetic insistence on moral considerations is to be found throughout the book" (pp. 23, 24). *Response:* We may legitimately ask whether apocalyptic writers do not think of themselves as giving prophetic messages from God. Also, is the question of pseudonymity really an essential matter? Finally, although it is true that apocalyptic writings generally do not reveal so strong an apparent or ostensible insistence on moral and ethical concerns, it is nevertheless true, as Amos Wilder has pointed out, that moral and ethical considerations are not lacking in them.[11] I have referred to this sort of ethical concern as "implied ethic," and it is precisely such because of the fact that apocalyptic focuses on destiny, whereas general prophecy stresses the present situation with a naturally paramount emphasis on ethic.[12] Moreover, Rev has two characteristics different from apocalypses of the Israelite-Jewish tradition: (1) it is epistolary in nature, which would naturally give it a hortatory flavor containing moral and ethical aspects; and

[11] See Amos N. Wilder, *Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus* (rev. ed.; New York, 1950).

[12] *Open Gates,* p. 19.

(2) it rejoices in the victory of a Messiah who has come, lives for His people, and will come again for their final vindication— another strong motivation for emphasis on moral and ethical concerns.

4. *Morris:* "The pessimism of the apocalyptists does not seem to be found here [in Rev]" (p. 24). *Response:* That God in His own way and time will vindicate His saints—a characteristic of apocalyptic, according to Morris himself—is not necessarily pessimistic, even though *man's own inability* is commonly so described. It is because of this latter factor that apocalyptic is termed "pessimistic." But does Rev give more optimism regarding man's ability to solve his great dilemma than do apocalypses in general? Is it not God who is designated there too as ultimately the One who must bring things to a state of "rightness"? In Rev we may, of course, detect a certain note of optimism which arises from the fact that Rev depicts God's saving Instrument, the Messiah, as already having come and having gained the victory for His people—thus assuring them of His abiding and comforting presence in a world of trial, plus the fact that He will come again for their final vindication. This kind of "optimism," however, in no way destroys the "pessimistic" view of this world's history and man's inability to bring about betterment.

5. *Morris:* "The apocalyptists characteristically retrace history in the guise of prophecy. . . . John takes his stand in his own days and looks resolutely to the future" (p. 24). *Response:* Is this really a vital concern regarding apocalyptic as a literary type?

6. *Morris:* G. E. Ladd's comment in *Baker's Dictionary of Theology,* p. 53, is quoted to the effect that Rev "embodies the prophetic tension between history and eschatology. The beast is Rome and at the same time an eschatological Antichrist. . . . The shadow of historical Rome is so outlined against the darker shadow of the eschatological Antichrist that it is difficult if not impossible to distinguish between the two. History is eschatologically interpreted; evil at the hands of Rome is realized eschatology" (ibid.). *Response:* Where in the OT prophetic writings (apocalyptic must now obviously be excluded) is the antichrist prefigured? The following, rather than Morris' quota-

tion from Ladd, is a more nearly accurate portrayal of history as viewed prophetically and as viewed apocalyptically:

> In contrast to general prophecy, which puts primary emphasis on the historical setting and then moves to eschatological implications, apocalyptic tends to view history as if from the end-time itself, when history is consummated in a grand and glorious eschatological climax. In other words, whereas general prophecy looks at world history from the standpoint of man's position (or God's view of it from where man is), apocalyptic can be said to view history from the standpoint of God's position in both place and time. It has, as it were, a peculiarly transcendental focus. From the standpoint of literary device, it could be said that whereas the historical setting is primary for general prophecy, the historical setting is functional for apocalyptic.[13]

7. *Morris:* Apocalypses contain curious visions, heavenly guides often making appearance to give explanation or illumination. In Rev, there is some interpretation, but not so much as in apocalyptic writings generally (pp. 24, 25). *Response:* First, is this a truly relevant matter? Second, are all extra-canonical apocalypses so essentially different from Rev in this respect?

8. *Morris:* Apocalyptists looked forward to God's Messiah, who would "introduce a new thing into human history," but "for John the new thing has already appeared . . ." (p. 25). *Response:* Chronology and the Christian outlook alone would be adequate to account for this supposed distinction, and in no way is the apocalyptic thrust of Rev vitiated thereby. There is simply the addition of a new and important perspective, which has already been mentioned above.

In sum total, Morris has a poor case for viewing Rev as a type of work which contrasts significantly with apocalyptic. Rather, this book should be looked upon as apocalyptic with other characteristics: (1) It is apocalyptic cast into an *epistolary* framework. This framework includes elements of its own, such as a hortatory thrust. (2) It is *biblical* apocalyptic, and therefore manifests the general characteristics of the biblical perspective. (3) It is *NT* apocalyptic, and this explains the natural emphasis on such major NT themes as redemption through Christ, the activity of the Holy Spirit, and the role of the church.[14]

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[13] Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

[14] It should be noted that Morris has very recently produced an excellent little book entitled *Apocalyptic* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972), in which he elaborates on various of the more prominent characteristics of apocalyptic

A mere listing of likenesses and differences of Rev as compared or contrasted with other apocalyptic writings can lead to hermeneutical dangers, if the full implications are not understood. Rev must be seen for what it is in all of its manifold aspects, and interpretation must be undertaken with due regard for a hermeneutic which takes into adequate account these various aspects.

### 3. Ladd's Commentary

Although I have already elsewhere dealt in quite some detail with one important facet of G. E. Ladd's *Commentary* on Rev, the present article would not be complete without at least brief mention of this work.[15] Ladd has already distinguished himself by a number of publications treating eschatology and apocalyptic, and he brings to bear in this commentary a wealth of relevant background knowledge from both ancient and modern sources.[16] Herein lies perhaps the greatest strength of this new book. But Ladd's commentary is important too from the standpoint of being a "breakthrough" in futuristically oriented treatments of Rev, for it departs from the usual dispensationalist variety of futuristic interpretation. Dispensationalists place a "secret rapture" of the church seven years prior to the open and visible second advent of Christ, and they squeeze most of Rev—from 4:1 onward—into this seven-year period. This period, moreover, is specially allotted to the Jews; but the antichrist (a personal figure) breaks covenant with them halfway through this time and begins to persecute them. After the seven years, Christ comes and establishes a Jewish millennial kingdom.

literature. In this new publication, which will receive separate treatment in a forthcoming review in *AUSS*, he devotes pp. 78-81 to Rev, noting once more the apparent "differences" between Rev and typical apocalypses. This time, however, he leaves the various points unnumbered, changes their sequence somewhat, and virtually ignores nos. 7 and 8 mentioned above (or treats these points only cursorily or obliquely). His basic position appears to have remained the same, though in some places he has added welcome elaboration to that position.

[15] The facet already dealt with is the question of Ladd's treatment of the literary structure of Rev, in *Open Gates*, 2d ed., pp. 60-64.

[16] Among his major publications dealing with eschatology and apocalyptic are *Crucial Questions About the Kingdom of God* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952); *The Blessed Hope* (Grand Rapids, 1956); and *Jesus and the Kingdom* (New York, 1964). He has also published some articles dealing with apocalyptic.

Ladd breaks with dispensationalist interpretation on all the foregoing points. However, he maintains a futuristic interpretation in which the details in Rev 8:1 through 19:10 are applied in a generally chronological sequence as representing events to occur during a relatively short period of trouble just prior to Christ's second coming. Some peculiarities arise in his interpretation because of this fact. For example, he utilizes a literary structure embodying 4:1 through 16:21 as one of his major divisions of Rev, as dispensationalists also tend to do, even though for him the structure appears to be meaningless in view of his interpretation wherein pure "futurism" begins at 8:1. Also, though there seem to be in this particular section of Rev repeated recapitulary sequences leading up to Christ's second coming (7th seal, 7th trumpet, harvest, etc.), he finds it necessary to treat references of this type as simply proleptic. Still further, in Rev 12 he reverts to a mythical-language type of interpretation regarding such items as the birth of the man-child and the man-child's being taken up to God and to His throne. Apparently Ladd's futuristic position makes it impossible to see how such references could have an historical allusion to events connected with Christ's first coming; and they obviously do not fit into his futuristic sequence either.

Ladd's argument from OT general prophecy for maintaining a futuristic point of view for interpretation of Rev has already been noted in our discussion of Morris' commentary, above. While it is true that the general prophets often had what Ladd refers to in his new commentary as "two foci" (p. 13), it should be recognized that they moved from the situation of their own day to an eschatological "Day of the Lord" without detailing last events in the way Ladd proposes for Rev. Moreover, would it not have been more logical if Ladd had chosen to compare Rev with the OT apocalyptic book of Daniel and its several parallel sequences in chs. 2, and 7-12; or for that matter, with non-canonical Jewish apocalypses? If this had been done, there is a question as to whether his argumentation for a futuristic approach could be maintained. Actually, the prophetic twin foci to which Ladd calls attention provide a stronger *contrast* than comparison for what Ladd does in interpreting Rev; and he

would find similar contrast (in a different way) with apocalyptic as well, with its strong emphasis on a cosmic struggle in this present age in addition to its stress on the climactic events of the end-time.

## 4. *Conclusion*

The three afore-mentioned publications represent serious efforts to grapple with the message of Rev and its relevance for us today. In some ways, the hermeneutical guidelines used by the three scholars differ, and especially do their resulting conclusions, as well. This is particularly true of Minear as contrasted with the others, though they too differ in many respects.

If there is a common feature in my own evaluation of those publications, it probably relates most to the question of attitude or weight given to the apocalyptic element of Rev. None of the three authors would deny that Rev is a piece of apocalyptic writing, I am sure; but there is some tendency on the part of all of them to minimize this fact either in verbal statement or at least in interpretational practice. Would it not be better to give full recognition to Rev's apocalyptic nature, but recognize as well that along with this, due consideration must be given to the modifying characteristics or features that appear because the book is also a *letter*, because it is imbued with the general *biblical* perspective, and because it stresses *NT* themes?

# BOOK REVIEWS

Boberg, John T., and James A. Scherer, eds. *Mission in the '70s: What Direction?* Chicago: A Chicago Cluster of Theological Schools, 1972. 208 pp. Paperback, $3.00.

*Mission in the '70s* is an anthology of the major papers presented at the Institute of Mission conducted by the Chicago Cluster of Theological Schools in Chicago, March 15-25, 1971. The Institute was conducted and attended by both Protestants and Catholics, and was a useful forum for the discussion of similar problems and issues in mission from the different vantage points of Protestant and Catholic theologies, administrative structures, and mission methodology.

There is no common theme—other than the issue of mission itself—and a broad range of topics is covered. There are papers on the Theology of Mission and several on the History of Mission; the largest number deal with a variety of practical concerns such as missionary consciousness in the home churches, universality with cultural diversity, indigenization and accommodation, and the development of national leadership.

Three papers are directly concerned with the Theology of Mission. "Some Theological Issues in World Mission Today," by G. Anderson, is an insightful survey of issues in current Roman Catholic and Protestant theological thought about mission. Anderson quotes with approval W. Frazier's statement, "Recent theological insights which are forming the basis of a new theology of mission seem to have produced little more than a crisis of confidence in mission" (p. 112), but is so neutral and does so little to suggest a constructive approach that his chapter is not very helpful. J. A. Hardon's paper is a response to the question, "Is salvation a meaningful term to describe our mission objective today?" He decides that salvation, more or less in the traditional sense, is the primary objective of mission today, and this is echoed in most of the papers that follow. I found Carl Braaten's brief (four pages) reaction to Pierce Beaver's paper on "Self Understanding of Church and Mission" the most stimulating piece in the symposium. With bold strokes and penetrating criticism Braaten uses Beaver's paper as a springboard for his own theological purposes. He is concerned, on the one hand, to lay bare weaknesses in current theological thought about missions, and on the other to stress the need for "a new theology of mission with a spine that can hold together the personal and the social, the existential and the political, the historical and the eschatological dimensions of the Christian reality" (p. 40). His own eschatological orientation is, of course, well known and he does not hesitate to score points for "the renaissance of biblical eschatology within the horizon of the new revolutionary ferment in the world today" (p. 40).

There are, side by side, Protestant and Catholic papers on the concern for a universality which is flexible enough to stimulate local initiative and accommodate indigenous forms of thought and expression. D. C. Flatt

creates immediate interest by mentioning that he moved into the house on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro soon after it was vacated by the famous missionary Bruno Gutmann. In rapid succession he describes three attempts at adaptation which illustrate varying degrees of success and failure. Stimulating as this material is, the reader is left with the desire to know much more about the situations described and the theoretical bases of the presentations.

Father John Connors portrays the brief and explosive history of the entrance of the U.S. Catholic Church into world missions—a movement that is staggering because of its speed and vast dimensions. He describes all of this as an "era that has passed" (p. 138), and points to Vatican II, "the greatest missionary council since Jerusalem" (p. 140), as constituting a new beginning. The primary task now, he feels, is to teach the fifty million Catholics in the U.S.A. that mission is no longer an heroic task in exotic places on the periphery of the world. Mission is integral to the nature of the Church and is the task of all members everywhere.

Three papers have to do with missionary consciousness in the home church. Roland Scott writes specifically of financial support, and M. Tack and R. Festle write more broadly under the title "Including the Local Church in World Mission."

If the trio of papers just mentioned are of interest to Adventist laymen and pastors in the homeland, mission administrators should surely be interested in E. Dahlstrom's paper on the "Developing Role of National Leadership in Younger Churches." It is rather diffuse, but it does successfully delineate some of the issues in one of the most critical concerns of the overseas churches.

This is not a great book on mission. The papers were written for oral presentation and lack many of the qualities we look for in the "printed form." In general, too much is attempted in each paper with too little supporting material and without a full development of the themes presented. But the issues raised are not trivial nor can they be lightly brushed aside, and besides there is an earnestness and an integrity about the collection that impress one favorably. Adventists who read this book will immediately recognize that many of the issues discussed are basically the same as those facing us in our own world-wide mission work.

Andrews University                                    RUSSELL T. STAPLES

De Vaux, Roland. *The Bible and the Ancient Near East.* Translated by Damian McHugh. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971. 284 pp. $6.95.

The book under review is, after *Ancient Israel* (1961) and *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifices* (1964), the third of de Vaux's works that has been translated into English, and this one saw the light of day only after the author's sudden and unexpected death on September 10, 1971, at the age

of 68 years. R. de Vaux was a many-sided biblical scholar, somewhat of
the caliber of W. F. Albright who died only nine days later. He was an
enthusiastic archaeologist, especially known for his excavations of *Tell el-
Far'ah* (North), probably ancient Tirzah, and of *Khirbet Qumran,* the com-
munity center of the Essenes who left us the Dead Sea scrolls. For many
years he was the director of the École Biblique, the French archaeological
institute in Jerusalem, editor of the *Revue Biblique,* and the editor-in-chief
of the *Jerusalem Bible* and of the official publications of the Dead Sea scrolls,
of which several volumes have already appeared.

I met R. de Vaux for the first time at the First Congress of Old Testament
Scholars in Copenhagen in 1953 and listened to his address reviewing the
two centuries of Pentateuchal criticism since the appearance of Jean Astruc's
*Conjectures* in 1753. This paper forms Chapter 2 of the book under review.
In the course of the next 18 years we met frequently and became close friends.
It was an inspiration to be guided through the ruins of *Qumran* and *Tell el-
Far'ah* by this learned Dominican monk with a flowing white robe and
long beard, to discuss archaeological problems with him when he visited
our dig at Shechem, to listen to the lectures of this exuberant and enthu-
siastic Frenchman, or to meet him for a serious study of historical subjects
in the quiet halls of his monastery. When I asked him for suggestions for a
site to be excavated in Jordan, the list he gave me was headed by *Tell Hesbân,*
which I ultimately chose as the site of Andrews University's excavations.
And when my wife suddenly died in Israel a year before de Vaux himself,
his letter of sympathy was the first of all messages of sympathy that reached
me when I returned to Jerusalem on the day of the funeral. The reader
will understand that I consider this review a tribute to a great man and
warm friend as well as to an eminent biblical and archaeological scholar.

The book under review, a *Mélanges,* contains the English translation of 15
articles which de Vaux published between 1933 and 1967. Some chapters
deal with theological subjects, such as Chapter 1, "The 'Remnant of Israel'
According to the Prophets," while others treat historical matters as, for
example, Chapter 4 viewing "The Decrees of Cyrus and Darius" in the light
of historical and archaeological evidence. Chapter 11, "Archaeology and the
Qumran Scrolls," contains the author's defense of his previously published
views on the results of the excavations at *Khirbet Qumran* and on his work
on the scrolls, against S. Zeitlin, J. L. Teicher, H. del Medico, and other
critics who were vocal during the early years of Qumran studies. On the
other hand, Chapter 10 on "The Dead Sea Scrolls," published in 1956, is
badly out of date. It is the only paper published in this collection that lacks
footnotes and has now a merely historical value. This article could have been
left out to advantage. All the others, however, are highly stimulating and
have lost hardly any of their value, although some recent studies have shed
new light on several subjects treated in the chapters of this book.

Chapter 15 is of a different nature. It is a warm and sympathetic tribute
paid to de Vaux's esteemed teacher, Albert Lagrange (1855-1938), the founder
of the École Biblique and the *Revue Biblique.* By his influence, Lagrange
more than any other man was responsible for the fact that Catholic scholars
now have the liberty to study the Bible with the same freedom as Protestants
have had since the Reformation.

All in all, this collection of some of Roland de Vaux's articles in their

English garb can be highly recommended. English-speaking students of the Bible will be especially grateful that these important articles have thus become readily available to them.

Andrews University                                    SIEGFRIED H. HORN


*Faith and Order, Louvain 1971: Study Reports and Documents.* "Faith and Order Paper," No. 59. Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1971. 264 pp. $5.95.

As Lukas Vischer indicates in the Preface, this report is a survey of the accomplishments of the World Council of Churches' Faith and Order Commission in recent years. It consists of two parts, containing (1) the reports of the studies undertaken since the Bristol (1967) meeting of the commission and (2) documents from the Louvain (1971) meeting.

The ecumenical studies which occupy the largest section of the volume (pp. 9-168) owe their main interest to the fact that they are not the work of particular individuals. Each has been discussed in numerous groups on national and international levels. The wide range of convictions—often contradictory—they express and set in relation to one another is characteristic of similar ecumenical studies. At Louvain these studies dealt with the traditional Faith and Order issues, such as the authority of the Bible, baptism, intercommunion, worship, proselytism, and negotiations about church union. Five committees occupied themselves primarily with these reports. Their reactions provide the reader with one of the most stimulating sections of the book (pp. 212-238). Each study has its own merits, but probably more important for the future of ecumenical Christianity are "Catholicity and Apostolicity" (pp. 133-158) and "Common Witness and Proselytism" (pp. 158-168). Both, interestingly enough, were completed on the initiative of the Joint Working Group of the World Council and the Roman Catholic Church. There is little doubt that each of them, which seems to represent a wide consensus, marks a major step in ecumenical discussion.

But Louvain was also expected to throw light on the *secular* context of church reunion, as clearly indicated by the theme chosen for the two-week meeting: "Unity of the Church—Unity of Mankind." The documents and reports—as well as the reactions they created—brought together in the second part of the volume (pp. 169-242) are in fact many treatments of the main theme. They constitute Louvain's answer to the proposal that Faith and Order no longer seeks to achieve Christian unity by dealing exclusively with the differences in doctrine, church order, and worship that separate Christian communions. They bring, furthermore, an affirmative answer, stating that it is both possible and productive to view the commission's historic theme of church unity in a new context, specifically in the context of human, not simply denominational, divisions. Leo Cardinal Suenens' address (pp. 171 ff.), Lukas Vischer's report to the commission (pp. 200 ff.) and the "Conspectus on Studies to be Carried Out" (pp. 239 ff.) express an attempt to bring Faith and Order work more explicitly into the center of the World Council thinking, a thinking which has been dominated in recent years by items of the secular involvement and ethical action side of the agenda. The same

theme was also studied in separate sections. Here discussion—all too briefly reported in pp. 190ff.—revolved around justice in society, encounter with non-Christian religions, the struggle against racism, the handicapped in society, and differences in culture. The issues selected are examined in the light of the constitutional purpose of the Faith and Order Commission, and conversely, in each case the question is asked how our common understanding of the unity of the church could be illuminated, sharpened and challenged by our experience of situations where human individuals are divided on such bases as social commitment, race, and cultural differences.

Many will regard the conclusions reached at Louvain less as a new theme than as a new aspect or a new viewpoint from which to examine Faith and Order's historic task. There remains, however, little clarification, if any, of the habitual terminology, such as the distinction between unity and mission, church and world, unity and diversity, doctrine and ethics, and the notion of the "boundaries of the church." The value of the book under discussion lies in the way it brings together the issues which confront the churches today, and in the tentative assessment made by the Faith and Order Commission at the Louvain meeting. While the purposes and structures of the World Council of Churches are being progressively revised, Faith and Order seems convinced that it should intensify its involvement in a theology of life and action. Whatever path it will eventually choose, the Louvain meeting will probably be memorable for the courage with which the Commission faced the questions of its future.

Andrews University                                           RAOUL DEDEREN

Gasque, W. Ward, and Ralph P. Martin, eds. *Apostolic History and the Gospel.* Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th Birthday. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970. 378 pp., 1 Plate. $7.95.

These collected essays presented to F. F. Bruce on his 60th birthday provide a fitting tribute to a great biblical scholar. The volume opens with an impressive *Tabula Gratulatoria* and continues with a statement of appreciation by G. C. D. Howley which provides insight into the personal and professional life of Bruce. Next there is a selected bibliography of his writings, the 14 pages of which demonstrate his phenomenal literary output.

The 24 essays themselves are arranged into three parts according to subject. Nine are related to Acts, twelve to Paul, and three are on miscellaneous matters. Part I begins with an article by E. M. Blaiklock, "The Acts of the Apostles as a Document of First Century History," in which he deplores the little use made of NT documents as reliable historical sources and even argues for Luke's narrative being written in the early 60's A.D. A. J. B. Higgins, "The Preface to Luke and the Kerygma in Acts," argues that Luke's preface was intended also for Acts, and that Acts, like the Gospels, is susceptible to form-critical analysis. I. Howard Marshall, "The Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles," reasons that the main lines of Luke's resurrection account are dependent on primitive theology and that

therefore some limits can be set on his redactional activity. Additional articles in Part I include E. Earle Ellis, "The Role of the Christian Prophet in Acts"; Floyd V. Filson, "The Journey Motif in Luke-Acts"; A. J. Mattill, Jr., "The Purpose of Acts: Schneckenburger Reconsidered"; Bruce M. Metzger, "Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9-11"; D. F. Payne, "Semitisms in the Book of Acts"; and Bastiaan Van Elderen, "Some Archaeological Observations on Paul's First Missionary Journey."

In Part II William J. Martin, "I Corinthians 11:2-16: An Interpretation," looks at this difficult passage through the eyes of a philologist and concludes that the woman had a vital role in worship, and to fit her for it she should retain the visually distinctive mark of womanhood, the glory of her hair, as she plays the part of the bride, the church. Leon Morris, "The Theme of Romans," asks what Romans is all about, and concludes that it is about the "kind of God God is" and what God does. He portrays God as paying men the compliment of taking their freedom seriously, not constraining them to serve Him, but when they choose the wrong, seeing to it that they go along with their choice. In "Caesarea, Rome and the Captivity Epistle," Bo Reicke investigates the circumstances under which these epistles were written and in the process calls into question all systematized explanations concerning the stages of doctrinal development. Other articles in Part II include William Barclay, "A Comparison of Paul's Missionary Preaching and Preaching to the Church"; Jacques Dupont, "The Conversion of Paul, and Its Influence on His Understanding of Salvation by Faith"; H. L. Ellison, "Paul and the Law—'All Things to All Men' "; Robert H. Gundry, "The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in Timothy 3:16"; G. E. Ladd, "Revelation and Tradition in Paul"; A. R. Millard, "Covenant and Communion in First Corinthians"; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reffexions on Philippians 2:5-11"; R. Schneckenburg, "Apostles Before and During Paul's Time"; and Margaret E. Thrall, "The Origin of Pauline Christology."

In Part III there are articles by Matthew Black, "The Chi-Rho Sign—Christogram and/or Staurogram?"; Donald Guthrie, "Acts and Epistles in Apocryphal Writings"; and A. F. Walls, "The First Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans and the Modern Missionary Movement."

The value of this fine collection is enhanced by two indexes, one for the subjects treated and the other for references cited.

Walla Walla College       D. MALCOLM MAXWELL
Walla Walla, Washington


Gilkey, Langdon B. *Naming the Whirlwind: The Renewal of God-Language.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969. 483 pp. $2.75.

Contemporary man is both more and less secular than popular accounts and slogans would suggest. The theologian must take account of this important fact. Neo-orthodoxy recognized the secularity in a thorough-going way, but gave an answer which could not be made meaningful to a thorough-going secular culture. Process theology made the opposite mistake of

underrating the secularity of modern culture by seeking to appeal to the transcendent within the culture. God-is-dead theologies, because of inconsistency and failure at careful analysis, have not shown themselves to be constructive in the present cultural and theological situation. Theologies, based on linguistic analysis and concerned with the cognitive status of theological statements, have failed largely to recognize an adequate criterion of cognition.

In such an impasse, is there any possibility of moving forward theologically? Can the accomplishment of Friedrich Schleiermacher be matched in our time? Is it possible to construct an apologetic theology which will appeal to elements in contemporary experience and show thereby the meaningfulness of theology by connecting it with present life and concepts?

The clue to theological construction, Gilkey suggests, is to be found in the disjunction between thought and actual existence in the secular present. Here Gilkey criticizes the theological proposals mentioned above for being based on an inadequate analysis of the current situation. The possibility of theology for today rests upon a decisive fact: "secular man *exists* in significantly different terms than are indicated by the secular symbols through which he understands his existence symbolically" (p. 248).

Gilkey's procedure is to examine "actual lived experience" with the question in view, "Is secular man vulnerable to the transcendent?" We must not lessen the seriousness of his secularity but see whether, taking him to the full extent of his professed secularity, he is anywhere open to transcendence. Taking contingency with full seriousness, how can man in his contingency find a ground of meaning for God-language? The method is phenomenological and descriptive—but the process is difficult. We must look for what is not superficial and for what we may not want to see. We must get at the depths of human experience which are usually left unexamined and unconceptualized. Today's appropriate task, if done appropriately, is the bringing into the open of the significance of man's contingency.

This is an important book. While prolix and repetitious and so at times stylistically wearisome (in contrast to the author's *Religion and the Scientific Future,* where content is given to matters here dealt with as prolegomena), the book provides a program which will prove for many a way forward in a difficult time.

It does seem most undesirable, not to say foolhardy in the most insensitive kind of way, to ignore the manner in which thinking is done in the contemporary world. Neither fundamentalist nor Barthian can hope for success (and then wonder why he has none, or so little) if he deliberately and callously by-passes a person's thinking, caring only for the carrying out of his program. Reform and revival come with renewal of understanding—to seek to save one's life is to lose it. Sympathy with another's perspective may be a way of self-sacrifice. But it will be found that to lose the self here will be to find it. A first step on the way is a careful, and that will mean a long and persistent, look at Gilkey's perspective. The next step will be to evolve a practical approach to the contemporary man in the light of this perspective. That is the preacher's job as well as the theologian's. It is to be hoped that some preachers who have authenticity in mind will attempt the task.

Nottingham, England                          EDWARD W. H. VICK

Hasel, Gerhard F. *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah.* "Andrews University Monographs," Vol. V. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1972. 460 pp. $6.90; Paperback, $4.90.

This study grows out of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, which was accepted in 1970 at Vanderbilt University. Without question, this is a significant work. The remnant motif in the OT has been for some time a subject of considerable dispute in modern biblical scholarship. Owing to the fact that the remnant idea is found in the ancient Near Eastern texts, as well as in the biblical writings, some have contended that this motif has originated in either the socio-political sphere of Assyria (W. E. Müller, for example) or the cultic realm of Babylonia (S. Mowinckel).

Hasel, however, argues quite forcefully and in a convincing way for a situation in life much broader in scope than war or cult. Its origin must be found in man's ultimate concern to live and preserve life whenever and wherever his existence is threatened. This concern finds expression, Hasel contends, in the earliest known records of human history, namely, the Mesopotamian flood tradition.

Hasel's study is presented in five parts. Part One consists of a critical survey of biblical scholarship from 1903-1969. In Part Two of the book the author attempts to provide an exhaustive examination of the remnant motif in the Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts. The passages in the Hebrew Bible relevant to the remnant motif are examined in Part Three of the study. Beginning with the flood story in Genesis, the author traces the remnant motif from its earliest appearance in Israelite literature down to the time of Isaiah. While the greater portion of this section deals with Amos, it deals also with the remnant motif after the flood in the Abraham-Lot tradition and the Elijah-Elisha cycle. Different developments and aspects of the remnant are pointed out.

Part Four of this work is entitled "The Remnant Motif of Isaiah of Jerusalem." The author's intention is to examine the way the remnant motif is utilized and developed in the materials ascribed to Isaiah in order to determine the significance of this motif in the preaching and theology of the prophet. Against G. Fohrer ("Zehn Jahre Literatur zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie" [1951-1960], *TR*, 28 [1962]) and others, Hasel argues forcefully for the presence of the remnant idea in the message of Isaiah. The remnant motif is seen as the constitutive factor in the proclamation and theology of Isaiah from the very beginning of his prophetic ministry (pp. 249-270).

A detailed summary and conclusions of the author's view form Part Five of the study. This is followed by an extensive bibliography and four indexes.

The significance of Hasel's work lies in his critical and careful assessment of the ancient Near Eastern texts, as well as the literature of the OT. His form-critical analysis of the relevant materials has shown that the remnant motif can no longer be restricted to a particular *Gattung* of literature, since it occurs in such genres as myth, epic, legend, prophecy, prayer, hymn, letter, and annal (p. 383). In tracing the history of the literary development of the remnant motif in the Hebrew tradition as well as in the extra-biblical materials, Hasel has demonstrated that the remnant motif cannot be attached to a single tradition. It appears throughout human history at

critical moments when man's life and existence are threatened with annihilation. This would preclude or make highly problematic the establishment of an exact date of origin. Hasel points to the Mesopotamian flood tradition as the earliest known expression of the remnant idea. Judging from the nature of the evidence he advances, this is perhaps as precise as one can be. In tracing the literary development of the remnant motif in the literature of the OT, Hasel has advanced theological insights which have significance for tradition criticism as well as for OT exegesis. This book will prove to be useful in the years to come.

Andrews University                                    JOSEPH J. BATTISTONE


Holladay, William L., ed. *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Based on the First, Second, and Third Editions of the Koehler-Baumgartner *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971. xix + 425 pp. $15.00.

This handy-sized (but not too small) lexicon of OT Hebrew and Aramaic is what teachers and students of Hebrew, especially, have been waiting for. Relieved of the cumbersome (though useful, to many) extras, omitting the German meanings and providing smooth, idiomatic English translations from Hebrew and Aramaic, this book contains the essential material in a clear, readable form. The use of bold-face type makes it easy to find the verb-stems under the roots, and the main meanings. The use of Latin instead of Hebrew type within the definitions will not please every reader, but has its advantage since it helps students to deal with it easily when they read commentaries or other books that present Hebrew words in Latin type. Citations of biblical references are adequate, even though they are abridged; it was a good plan to cite when possible from Gn, Ki and Sa, at least (books usually read early by students).

The author is doubtless correct in his assertion in the Introduction that when the student needs the references to the cognate languages and to the technical literature, he will have (or should have) his German reading ability established and so can go to the larger German work (now in the process of publication). His evaluation of what needed to be included in an abridgement and what could be excluded is to be applauded.

Using it immediately in several classes of Hebrew students, I have found it eminently usable by them and a delight for myself. At last there is a Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon that one can heartily recommend, and that is not beyond the student's price range.

I was delighted to find included under *hawah,* p. 97, the verb "bow down" that occurs 170 times. This is a form that is much more common in the cognate languages, but occurs in Hebrew in only this one root. My suggestion would be that it be labeled *hištafel* rather than *eštafal,* being consistent in forming the label from the perfect form of the model verb. I would additionally suggest that instead of having it also as an entry as *hitp.* under *šahah* on p. 365, a "see reference" should be placed there pointing to the entry on p. 97, leaving only the *qal* and *hif.* entries on p. 365. Most occurrences cannot be accounted for as from *šahah.*

The only typographical error I have so far noticed is on p. xi of the Introduction, where in the sixth line *the* should be replaced by *he* near the end of the line. The format of the volume is admirable, and it is well bound so that it opens easily and lies flat, making it comfortable to work with. The author is to be congratulated on the fine product of his five-year labor!

Andrews University                                    LEONA G. RUNNING


Holtz, Avraham. *The Holy City, Jews on Jerusalem.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1971. 187 pp. $6.00.

Anyone who has ever attempted to lead a seminar on the history of Jerusalem is aware of the scarcity of good books in the field. While there is now a wide range of popular studies on Jerusalem in English, little attention has been paid to a serious investigation of the Holy City that includes, for the benefit of both the scholar and the general reader, a serious probing of the primary sources involved. A. Holtz, on the staff of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, has compiled a useful and learned anthology that despite some shortcomings will aid in filling the lacuna.

The anthology comprises a selection of documents, travelers' reports, excerpts from the classics, essays and other genres. The editor is not concerned with presenting new primary sources but rather with developing a significant characterization of the prominence of Jerusalem in Jewish history, tradition, and lore from earliest days to the present. This goal is pursued through the publication of basic and relevant materials that are not for the most part easily available to the general reader. Holtz's method is to excerpt from published translations or to provide his own, and to present a succinct introduction, stating information on background, geography, date, and importance of each piece. Beginning with the biblical understanding of the significance of Jerusalem, the first chapter is rounded out with selections from the Apocrypha and Josephus' *War of the Jews.*

The second chapter discusses Jerusalem's primacy as reflected in the principal compendia of rabbinical legislation. The third chapter analyzes the different legends on Jerusalem found in rabbinical Midrash and Aggadah. Praise of the eternity of Jerusalem from some of Israel's sweetest singers is depicted in the fourth chapter, and impressions of medieval travelers are documented in the fifth. The final chapters survey Jerusalem in the literature of Zionism before and after the establishment of the State of Israel.

The general character of Holtz's book does not call for detailed examination of his selections. Intended to provide source material rather than historical investigation, this volume might nevertheless encourage further research in the field. Its chief asset is the availability in English of a number of Hebrew sources while its major defect is the somewhat sketchy attire in which the book is clothed. The bibliographic references are scanty. New insights from his discussion of the material used are rare. If the author had actually wrestled with a few concrete situations in his sources, the end result might have radiated better the charm of Jerusalem. As it stands, it is a sterile

selection which makes a good argument that the Jewish position on Jeru-salem is often misunderstood, misrepresented, prejudiced, and ignored by other interest groups; but it is often dominated by brief introductions, for the most part uncritical in scope, that tend to obscure the fact that scholars do not maintain the same candid opinion about the documents as the author.

Los Angeles Valley College                                  ZEV GARBER
Van Nuys, California

Hunter, Archibald M. *The Parables Then and Now*. Philadelphia: Westmin-ster Press, 1971. 128 pp. $2.25.

The author, Professor of NT at the University of Aberdeen, has written a sequel to his book *Interpreting the Parables* (1960). This is an expansion of the last chapter "Preaching the Parables." In the earlier book he em-phasized the contemporary context of the parables of Jesus; in this new book, their meaning for us today. This he does with his usual lucidity and excellent choice of apt illustrations. He has selected the kingdom theme again and, in fact, the titles of his chapters are almost all identical with those in his earlier book.

Parable interpretation since Jülicher, Dodd, and Jeremias, especially by the latter two on the basis of form criticism, has moved away from the allegorical and moralistic to emphasize the use of the parables in Jesus' own situation, a situation of crisis and decision. Dodd and Jeremias have both criticized Jülicher especially for his understanding that the parable brings out a very general moral truth or platitude. On the other hand, Hunter criticizes Dodd and Jeremias for making the parables too "historically time bound—so locked them away in a first century Jewish strait jacket—that Jesus' ripostes in parable to carping Pharisees, his warnings to hot-headed Zealots, and his *ad hominem* challenges to Israel's rulers have little obvious relevance for us today in this so different twentieth century" (p. 26). Hunter is not afraid to do a little allegorizing as long as it does not mar the one point which the parable was meant to convey. He is also more conservative in respect to what goes back to Jesus.

This is illustrated by the respective comments of Dodd and Hunter on the Parable of the Sower. To the former, the parable's chief point is that the time has come to reap, only laborers are lacking. To the latter, it is the certainty of God's harvest and Jesus' telling them to have faith in God. To the former, everything preceding the account of the good soil is "dramatic machinery—not to be interpreted symbolically" (*The Parables of the King-dom*, p. 137). To the latter, the parable also teaches the necessity of attentive hearing, a hearing which issues in decision and action.

It is at this point that questions will be raised and points disputed, although preachers generally will be happy for this book for showing them how to make the parables relevant to our day without doing injustice to their original intention.

Andrews University                                        SAKAE KUBO

Jewett, Paul K. *The Lord's Day: A Theological Guide to the Christian Day of Worship.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1971. 174 pp. $2.95.

In this popularly written book Jewett is saying two things: first, that the Christian day of worship has been Sunday since the first Easter Sunday, and second, that both the theological interpretation of this day and the religious observance of it are determined by the OT (Jewish) Sabbath.

Regarding the first point Jewett affirms that Sunday observance did not predate Christianity in any way. Neither did it come about through a lengthy development beginning in the 2nd cent. A.D., whereby Sabbath was gradually replaced by Sunday as the Christian day of worship. Rather, the Christians worshiped on Sunday from the very beginning. Jewett reaches this conclusion by arguing that the Lord's day *(kyriakē hēmera)* originated as the day on which the Lord's Supper *(kyriakon deipnon)* was first celebrated after the resurrection, namely in the evening of Easter Sunday (cf. Lk 24:33-43; Jh 20:19-23). In the 2nd cent. the Christians are said to have moved their worship service, perhaps under pressure (cf. Pliny's letter to Trajan), from Sunday evening to Sunday morning. The freedom to abandon Sabbath observance, Jewett continues, was given by Jesus himself (cf. Mk 2:27, 28; 3:1-6) when he fulfilled the rest which the Sabbath had promised (cf. Mt 11:28; Heb 3:7 to 4:11). The early Christians accepted this freedom (cf. Rom 14:5; Col 2:16), and worshiped in the evening of the first day (Acts 20:7), although they also (mistakenly) continued to keep Sabbath.

Jewett's arguments and his conclusions so far are not new and are far from conclusive. Essentially they were published in Willy Rordorf, *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church* (1968). Jewett quotes frequently from the first (German) edition of this work (1962). Perhaps he does not credit Rordorf as much as would be expected, for Jewett's volume is in some measure a popularization of Rordorf's far more technical work. This does mean, however, that any serious attempt to dialogue with Jewett's arguments must examine Rordorf's careful work.

Now let us go on to his second point. It is that the Christian Sunday cannot be understood theologically, nor be properly observed, without reference to the day it replaced, namely the Sabbath. That is to say, the early Christian celebrations of the Lord's Supper on this day cannot fill it with the meaning which Jewett will have it carry. There are two areas in which Sunday has borrowed from Sabbath: (a) The weekly Sunday must be an "authoritative apostolic tradition" adopted from Sabbath observance, since there is nothing inherent in the first Sunday service which would call for its repetition every week; (b) The first Christian Sunday, as Jewett reconstructs it, in no way implies abstinence from work. The rest day (Sabbath) has met its fulfillment in the eschatological rest provided by Jesus. At the same time this eschatological rest is still hoped for in the future. And so the Sabbath with its emphasis on rest remains an important element in the Christian Sunday. Jewett speaks of the church's *sic et non* to the fourth commandment. Thus in early Christianity the Sabbath of rest was observed either in the place of or along with Sunday for centuries. Gradually the two days were merged, and in time, beginning with Constantine (A.D. 321)

the idea of a Sunday rest emerges. Since then Sunday has not only been called the Christian Sabbath, but has functioned as a Sabbath. The civil Sunday is ultimately influenced by the Sabbath, and Jewett views it with some interest and supports legislation which enables a citizen to benefit from its time of rest, if he so desires.

The Sabbath, says Jewett, shares with the whole NT in the "fundamental tension between the indicative of present fulfillment and the imperative of future consummation" (p. 82). The important question is, Does this dialectic of the Lord's day hold together? Can he claim the rich heritage of the Sabbath for the Christian Sunday while abandoning Sabbath observance? Jewett attempts to demonstrate this possibility by tracing the Church's *sic et non* to the Sabbath through her history. He steers between the Scylla of Marcionism (the Protestant reformers' denial of any relationship between the Sabbath and the Christian Sunday), and the Charybdis of Judaism (medieval superstitious and legalistic efforts to make Sunday into another Sabbath). The dialectic is continued with the interpreters of the reformers, e.g., the Puritans and various Sabbatarians.

The charter into the future is less clearly marked. Jewett is looking for a day of spiritual rest in the Lord, but a day which must symbolize by a physical rest that the eschatological rest is still hoped for. And yet abstinence from work cannot be required of Christians who are freed from the Sabbath. It must be a day of communal worship, a day of joy, and a day dedicated to the risen Lord.

It does seem that Jewett is asking of the first Easter Sunday with its communion meal something which only a Sabbath can provide. If so, the example of the early Christians and of Jesus (cf. Mk 1:21) does have something to tell us. Finally Jewett should have known that most serious Sabbath keepers do not observe this day in protest of the "error" of Sunday worship. Certainly the real reason for observing the Sabbath by Jews and some Christian communions is to share in the recollection of God's past creative and redemptive acts, to celebrate with joy the freedom and rest God has provided, and to look with anticipation toward the eternal rest to come. This spiritual heritage, which also Jewett is claiming, is linked so closely to the Sabbath that it is a serious question whether it can be appropriated apart from the Sabbath institution. That institution, as many Christians have demonstrated, in no way detracts from the significance of the resurrection, the breaking of bread, and the present Lord.

Pacific Union College                          NIELS ERIK ANDREASEN
Angwin, California

Jordan, Clarence. *The Cotton Patch Version of Matthew and John*. New York: Association Press, 1970. 128 pp. $2.50.

This posthumous publication follows the same style as Dr. Jordan's earlier translations, *The Cotton Patch Version of Paul's Epistles* (1968) and *The Cotton Patch Version of Luke and Acts* (1969). He attempts to translate

not words but ideas. This involves the use of the common speech of the South, particularly Georgia, and the use of modern day equivalents of ideas, names of places and people, and classes of people. The following passages illustrate these points:

"After they checked out, the Lord's messenger made connection with Joseph in a dream and said, 'Get moving, and take your wife and baby and highball it to Mexico' " (Mt 2:13).

"This guy John was dressed in blue jeans and a leather jacket and he was living on corn bread and collard greens. Folks were coming to him from Atlanta and all over north Georgia and the backwater of the Chattahoochee. And as they owned up to their crooked ways, he dipped them in the Chattahoochee" (Mt 3:4-6).

"When John noticed a lot of Protestants and Catholics showing up for his dipping . . ." (Mt 3:7).

"They said, 'Where did that guy get all his learning and big-league stuff? Ain't this the carpenter's boy? Ain't his mama named Mary and his brothers Jim and Joe and Simon and Jody?' " (Mt 13:54-55).

This kind of translation has the tremendous advantage of speaking directly and concretely to people, especially to those in Georgia. Jesus is born in Gainesville, Georgia, grows up in Valdosta, is baptized in the Chattahoochee, and walks beside Lake Lanier. Analogous modern ideas make the Bible come alive, such as this translation of Mt 9:17: "Nor do people put new tubes in old bald tires. If they do, the tires will blow out, and the tubes will be ruined and the tires will be torn up. But they put new tubes in new tires and both give good mileage." Another good example of equivalency is found in Mt 19:24: "I say it again, a pig can go through a knothole easier than a rich man can get into the God Movement." As Jordan says in his preface, this approach helps "the modern reader have the same sense of participation . . . which the early Christians must have had," and "by stripping away the fancy language, the artificial piety, and the barriers of time and distance, this version puts Jesus and his people in the midst of our modern world, living where we live, talking as we talk, working, hurting, praying, bleeding, dying, conquering, alongside the rest of us. It seeks to restore the original feeling and excitement of the fast-breaking *news*—good news—rather than musty history" (pp. 9, 10). However, such a translation because it speaks so directly to one group will have limited appeal elsewhere.

Dr. Jordan is himself very much aware of the riskiness of his venture. He must have recognized it time after time in the actual work of translation. Thus such an incongruity occurs as scholars who have seen his star in the Orient coming to Atlanta to inquire of Herod. He finds no equivalent for Ramah in Mt 2:18. Nevertheless, it is surprising how well he draws equivalents throughout.

The southern dialect comes through especially well in the conversational sections but in the narratives inconsistency appears. At times the style seems apt and suitable and at other times discordant in its staidness.

The translation does not include the "begat" section (Mt 1:1-17) and in John includes only the first eight chapters. It follows Nestle-Aland's Greek text (23d ed.). However, Jordan has included Jn 8:1-11 in the traditional position since "the story is so moving." The format follows

Phillips with paragraph divisions and verse numbers only at the beginning
of each paragraph so that it is a bit. inconvenient in locating specific
passages.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Jordan's death will deprive us of this trans-
lation for the rest of the NT.

Andrews University                                           SAKAE KUBO

Kaufman, Gordon D. *Systematic Theology: A Historicist Perspective.* New
    York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1968. xvii + 543 pp. $8.95.

Theology must consider man as immersed in history and his thought,
community and faith as historically shaped and historically relative. The
concept of revelation can only be given content as such content is made
known within history. It is pleonastic to say "man's history," since history,
in contrast to nature, is the sphere of personal purpose. Revelation is the
name of the process through which meaning is given to human history.
Only man's history can tell him what God is.

Theology is thus "empiricist." It deals with decisive meanings which man
has found within history, which means with reference to particular his-
tories. For the Christian, the historical encounter which goes by the symbol
"Resurrection of Jesus Christ" is the crucial historical occasion of faith.

This book is an essay in *systematic* theology. This *genre* of theological
composition attempts to see the themes of Christian theology in a com-
prehensive manner and by reference to basic principles of unity. Kaufman
attempts to exploit the Diltheyan concern with man's historicity to serve
as rigorous a systematic construction as that of Schleiermacher. The "his-
toricity" of man is the "category" of all theological understanding.

Christology becomes the central concern, and at the center of the
Christology lies concern with the resurrection, which provides historico-
ontological and historico-epistemological foundations for Christian faith
(pp. 412, 414). It is "primarily an event in the history of meaning" (p. 434).
The concept of "hallucination" is employed of the resurrection, "a non-
public but extremely significant experience" (p. 425, n. 29), "quasi-public"
(p. 421, n. 20). The resurrection is the crucial event by which community
is created within which its meaning is understood.

Kaufman's complex of empirical data at the foundation of Christian
faith is: (1) the historical Jesus; (2) the resurrection-hallucination com-
plex; (3) the faith of the church that God had acted in Jesus. Kaufman
refuses to demythologize, nor will he, as does Pannenberg, talk about
resurrection as available to historical reason on the basis of publicly
available evidence. The problem of continuity is raised in a most serious
way for Kaufman. I do not see that he has solved it. Why is such a catena
of appearances and inference necessary to underwrite what was known before
Jesus' death, since he had proclaimed it from the outset, namely that God's
reign had begun and that by repentance God might be newly known?
Could one not say (as indeed Schleiermacher *did* say) that, without benefit

of hallucination, such an acknowledgment of the historical evidence had already been made? If this is the case, then why is resurrection so central and apparently indispensable to Kaufman for revelation? If resurrection is thus necessary, is it irrational and inexplicable? The transcendent element supervening upon lower-level meanings found within history, as history (i.e., a piece of it) is appropriated in human (community and individual) experience. Indeed, going beyond the sphere of the empirical historian by speaking of God's transcendent activity in history, has the argument not left the public sphere? Is it a feature of historicism and historicist understanding of man that it recognizes as a given within experience such affirmations of meaning which are not to be further questioned? How can we move from a claim which speaks of God's act? The best one can do is to find a parallel in human experience that will illuminate what is given. This, I suspect, is the reason for preferring "hallucination" to ‒resurrection (raising of the dead) as historically verifiable event. It is easier to find visionary experiences than testimony to raising of dead people. Hume had followed a similar argument.

By revelation is meant (I think) the making known of what was not known before by what is other than the subject. By resurrection, Kaufman means "the appearances theologically interpreted" (p. 425). Given these definitions it needs to be made clear how resurrection is revelation.

Such a brief review cannot substitute for the reading of the book. It is a courageous effort to attempt systematic theology, even when it is based upon man's relativity. If such relativity is taken seriously there may be hope of speaking *theologically* to secular man. This may involve a more radical rethinking of traditional and biblical imagery than Kaufman was here prepared to undertake.

Nottingham, England                                          EDWARD W. H. VICK

Keck, Leander E. *A Future for the Historical Jesus.* Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1971. 271 pp. $6.50.

The trend in recent NT studies is opposed to any optimistic prognosis of a future for the historical Jesus, especially in preaching and theology where Professor Keck directs his attention. He flies in the face of much recent NT and theological discussion when he asserts forcefully that there is such a future. What Keck does is to show the cruciality of the historical Jesus for faith, how this historical Jesus can be used in preaching, and the theological implications of this historical Jesus.

In affirming his position, the author does not retreat to an uncritical historiography. On the contrary, he insists more sharply on a sound critical method that evaluates the historical evidence without trying to impose on it any *a priori* assumptions. He opposes those who feel that the search for a historical Jesus is an attempt to secure one's salvation by objectification (Bultmann), those who find the historical Jesus so self-validating and compelling (Jeremias, Ebeling, Fuchs, Hermann), those who use Jesus to fit

a mold which is *a priori* to a study of the historical Jesus (van Buren, Tillich). His criticism of these writers from the historical point of view is devastating.

Several major points underlie Keck's argument: (1) The historical Jesus is crucial for the believer, the preacher, and the theologian; (2) "The Gospels have solid information though the present form of the material may not be historically accurate" (p. 24); (3) The relationship to Jesus is better understood as trust rather than faith since the opposite of this relationship is not disbelieving something but lack of trust, and it is personal and social; (4) The historical data concerning Jesus permit trust without requiring it; (5) Trust is not possible without some kind of knowledge but not the inevitable outcome of accurate information. Experiential not intellectual truth leads to trust; (6) The total life of Jesus including his death and resurrection must be considered and his paradoxical teachings must be held in tension; (7) Trusting Jesus is salvific; (8) Trusting Jesus leads to trusting God.

One of the significant contributions of this study is showing how trust is a more meaningful definition for one's relationship to Jesus than faith and the carrying out of this relationship with respect to traditional Christian concepts of conversion, repentance, and salvation. Another important contribution is Keck's effective rebuttal of Bultmann's contention that the search for the historical Jesus is salvation by works.

Keck continually affirms that the Gospels "provide us with sufficient data about Jesus that the contour of his life as a whole can come into view," but unfortunately he nowhere systematically presents this "contour." While he argues persuasively for the need of historical criticism, he does not explicitly perform this task in detail so that one is not altogether clear as to what the "sufficient data" are. The direction in which he would move is clear when he suggests that the Gospels have solid information though not historically accurate, when he opposes "the tyranny of the negative criteria" and insists on the "characteristic Jesus" rather than the "distinctive Jesus," and by what he accepts as solid data in his evaluation of Mk 1:16-20 (p. 24). It is unfortunate, also, that the book contains numerous typographical errors. A list of these would take up too much space.

The reader will find in this book a cornucopia of provocative ideas and suggestions. Throughout the reviewer found himself writing on the margin, "Should expand further." There are many latent ideas waiting for further development. This is a wide-ranging book and a short review cannot do full justice to it.

Andrews University                                    SAKAE KUBO


Kenyon, Kathleen. *Royal Cities of the Old Testament.* New York: Schocken Books, 1971. xii + 164 pp. 28 Figures. 103 Plates. $10.00.

Here we have another of the popular books on the results of archaeological work in Palestine of which the author has given us two before—*Digging Up*

*Jericho* (1957) and *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (1967).
The book under discussion deals with those cities which can qualify for
the title "royal," such as Jerusalem and Samaria, the capitals of the two
kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and such other cities—Hazor, Megiddo, and
Gezer—which merit this title because Solomon paid special attention to these
three cities and carried out much building activity in them (see p. 53, and
1 Ki 9:15). Excavations have been conducted in each of these five cities
in recent years, thus increasing our knowledge about them. Since the
author was on the staff of one of the Samaria expeditions and was director
of the Jerusalem expedition from 1961-1967, she is eminently qualified
to write on this subject.

After an introductory chapter and one on the historical background, the
author presents eight chapters that deal with the five cities mentioned during
the 600 years of history when Judah and Israel were a united kingdom or
were separate kingdoms. The task which the author placed before herself
is well done. With the help of plans, sectional drawings, diagrams, and
more than 100 excellent photographs, the reader who is interested in
either biblical history or archaeology is given a fine description of the
history and growth of these cities, their fortifications, residential quarters,
water works, and palaces, as far as they have been discovered during the
excavations. In this connection, two remarks may be allowed. If Fig. 13 on
p. 64, the reconstructed plan of Palace 1723 at Megiddo, had been repro-
duced upside down it would be much easier to follow the author's explana-
tion and her comparison with the excavator's plan of that palace in Fig. 12 on
p. 63. And, on p. 21 the author says that up to 1961, when her excavations
of Jerusalem began, it was "usually accepted" that the city of Jerusalem
under the monarchy had covered the west as well as the east ridge. It is
true that one could name several scholars of fame who defended this view
as late as 1961, but a growing number had already accepted the minimalist
view, according to which the city had been principally limited to the
east ridge in OT times (see M. Avi-Yonah's survey in *IEJ*, 4 [1954], 238, 239).

The author draws on the results of her own excavations, on published
excavation reports, unpublished information obtained from excavators, and
literary sources—mainly the Bible—for her presentation. But in regard to
one of the five cities—Gezer—Kenyon regrettably has not done justice to the
available information. She mentions the city repeatedly, and also correctly
states that its earliest excavations were carried out during the pioneering
years of Palestinian archaeology when the archaeological methods were so
primitive that a complex stratigraphy, such as the one existing at Gezer,
could not be correctly interpreted. Furthermore she mentions the fact
that Y. Yadin had recognized part of a Solomonic city gate in R. A. S. (not
R. A. G., p. 68) Macalister's "Maccabean Castle" (p. 69). However, she
fails to mention the fact that the Gezer expedition under the direction of
William G. Dever began a re-excavation of Macalister's "Castle" in 1965
with annual continuations that have progressively corroborated Yadin's
hypothesis. Since brief progress reports and pictures of the excavations of
the Solomonic gate at Gezer appeared annually in the *RB* (75 [1968], 387;
76 [1969], 365, 366, Pl. XXVII; 77 [1970], 395, Pl. XVIII) and the *IEJ* (19
[1969], 241, 242; 20 [1970], 226, 227), her book should have included the

available information on these important excavations which had been com-
pleted by the time this book was published in 1971. (See now Dever's pre-
liminary report on the Solomonic gate at Gezer in *BA*, 34 [1971], 112-120,
Figs. 1, 2, and 8.)

A few remarks about chronological dates used in this book may be in
order. It is well known that ancient chronology is a controversial subject,
and that not all dates for ancient events are well established. Hence, one
cannot expect an archaeologist to provide the last word on ancient dates.
I would therefore not quarrel with the author for using 926-925 B.C. (p. xi)
as the date for Solomon's death had she given that as her opinion. But
when she calls it "the first fixed date" (p. x) —a date about which such
experts as E. R. Thiele (931 B.C.) and W. F. Albright (922 B.C.) disagreed
by nine years—her claim requires an explanation or defense, which she
does not provide, and must therefore be questioned. In one place she
speaks of a "destruction" of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 598 B.C. (p. xi)
and claims in another passage that "the Temple had been partially sacked
in 598 B.C." (p. 148). The facts are that we have not the slightest evidence
that the Babylonians even partially destroyed Jerusalem or its Temple at
that time, although they carried away many Temple treasures, the young
King Jehoiachin who had surrendered with his family, and 10,000 other
soldiers and craftsmen (2 Ki 24:8-16; 2 Chr 36:9, 10). Furthermore, the
date of this event is March 597 (not 598), according to the Babylonian
Chronicle published by Donald J. Wiseman in 1956. The completion of
the Jerusalem Temple under Zerubbabel took place in March/April 515
B.C. (in Adar of the 6th year of Darius I), according to Ezr 6:15, and not
in 516, as is said on p. 150; thus the c[irca] preceding the correct date 515
on p. 40 is superfluous. Nehemiah rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem in the 20th
year of Artaxerxes, which would be 444 B.C., and not 440 (p. 150), if
Artaxerxes I is meant in the book of Neh. Samaria was captured not by
Sargon III (p. xi), but by Sargon II.

The few remarks of criticism made in this review should not overshadow
the fact that Kenyon's *Royal Cities* is an excellent book which cannot be
too highly recommended.

Andrews University                                    SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Kraus, Hans-Joachim. *Die Biblische Theologie: Ihre Geschichte und Prob-
    lematik.* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970. xvi + 407 pp.
    DM 44.00.

This is a book of major importance dealing with the history and prob-
lems of the discipline of biblical theology. It grew out of the present crisis
of biblical theology and the aim is to come to grips with the question of
overcoming the split between OT theology and NT theology into which
biblical theology was divided since the beginning of the 19th century.

Professor Kraus believes that the first steps in the direction of a biblical
theology comprising both the Old and New Testaments must be taken by

investigating anew previous methods and aims. This he seeks to do in three parts. The *first part* (pp. 15-84) treats the early history of biblical theology. "The concept of biblical theology could arise only on the basis of the Reformation [better Protestant] principle of 'sola Scriptura' " (p. 18). Kraus is correct in pointing out that in contrast to the widely held view that the term "biblical theology" had its beginning with C. Haymann (1708) (as is claimed among others by A. N. Wilder [1947], R. Bultmann [1955] and D. H. Wallace [1963]), the term as such appears already in the title of W. J. Christmann's *Teutsche Biblische Theologie* (1629) as was first shown by G. Ebeling (1960). However, the concept of "biblical theology" had its origin among the Anabaptists of the Radical Reformation. As early as the late 1520's and early 1530's, we find among certain Anabaptist groups the development of what is later called "biblical theology" (cf. G. F. Hasel, "Capito, Schwenckfeld and Crautwald on Sabbatarian Anabaptist Theology," *MQR*, 46 [1972], 2-28). Kraus is not cognizant of this early origin.

The *second part* (pp. 85-140) investigates how OT theology relates to the NT once it is presented in isolation from NT theology. The *third part* (pp. 141-192) does the same for NT theology as a discipline separate from both the OT and its theology. In the *fourth part* (pp. 193-306) he describes the reciprocal relationship between biblical theology and dogmatics from Schleiermacher to Tillich with special emphasis on the theology of *Heilsgeschichte* and the relationship of biblical faith and historical criticism from A. Ritschl to E. Troeltsch. Finally, the *fifth part* (pp. 307-395) climaxes in "problems and perspectives."

In contrast to the American companion volume by B. S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of Crisis* (1970), Kraus' concern is with the European (or better German) history of the discipline between 1770 and 1970. Kraus uses only a few introductory pages to dwell on the development of biblical theology between the Reformation and the age of rationalism. While both Kraus and Childs discuss a host of unresolved problems, tearing open hurting wounds of critical biblical scholarship and its methodologies, they do not agree on methodology for biblical theology. Childs' "NT quotation method" shows itself to be too restrictive and limited in its grasp of the richness of the theology of the OT. Kraus goes his own ways. He adopts neither Eichrodt's "cross-section method" of descriptive biblical theology nor von Rad's "diachronic method" of kerygmatic biblical theology. Von Rad's OT theology is but a theology of the "history of tradition." " 'Biblical Theology' will have to be *biblical* theology in that it accepts the given connections of the text in the canon as *the historical truth,* the final form of which are to be explained, interpreted, and presented in summary form. This should be [biblical theology's] actual task" (p. 364, italics his).

No serious student of biblical theology can afford to neglect the contribution of Kraus. However, with all the erudition with which this work commends itself, the title promises a broader coverage of the subject than appears in the book itself. Aside from almost incidental references to French, English, and American scholars, Kraus appears almost totally unaware of biblical theology outside German scholarship. He has in fact written a history of *German* biblical theology. There is not a single reference

to R. C. Dentan's *Preface to Old Testament Theology* (2nd ed.; 1963) which covers much of the same ground though on a more limited scale. There is no doubt that German scholarship and theology have greatly influenced international scholarship but much significant work also has been undertaken in non-German speaking lands. To focus on German biblical theology is to tell only part of the story. Biblical theology as carried on today transcends languages and borders and cross-fertilization should prove fruitful.

Andrews University                                    GERHARD F. HASEL

Kubo, Sakae. *A Reader's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* "Andrews University Monographs," Vol. IV. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1971. ix + 284 pp. $6.50.

Those who have made profitable use of Sakae Kubo's vocabulary lists in mimeographed form will be pleased to learn that these lists have now been expanded to include the entire NT and are available in the clarity and convenience of a printed hard-back. The purpose of this *Reader's Lexicon* is to permit the student to move rapidly through the NT without spending much time looking up unfamiliar words. He is therefore able to spend more time in actual reading and is free to direct his attention to mastering the more important words and those which occur frequently.

This vocabulary assumes some knowledge of Greek grammar and a basic vocabulary of words appearing fifty times or more in the NT. For convenience, words falling into this category are listed alphabetically in Appendix I. All words occurring less than fifty times are arranged by books according to the chapter and verse where they are found following the order of the Nestle-Aland text. This method is superior to other available word lists in which words are ordered according to section. Words that are used less than fifty times but more than five in a particular book are placed alphabetically at the beginning of each book and not listed again.

Two numbers appear after each word, the first indicating the number of times the word is found in that particular book, and the second its frequency in the entire NT, thereby indicating how much attention the student should give to learning the word. As an added aid, especially difficult verb forms are listed in Appendix II. Definitions, generally more adequate than in other available word lists, are taken for the most part from Arndt and Gingrich's translation of Bauer's lexicon.

This revised edition of Kubo's word list reflects the knowledge gained in twelve years of experimenting with similar lists in classrooms around the country. It is a careful piece of work, and without serious question represents the most thorough and usable tool of its kind available.

Walla Walla College                        D. MALCOLM MAXWELL
College Place, Washington

Landeen. William M. *Martin Luther's Religious Thought*. Mountain View,
    Calif.: Pacific Press, 1971. [vi] + 218 pp. Paperback, $2.25.


A book dealing with a subject on which numerous works are already
available is justified if it brings a new perspective, if it adds new or rarely
discussed material, or if it is designed to reach a wider or different reader-
ship from that of similar works. Landeen's book on Luther's religious
thought succeeds in all three respects, and is indeed a welcome and worth-
while contribution to the existing Luther literature. The fact that this
volume is written by a careful and competent scholar of recognized standing
in the field enhances its value and importance all the more.

The first several chapters carry Luther through his early experience as a
monk, his Wittenberg lectures on the Psalms (1513-15) and Romans (1515-
16), and his great "discovery" relating to Rom 1:17. Landeen places the
so-called "Tower Experience" about 1518, rather than earlier as many
scholars do. He premises that Luther's autobiographical statement prefaced
to the 1545 Latin edition of the Reformer's works should be taken at face
value; Luther's recollection of an item so significant in his career could
hardly have been misplaced in his reference to it as occurring *after* he had
lectured on the epistles to the Romans, Galatians (1516-17), and Hebrews
(1517-18) and was returning to interpret the Psalter anew (which he began to
do early in 1519). This point, plus Landeen's general reasoning on the
matter (including reference to Luther's declining emphasis on Augustine),
seems cogent.

In a footnote (n. 2 on pp. 50, 51), Landeen reviews various positions
regarding Luther's "discovery," and includes an observation that there
"may have been even a series of discoveries." Indeed, Luther's son Paul,
as well as the Reformer's early biographer Melanchthon, may not neces-
sarily have been completely in error in placing the discovery prior to
Luther's visit to Rome in 1510-11, for Luther was precisely the kind of
person who would continually arrive at deeper revelations of truth—
"renewed discoveries," as it were. I believe that Landeen has expressed
well Luther's "Tower-Experience" grasp of Rom 1:17 as representing the
"capstone in the spiritual arch which he had been building" (p. 45). It is
interesting to note that Jared Wicks, *Man Yearning for Grace*, reaches a
very similar conclusion to that of Landeen regarding the time of Luther's
"discovery," but on quite other grounds (my review of Wicks' book appears
on pp. 223, 224, below).

In subsequent chapters of his book Landeen covers briefly, but still fairly
comprehensively, Luther's thought on the following: "God," "Christ," "Holy
Spirit," "The Church," "The Word," "Baptism," "Lord's Supper," "Predes-
tination," "Faith Alone," "Santification," "Reason," "Ten Commandments,"
"Law and Gospel," "Moses," "Sabbath," "Man in Death," and "Resurrection
and Judgment." Some of these topics are treated more extensively in other
works, but Landeen's scholarly approach, eminently readable style, and
brevity, coupled with ability to get quickly to the crux of the matter,
make *Martin Luther's Religious Thought* a worthy reference volume on
even such topics. However, certain of the later chapters—e.g., "Sabbath" and
"Man in Death"—deal with subjects not so frequently treated in books

about Luther's theology. The inclusion of such topics lends an added
valuable dimension to this particular publication.

The various chapters in Landeen's book are well documented, and a bibli-
ography (pp. 215-218) concludes the volume. This book will be found
useful by lay readers as well as scholars in the field, not only as a well-
written authoritative narrative but also as a helpful reference tool.

Andrews University                                    KENNETH A. STRAND


Langholf, Volker. *Die Gebete bei Euripides und die zeitliche Folge der
    Tragödien.* "Hypomnemata," Heft 32. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ru-
    precht, 1971. 172 pp. Paperback, DM 35.00.

This monograph, a dissertation accepted by the university of Hamburg
in 1968, is a highly technical study of prayer in the dramas of the Greek
poet Euripides and a contribution to the complex dating problem of the
poet's tragedies. This is the first detailed and comprehensive study of the
prayers in the dramas of Euripides. For this reason alone one needs to
congratulate Langholf. Aside from this, Langholf's study is a first in
investigating prayer in Greek religion in the last few decades.

The author employs an "unusual" methodology (p. 6). He avoids the
method of the comparative interpretation of prayers from different pieces
of different periods, because the "comparative interpretation" appears from
the start to be unfeasible. The method is the (quasi-)statistical one. It is
said to have the advantage of enabling a verification. An appendix (pp. 152-
165) gives an analytical list of prayers and prayer-like materials in Euripidean
dramas which aids the reader in his own verification. The purpose and aim
of Langholf's work is to prove that there is a development in the religious
views of Euripides. This has been denied by A. J. Festugière (1950) and
F. Chapouthier (1955).

A definition of prayer has considerable bearing on a systematic and precise
statistical investigation of the 220 passages in the Euripidean dramas which
contain or deal with prayers. Prayer is very broadly defined as "the speaking
to gods or divine beings" (p. 9). The content of this speaking is disre-
garded. The difficult problem of the dates of the sequence of the respective
tragedies has a direct bearing on the question of religious development.
Langholf follows on the whole the chronology of E. B. Caedel (1941) which
is based on a study of the trimeters in the plays and which has been sup-
ported more recently by G. Zuntz (1955) and K. Matthiessen (1964).

The main part of this study (pp. 21-101) deals with observations on the
praying persons, their religious and psychological condition. The beings to
whom prayers are offered are Zeus, Apollos, Artemis, Hermes, Athena,
Dionysus, Aphrodite, Hera, and Earth, among others. The basic types of
address are investigated as well as the forms of requests. Detailed attention
is given also to the dramatic function of the prayers.

The final part of Langholf's work seeks to summarize his findings in
relationship to the broad realm of phenomena which have been called "the
irrational" (pp. 102-141). It has long been recognized that religion is one

of the most important elements in the tragedies of Euripides. The final decision is usually brought about in an irrational manner by means of the *deus ex machina,* human sacrifice, or human redeemer. Euripides stands in the center of a lively cult. But his relationship to it was neither uncritical nor naive. He was neither one engaging in enlightenment nor a believer. Many of the dissonances derive from the personality of the poet himself.

A discussion of changes in form and content in Euripidean tragedies forms the background for the development observed in the study on prayers. A comparison of prayers in the early and later work of Euripides demonstrates many significant changes. Not only is there a quantitative increase but also a qualitative difference in the use of prayers in the Euripidean tragedies. In Euripides are the first signs of a development of Greek religion in which the gods have lost those human qualities which make a personal relation between deity and mortal possible.

Andrews University                                    GERHARD F. HASEL

Outka, Gene, and Paul Ramsey, eds. *Norm and Context in Christian Ethics.* New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1968. 419 pp. $10.00.

Gene Outka and Paul Ramsey, both teachers of religion at Princeton University, here bring together an anthology of essays which contribute to the debate on the new morality. The editors have attempted to incorporate a broad spectrum of viewpoints including those of Roman Catholic theologians, Protestant theologians, and moral philosophers.

The main discussion is carried on in sections I (Virtue, Principles, and Rules) and IV (Situation Ethics: Defense and Critique) with sections II and III (Natural Law and Reformation Themes respectively) supplying perspective and background material. The natural law discussion is especially pertinent. This section, dominated by Catholic theologians, represents a reassessment of natural theology which brings this type of theology out from its traditionally casuistic use to a broader, more secure footing. There is still the plea for universal norms, but not for norms that hold true in all cases.

Although it is impossible in a few words of analysis to do justice to many pages pregnant with ethical dicta and implications, I will try to bring it all together by focusing on the two great polarities in this anthology—those expressed by Paul Ramsey and by Joseph Fletcher, a leading proponent of situation ethics. The analysis will be divided into three areas: love, situation, and law.

Not one of these moralists disagrees with Fletcher that *love* is the absolute norm in Christian ethics. But all the authors, including philosopher Donald Evans who ostensibly holds basic agreement with situationism, differ fundamentally with Fletcher in their development of love. To Ramsey *agape,* as the ultimate norm, could also be translated as faithfulness. This more accurate meaning is possible because he derives love from a knowledge of "God's gracious acts"; this knowledge in turn enlightens the "ought" for man's own actions. Further, the requirements of faithfulness, entailed by

love, take the form of covenants of loyalty in which Ramsey sees life as a quality of being where fidelity between man and wife are taken with utmost seriousness. Fletcher holds love as absolute, but he refuses to give it an onto-logical basis. He posits love by faith (just as one presumably would also posit egoism or self-realization, for example) and then after taking this imperative stance, he lets reason run its course in supplying content. In place of a defined system Fletcher develops an abstract idea of love which at its best is act-utilitarianism, and at its worst is mere egoism. Whether love is motive, means, or goal, or possibly all three, is not made clear by Fletcher.

Without exception, these authors, like Fletcher, are "situational" in that they take the situation seriously. For instance Ramsey says, "The justification of an action always depends on some feature or features in that act's proper description" (p. 79). No one pleads for recognition of the "great 'specificity' " of actions more unequivocatingly than Ramsey. Whereas the situation is *one* consideration for the non-situationists, it is *the* consideration for the situationists. Fletcher begins and ends with the context. Of course the situationist appeals to love for direction, but love merely makes the need for direction imperative, according to Mitchell. The situationist's only content is the situation. Fletcher assumes that everyone will naturally know *what* love demands if he understands the situation fully.

Ramsey especially rebels against Fletcher's idea that every action is an unrepeatable spiritual venture. He does not agree that moral sensitivity is at odds with moral norms. And Ramsey is not alone. Four of the writers at least allude to their hierarchy of norms which they deem necessary in doing ethics. Regarding norms as absolute, Ramsey's basic point, in opposition to Fletcher, is that the absolute norm is appealed to *through* the strata of con-tent-principles and not sought directly. For example, the question of whether to commit adultery appeals *through* the higher principle of marital fidelity to the ultimate norm of love and does not directly appeal to love from the adulterer's bed. The careful work of Ramsey on the side of the non-situationist is not matched by Fletcher for the situationist. It would have been profitable if such had been the case.

Ellijay, Georgia                                              JAMES WALTERS


Phillips, Anthony. *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law: A New Approach to the Decalogue.* New York: Schocken Books, 1970. 218 pp. $10.50.

As the title of the book suggests, the author attempts to distinguish the Decalogue from Israel's other law codes by designating it as criminal law. In this way the Decalogue is set apart from other types of law in Israel, such as civil, customary, family, and cultic. Central to the author's work is the contention that the Decalogue constituted ancient Israel's pre-exilic criminal law code, which the nation received at Sinai following the Exodus from Egypt.

Israel's criminal law, then, did not come about in a haphazard manner over a period of years (against J. Begrich, 'Berit,' *ZAW*, 19 [1944], 1-11), but was produced at a specific time and for a definite purpose, namely, to serve as the basic legal document for the Israelite community. It constituted the basis upon which the covenant community was formed and subsequently maintained.

The unity of the Israelite clans was not determined by a racial or political bond, but stemmed from their common allegiance to Yahweh, as stipulated in the Decalogue. So long as they were obedient to the covenant stipulations of the Decalogue, the vitality and solidarity of the community were maintained, and their future existence as the people of God guaranteed.

Since the Decalogue served as Israel's constitution, breach of it was interpreted as apostasy punishable by death. Capital punishment, Phillips states, was not intended to deter potential criminals, but was designed as a means of appeasing Yahweh's wrath and thereby avoiding divine judgment against the community.

Phillips' work represents a fresh approach to the study of the Decalogue. It will, I believe, contribute to the growing interest in this area of OT studies. While the late date assigned to the Decalogue in the past is no longer widely accepted today, many, as the author himself suggests, would probably question the placing of the Decalogue within the Mosaic period. But few will deny that its contents come from Israel's ancient past.

Basic to Phillips' thesis is Mendenhall's contention that the covenant relationship can be understood best in the light of the Hittite suzerainty treaties. Viewed in this context, the Decalogue was seen as the stipulations which Yahweh lays upon the community. These stipulations govern the clans' relations with Yahweh himself and with the other clans who enter into the covenant. In return for their absolute allegiance, Yahweh offers the clans protection and aid.

Mendenhall's thesis, as attractive as it is, has not gained universal acceptance (see Gerstenberger, *JBL*, 84 [1965], 38-51, and *Wesen und Herkunft des "Apodiktischen Rechts"* [1965]; Stamm and Andrew, *The Ten Commandments* [1967]; Nielsen, *The Ten Commandments* [1968]). One serious objection is that the Sinai pericope does not provide us with specific information regarding the inauguration of the covenant and the covenant ceremonies. Phillips, however, attempts to strengthen Mendenhall's argument by showing that the ten commandments possessed an inner unity throughout the history of the covenant relationship. While individual commandments were expanded and reinterpreted, no new crimes, he argues, were added to this law code during the pre-exilic period. This view is an attractive alternative to the position of C. F. Whitley ("Covenant and Commandment in Israel," *JNES*, 22 [1963], 37 ff.), who believes that the Decalogue was the work of the Deuteronomist.

To interpret the Decalogue as criminal law is, at the same time, to argue for its distinct nature. Whereas in the past the formal characteristics were emphasized as the distinguishing features of Israelite law (Alt, *Essays* [1966], pp. 81 ff., and Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* [1957], pp. 204 f.), we now find attention focused on the content. This seems to be a less precarious route to pursue.

Should Phillips' thesis gain wide acceptance, there is reason to believe
that future studies relating to the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah will be
affected, as well as those dealing with Israel's law codes and legal traditions,
by the arguments the author advances. In some instances, however, the
credibility of the author's arguments is weakened by presumptuous reason-
ing. For example, at the beginning of the book (p. 8), Phillips contends
that the covenant relationship is to be understood in the light of the
Hittite suzerainty treaties—a view which he admits is not widely accepted,
but one which he intends to strengthen. These treaties, he states, "seem to
have been the recognized international covenant form throughout the
ancient Near East" during the 14th and 13th centuries, and "it would
therefore seem that the Decalogue can be attributed to Moses, to whom,
both chronologically and geographically, the Hittite suzerainty treaty form
could have been known." What the author is saying is that if we can
accept the premise—which is crucial to his thesis—the other parts of the
argument would fall nicely into place.

On the whole, the book is well organized, and is written in a concise
and succinct manner. It abounds with footnotes containing relevant infor-
mation and references pertinent to the problem under investigation. An
extensive bibliography accompanying the text (convenient for those inter-
ested in pursuing the subject further) enhances the value of the book.

Andrews University                                    JOSEPH J. BATTISTONE

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Thielicke, Helmut. *Death and Life*. Translated by Edward H. Schroeder.
    Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970. xxvi + 230 pp. $7.50.

Thielicke wrote the manuscript for this book after he was removed from
his teaching post at Heidelberg by the Nazis and while he was a pastor in
Ravensburg. "I actually wrote it only for myself," he states in the preface
to the American edition, "in order that I might come to some measure of
clarity on fundamental questions of life and death" (p. ix).

Perhaps Thielicke should be thankful that his book was not published in
English until he had gained a reputation of being a sound preacher and
theologian, for his conclusions about death and life seem to be in opposition
to those held by the majority.

In Part I, "Man and Death in Philosophical Perspective," the author
points out that the doctrine of natural immortality is seen as a necessity.
This immortality, however, necessitates the division of an individual into
a body which holds the soul as prisoner and an immortal soul which is set
free at death. Within such a philosophical framework birth and death do
not involve creation or destruction but merely a change in the relationship
of the soul to the body. This division of the *I* is fundamental in Plato, but
it is also found in Kant, Hegel, and under closer examination in Goethe's
"Faust." Faust, who becomes immortal, becomes so only at the expense of
also becoming personless. What is the attitude toward death of those who
hold the above-mentioned view? Death is "variously glorified, ignored, or
held in contempt."

It is Part II of the book, "The Biblical Disclosure of the Reality of Death," with which many will not agree. In his March 12, 1972 sermon, Stephen F. Olford, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in New York, expressed the popular notion about death with these words: "Death is not the cessation of life, it is only a change of life." Thielicke maintains that such views are not biblical. Instead of being merely a change, death is life's diametrical opposite. If I place my hope in the biblical teaching about death and life I realize that "I am not immortal, but I await my own resurrection" (p. 198). Resurrection is not a fusion of an immortal soul with a mortal body, instead it will be a new creation *ex nihilo* on Judgment Day.

From where, then, does man receive immortality? Emphatically Thielicke states that it is not to be found with man and neither does it come from an immortal soul, since an immortal soul does not exist. Man does not need to look at himself for ultimate salvation; instead he looks to Christ. "I am under the protection of the Resurrected One" (p. 198).

*Death and Life* is a recent translation of a book written over a quarter of a century ago. Some attempt has been made to consult recent literature, but in general such references seem to be sporadic. Missing notably is any reference to a similar study by Oscar Cullmann, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?* It remains to be seen whether Thielicke's book will provoke the same hostility which Cullmann's small work provided, for if it does not, that will be mainly because the readers will not fully realize the conclusions reached in this remarkable book.

Huntington, New York                         NIKOLAUS SATELMAJER


Trinterud, Leonard J., ed. *Elizabethan Puritanism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1971. xv + 454 pp. $11.50.


The latest volume in the Oxford *Library of Protestant Thought,* intended to illuminate Protestant faith, is *Elizabethan Puritanism,* edited by Leonard J. Trinterud, Professor of Church History at San Francisco Theological Seminary. Trinterud has edited sixteen documents and selected them with the objective in mind that they should mirror the historical steps and important aspects of early Puritan thought and activity. At the same time he has made available 16th-century documents which are rarely accessible.

A compendium of the writings of a certain theologian or a collection of documents illustrating a specific era or movement can do more harm than good if the reader uses the quotations from the compendium without sufficient knowledge of the theologian, or if a set of collected writings do not adequately illustrate the various aspects of the period under discussion. These negative facets of a collection of documents have been eliminated by the present editor's thorough knowledge of the subject, which has enabled him to select the documents with sufficient care and to preface each with the necessary information so that the reader can study each essay intelligently and accurately.

While Puritanism played a very important part in the development of the English heritage and shaped the society in England and America, it has been very difficult for historians and theologians to give a precise meaning to the word itself. It is especially in the light of the recent monumental work by Patrick Collinson (*The Elizabethan Movement*) that Trinterud's definition of Puritanism and selection of material to illustrate it must be seen. On many points, both general and specific, he is indebted to Collinson, while the terminology when defining Elizabethan Puritanism is his own. He divides Puritanism into three groups: (1) The Original, Anti-vestment Party; (2) The Passive Resistance Party; (3) the Presbyterian Party. These, too, form the three parts of the book and describe, at the same time, the threefold historically progressive aspects of a movement which is masterfully analyzed in the author's General Introduction.

John Foxe is given the place as one of the two representatives of the original anti-vestment groups. This could be misleading and should be qualified. While Foxe did not agree with the vestment, he was not a protagonist as many others were within this group. It should be remembered that Thomas Fuller (*The Church History*, IV, 327) describes two types of Puritans: ". . . some mild and moderate . . . others fierce and fiery." He classifies Foxe among the former. In Foxe's record of John Hooper he expresses his sympathy for Hooper's dislike of clerical gown; yet he closes the story by saying: ". . . no man in all the city was one hair better for that hot contention." Other examples could be given to the same effect. Foxe, who died in 1587, could, with all good reason, just as well have been a representative of the second group: The Passive Resistance Party. Foxe had taken part in the conflict between the Knoxians and Coxians in the English Church in Frankfurt and, while it is true that he expressed great sadness over the conflict and tried to mediate between the two parties, it is not correct that "he identified himself with neither" (p. 41), for he was one of the five men—Knox, Whittingham, Selby, Foxe and Cole—who drew up an order of worship after Calvin's Genevan liturgy. He also disapproved of the treatment of Knox and later left the city with the other Knoxians. (For the significance of Foxe and Puritanism, see the reviewer's book: *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*, University of California Press, 1972.)

Trinterud has rendered a valuable service to the study of Elizabethan Puritanism, and anyone who reads the selected documents within the setting in which they are placed will have an intelligent and unforgettable understanding of a most significant era which fashioned some of the most precious qualities of human life within the English-speaking nations. A fourth group ought to have been included in Trinterud's framework of Puritanism in order to make it complete, namely, the Separatist or Congregational Puritans. Space would not allow for this. We are grateful for the promise that the Oxford Press will deal with this phase of Puritanism in a separate volume and are eagerly looking forward to its publication.

Loma Linda University                                    V. Norskov Olsen
Riverside, California

Wicks, Jared, S. J. *Man Yearning for Grace: Luther's Early Spiritual Teaching.* Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1968. xvi [+ii] + 410 pp. $12.50.

This volume is among a number of recent books which illustrate the new kind of treatment that Catholic historians tend to give Luther today—a rather radical departure from the type of attention given to the Reformer by them only some 50 (or even 25) years ago. The Foreword to this book has been written by a recognized Lutheran scholar, George A. Lindbeck, who aptly states: "The informed reader will not be surprised to hear that this is a first-rate piece of research, not propaganda. It is not propaganda either for or against Luther, either for or against an ecumenically favorable view of the Reformer. It is simply a study of a great Christian thinker by a thoroughly competent scholar" (p. v).

Wicks treats Luther's early years of theological development. Rather than relying upon later autobiographical reminiscences by the Reformer, the author subjects various of the documents from the period itself—1509 through 1517-18—to careful analysis. Included among these documents are marginal notes from Luther's lectures of 1509 and 1510; his lectures on the Psalms (1513-15); his lectures on Romans (1515-16); his lectures on Galatians (1516-17); his lectures on the first five chapters of Hebrews (1517); sermons of July, 1516, to February, 1517; his exposition of the Penitential Psalms in 1517; the Disputation by Bartholomew Bernhardi on September 25, 1516; marginal notes made in Gabriel Biel's *Collectorium;* the "Disputation Against Scholastic Theology" of September, 1517; Luther's letter to Archbishop Albrecht on the sale of Indulgences; Luther's Indulgence Theses; his *Treatise on Indulgences;* his sermon on Zacchaeus; and several other works. The fact that Wicks has translated Luther's *Treatise on Indulgences* enhances the value of this book inasmuch as this treatise has altogether too often been neglected.

Luther's early spirituality, according to the analysis given by Wicks, gave more room for "transforming grace" than did his final position developed after 1517, when the forensic aspect took predominance. According to Wicks, "Luther's early theological and spiritual teaching reached a high point in early 1517" (p. 268), four points being given special attention as leading to this conclusion (pp. 268-271) : (1) "Christ as the victorious and attractive head of the new humanity" as portrayed in the *Lectures on Hebrews;* (2) "the theology of healing and transforming grace that underlies Luther's work in early 1517, climaxing in the counterpointed theme . . . of the September disputation against the *via moderna*"; (3) "the conception of faith in Christ that Luther spoke of in his *Lectures on Galatians*"; (4) "the vision of Christian living that Luther presented in the *Treatise on Indulgences*" wherein "the Christian is one who goes to the roots of his sins, who sighs for healing grace to kill off these roots and transform his affections." In Luther's presentation of these four themes, according to Wicks, the Reformer "moved well beyond the negative and pessimistic themes of the *Lectures on Romans,* and was at work in Wittenberg to bring about a genuine renewal of theology and Christian life" (p. 271).

Wicks' evaluations of Luther's early spirituality are also interesting: "The first notable weakness of the spirituality we have seen is in the anthropology

that underlay Luther's thinking about the Christian man. His view was excessively dualistic" (p. 273). However, "the weaknesses and one-sidedness we have noted do not cancel out the potential for reform and renewal this spirituality offered in the sixteenth century and still offers in the twentieth" (p. 277). Moreover, "some aspects of Luther's earliest spirituality that especially commend themselves to our reflection today" are the following: "Luther incessantly stressed our impotence before God regarding our salvation"; "Luther always thought about man as decisively qualified by the spirit or by the flesh," and this "view of man as spiritually qualified either in faith or sin is an important 'word' for us today"; "Luther saw clearly that our life task is to do to death the roots of sin"; and "Luther thought of God as actively at work in our lives" (pp. 277-280).

It must be stated that Wicks has provided a good case for the analysis he has given. But as Lindbeck points out in the Foreword, this book will raise a good deal of debate. Lindbeck himself, as a Lutheran Protestant, takes issue and raises questions. Perhaps a Lutheran would tend to do so more than would some other Protestants. Nevertheless, Lindbeck also recognizes that Catholic readers "may well be surprised that a Lutheran finds this book unsettling. So great is its appreciation and understanding of Luther and its insistence on the lessons which he still has to teach Christians today that they are likely to think of it as creating difficulties only for Catholics and none for the sons of the Reformation. . . . Father Wicks has written with great learning, love for Luther, and objectivity" (p. ix).

There is no question but that this book makes an outstanding contribution to Luther studies. Its apparent high price is modest in comparison to the wealth of material it provides.

Andrews University                                    KENNETH A. STRAND

# ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

# SEMINARY STUDIES

# CONTENTS

## ARTICLES

BOOK REVIEWS

# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

## CONSONANTS

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| א | = $\hat{}$ | ד | = $\underline{d}$ | י | = $y$ | ס | = $s$ | ר | = $r$ |
| ב | = $b$ | ה | = $h$ | כ | = $k$ | ע | = $\hat{}$ | שׂ | = $\acute{s}$ |
| ב | = $\underline{b}$ | ו | = $w$ | כ | = $\underline{k}$ | פ | = $p$ | שׁ | = $\check{s}$ |
| ג | = $g$ | ז | = $z$ | ל | = $l$ | פ | = $\underline{p}$ | ת | = $t$ |
| ג | = $\underline{g}$ | ח | = $h$ | מ | = $m$ | צ | = $\underline{s}$ | ת | = $\underline{t}$ |
| ד | = $d$ | ט | = $t$ | נ | = $n$ | ק | = $q$ | | |

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ֲ | = $a$ | ְ: , ְ | (vocal shewa) = $e$ | ֹ | = $\bar{o}$ |
| ָ | = $\bar{a}$ | ִֵ, ֵֶ | = $\hat{e}$ | ֳ | = $o$ |
| ֲ | = $a$ | ִ | = $i$ | וֹ | = $\hat{o}$ |
| ֶ | = $e$ | ִֵ | = $\hat{i}$ | ֻ | = $u$ |
| ֵ | = $\bar{e}$ | ָ | = $o$ | וּ | = $\hat{u}$ |

# ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

| | |
|---|---|
| *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* |
| *AHW* | Von Soden, *Akkad. Handwörterb.* |
| *AJA* | *Am. Journal of Archaeology* |
| *AJBA* | *Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.* |
| *AJSL* | *Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.* |
| *ANEP* | *Anc. Near East in Pictures,* Pritchard, ed. |
| *ANEST* | *Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures,* Prichard, ed. |
| *ANET* | *Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* Pritchard, ed., 2d ed., 1955 |
| ANF | The Ante-Nicene Fathers |
| AcO | Acta Orientalia |
| AnOr | Analecta Orientalia |
| *ArO* | *Archiv Orientální* |
| *ARG* | *Archiv für Reformationsgesch.* |
| *ARW* | *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* |
| *ATR* | *Anglican Theological Review* |
| AUM | Andrews Univ. Monographs |
| *AusBR* | *Australian Biblical Review* |
| *AUSS* | *Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies* |
| *BA* | *Biblical Archaeologist* |
| *BASOR* | *Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.* |
| *Bib* | *Biblica* |
| BibB | Biblische Beiträge |
| *BiOr* | *Bibliotheca Orientalis* |
| *BJRL* | *Bulletin, John Rylands Library* |
| *BQR* | *Baptist Quarterly Review* |
| *BR* | *Biblical Research* |
| BRG | Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum |
| BS | *Bibliotheca Sacra* |
| *BT* | *The Bible Translator* |
| *BZ* | *Biblische Zeitschrift* |
| BZAW | Beihefte zur *ZAW* |
| BZNW | Beihefte zur *ZNW* |
| *CAD* | *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* |
| *CBQ* | *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* |
| *CC* | *Christian Century* |
| *CdE* | *Chronique d'Égypte* |
| *CH* | *Church History* |
| CIJ | Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum |
| CIL | Corp. Inscript. Latinarum |
| CIS | Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum |
| *CJT* | *Canadian Journal of Theology* |
| *CT* | *Christianity Today* |
| *EQ* | *Evangelical Quarterly* |
| *ER* | *Ecumenical Review* |
| *EvT* | *Evangelische Theologie* |
| *HJ* | *Hibbert Journal* |
| *HTR* | *Harvard Theological Review* |
| HTS | Harvard Theological Studies |
| *HUCA* | *Hebrew Union College Annual* |
| *IEJ* | *Israel Exploration Journal* |
| IG | Inscriptiones Graecae |
| *Int* | *Interpretation* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *JAAR* | *Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.* | *RechB* | *Recherches Bibliques* |
| *JAC* | *Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum* | *RE* | *Review and Expositor* |
| *JAOS* | *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.* | *RelS* | *Religious Studies* |
| *JBL* | *Journal of Biblical Literature* | *RHE* | *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* |
| *JBR* | *Journal of Bible and Religion* | *RHPR* | *Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.* |
| *JCS* | *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* | *RHR* | *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* |
| *JEA* | *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* | *RL* | *Religion in Life* |
| *JEOL* | *Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux* | *RLA* | *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* | *RQ* | *Revue de Qumrân* |
| *JJS* | *Journal of Jewish Studies* | *RS* | *Revue Sémitique* |
| *JNES* | *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* | *RSR* | *Revue, Sciences Religieuses* |
| *JPOS* | *Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.* | RSV | Revised Standard Version |
| *JQR* | *Jewish Quarterly Review* | *SANT* | *St. z. Alt. u. Neuen Test.* |
| *JR* | *Journal of Religion* | *SJT* | *Scottish Journal of Theology* |
| *JSJ* | *Journal for the Study of Judaism* | SOr | Studia Orientalia |
| *JSS* | *Journal of Semitic Studies* | SPB | Studia Postbiblica |
| *JSSR* | *Journ., Scient. St.of Rel.* | *ST* | *Studia Theologica* |
| *JTS* | *Journal of Theol. Studies* | *TD* | *Theology Digest* |
| *Jud* | *Judaica* | *TEH* | *Theologische Existenz Heute* |
| KJV | King James Version | *TG* | *Theologie und Glaube* |
| *LQ* | *Lutheran Quarterly* | *TLZ* | *Theologische Literaturzeitung* |
| | | *TP* | *Theologie und Philosophie* |
| MGH | Mon. Germ. Historica | *TQ* | *Theologische Quartalschrift* |
| *MPG* | Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* | *TR* | *Theologische Revue* |
| *MPL* | Migne, *Patrologia Latina* | *TRu* | *Theologische Rundschau* |
| *MQR* | *Mennonite Quarterly Review* | *Trad* | *Traditio* |
| NEB | New English Bible | *TS* | *Theological Studies* |
| *NKZ* | *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* | *TT* | *Theology Today* |
| NPNF | Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers | *TZ* | *Theologische Zeitschrift* |
| *NRT* | *Nouvelle Revue Theologique* | *UF* | *Ugaritische Forschungen* |
| *NovT* | *Novum Testamentum* | *VCh* | *Vigiliae Christianae* |
| *NTA* | *New Testament Abstracts* | *VT* | *Vetus Testamentum* |
| *NTS* | *New Testament Studies* | VTS | *VT*, Supplements |
| *Num* | *Numen* | *WO* | *Die Welt des Orients* |
| *OC* | *Oriens Christianus* | *WTJ* | *Westminster Theol. Journal* |
| *OLZ* | *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* | *WZKM* | *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.* |
| *Or* | *Orientalia* | *ZA* | *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* |
| *OTS* | *Oudtestamentische Studiën* | *ZÄS* | *Zeitsch. für Ägyptische Sprache* |
| *PEFQS* | *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.* | *ZAW* | *Zeitsch. für die Alttes. Wiss.* |
| *PEQ* | *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* | *ZDMG* | *Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl.* |
| *PJB* | *Palästina-Jahrbuch* | | *Gesellschaft* |
| *PRE* | *Realencyklopädie für Protes-* | *ZDPV* | *Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.* |
| | *tantische Theologie und Kirche* | *ZHT* | *Zeitsch. für Hist. Theologie* |
| *QDAP* | *Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.* | *ZKG* | *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* |
| *RA* | *Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.* | *ZKT* | *Zeitsch. für Kath. Theologie* |
| *RAC* | *Revista di Archaeologia Christiana* | *ZNW* | *Zeitsch. für die Neutes. Wiss.* |
| *RAr* | *Revue Archéologique* | *ZRGG* | *Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.* |
| *RB* | *Revue Biblique* | *ZST* | *Zeitschrift für Syst. Theologie* |
| *RdE* | *Revue d'Égyptologie* | *ZTK* | *Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche* |