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PROLEGOMENA TO A STUDY OF THE DOMINICAL
LOGOI AS CITED IN THE *DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM*
PART II: METHODOLOGICAL QUESTIONS (CONT.)*

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Having described the methodologies which, so it seems to me, are necessary for an adequate and responsible "determination" and "evaluation" of the dominical *logoi* as cited in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia Apostolorum*,¹ I now attempt to demonstrate both the adequacy and the validity of those methodologies by applying them (1) to an extra-canonical dominical *logos* and (2) to a canonical dominical *logos* as each occurs in the extant versions of the *Didascalia*. The former is treated herein. The latter will be dealt with in the next article in this series.

At *Didasc.* 2.36.9, the Didascalist cites the extra-canonical dominical *logos* "Be approved money-changers,"² a *logos* which, although not cited in the canonical Gospels, is cited extensively in the Patristic writings (so, for example, Clement of Alexandria,

*Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: *CBM* = *Chester Beatty Monographs*; *CSEL* = *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*; *GCS* = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*; *PS* = *Patrologia syriaca*.

¹ See my article "Prolegomena to a Study of the Dominical *Logoi* as cited in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Part II: Methodological Questions," *AUSS* 15 (1977): 1-15.

² In both the Syriac *Didascalia* and the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, the citation is introduced with the formula *m̄tl dlhwn 'myr* ("for to them it is said") (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.29) = καὶ πάλιν [sc. εἶρηται αὐτοῖς] ("and again [to them it is said]") (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17), which formula, in both witnesses, is essentially equal to *m̄tl d'mr myr' lhw̄n* = ὅτι λέγει κύριος αὐτοῖς ("for to them the Lord says").

Stromata, 1.28, 177.2;³ Origen, *In Johannem*, 19.7;⁴ Dionysius of Rome, *apud* Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 7.7.3;⁵ Pseudo-Clement, *Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4;⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 1.6.36;⁷ Apelles, *apud* Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, 44.2.6;⁸ Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16;⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannis evangelium*, 4.5.407a;¹⁰ *Adversus Nestorium*, 1.2c;¹¹ and John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 4.17).¹²

This citation is extant in the Syriac *Didascalia* (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.29),¹³ and in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.).¹⁴ Concerning it several preliminary matters should be noted:

1. In both witnesses (the Syriac *Didascalia*, and the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*), it occurs in essentially the same *context*: The “laymen” are not to judge. To them “it is said,” “Judge not, that you be not judged” (cf. Mt 7.1 = Lk 6.37a). That

³ O. Stählin and L. Früchtel, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, II: *Stromata* 1-6, GCS 52² (Berlin, 1960): 109.12ff.

⁴ E. Preuschen, *Origenes, Werke*, IV: *Der Johanneskommentar*, GCS 10 (Leipzig, 1903): 4.307.5.

⁵ E. Schwartz, *Eusebius, Werke*, II: *Kirchengeschichte*, GCS 9.1 (Leipzig, 1903): 274.21.

⁶ B. Rehm and F. Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen*, I: *Homilien*, GCS 42² (Berlin, 1969): 55.11f.; 75.19f.; 250.12f.

⁷ W. C. Reischl and J. Rupp, *Cyrrilli Hierosolymorum, Opera omnia*, 1 (Munich, 1848 [reprint, 1967]): 206.13.

⁸ K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Werke*, I-III: *Ancoratus und Panarion*, GCS 31 (Leipzig, 1922): 2.192.16f.

⁹ Migne, *PG* 67: 421.30ff.

¹⁰ P. E. Pusey, *Cyrrilli Alexandrini: Opera*, 3 (Oxford, 1872 [reprint, 1965]): 596.2f.

¹¹ Pusey, *Cyrrilli Alexandrini: Opera*, 6: 55.26ff.

¹² Migne, *PG* 94: 1177.19f.

¹³ There is no Latin parallel because of a rather considerable lacuna in codex *Veronensis*. See Hauler, *Didascalie Apostolorum*, p. 41; Tidner, *Didascalie Apostolorum*, p. 46; and Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, pp. 99-121.

¹⁴ There is no real parallel in either the Arabic or Ethiopic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. The Ethiopic texts have the following paraphrases: (i) “Be of understanding, and give judgment to every man with discernment” (so Ms P, see Platt, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 73.3f. [text] and p. 73.1f. [translation]);

is the prerogative of the “bishops.” To them “it is said,” “Be approved money-changers” (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.25ff.; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1.123.14ff.).

2. In both witnesses, it is introduced with essentially the same *citation formula*, namely, *m̄l dlhwn ’myr* (“for to them it is said”) (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.29) = καὶ πάλιν [*sc. εἴρηται αὐτοῖς*] (“and again [to them it is said]”) (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17).

3. In both witnesses, it is cited in essentially the same *form*: imperative + noun + adjective (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.29; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.).

4. In both witnesses, it consists of essentially the same *content*: “Be approved money-changers” (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.29; Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.).¹⁵

5. And finally, in both witnesses, it fulfills the same *function*, namely, to support the contention that it is the prerogative of the “bishop” alone to “judge.” See the first item above.

It is clear, from the foregoing, that any attempt to “determine” the *form* (in the less technical sense of the term) and the *content*

and (ii) “Be of understanding and judge the great of the people, each one of them” (so Ms A; see Harden, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, p. 57.25f.).

¹⁵ The Syriac term rendered “money-changers” means, literally, those who “separate,” “discriminate,” “judge,” etc. The translation given here is inferred from (a) the context (immediately following the citation, the Didascalist continues *mtbē’ lh hkyl l’pysqwp’ ’yk bhwr’ dksp’ dnhw’ mprš byš’ mn tb’* [“it is necessary for the bishop, therefore, as one who evaluates money, that he separate the bad from the good”] [Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.29ff.]); (b) the parallel in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* (γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δοκιμοί [“Be approved money-changers”] [Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.]); and (c) the parallels cited in the Patristic literature (for example, Clement of Alexandria [1/1] [*Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52^o: 109.12ff.)]; Pseudo-Clement [3/3] [*Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4 (Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42^o: 55.11f; 75.19f.; 250.12f.)]; Socrates [1/1] *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 (Migne, *PG* 67: 421.30ff.); etc.). See also Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 101, n. 6.

of this citation, as it was cited in the original text of the Greek *Didascalía*, must take into consideration both the text of the Syriac *Didascalía* and that of the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*.

A. THE VERSIONS

Didasc. 2.36.9

(a) <i>Didasc. Syr.</i> ¹⁶ (Lagarde, 42.29) <i>hww</i> <i>mṣršn'</i> <i>bhyr'</i>	(b) <i>Constit. Apost.</i> ¹⁷ (Funk, 1:123.17f.) γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι	(c) <i>Didasc. Grk.</i> (Reconstruction) γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι
(d) Clem. Alex., <i>Strom.</i> 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin & Früchtel, <i>GCS</i> 52 ^a : 109.12ff.) γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται	(e) Ps-Clem., <i>Hom.</i> 2.51.1 ¹⁸ (Rehm & Paschke, <i>GCS</i> 42 ² : 55.11f.) γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι	(f) Socrates, <i>H.E.</i> 3.16 ¹⁹ (Migne, <i>PG</i> 67: 421.30ff.) γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δόκιμοι

B. THE ORIGINAL GREEK FORM

The questions which must be asked at this juncture have to do with the value of the versions (the Syriac version of the *Didascalía*, and the Greek version of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*) for the determination of the original Greek form.

On the one hand, do the versions represent *ad hoc* translations of their respective Greek exemplars? If they do, they are obviously of real value for our purposes. On the other hand, are they

¹⁶ As noted above, there is no Latin parallel because of a lacuna in codex *Veronensis*. See n. 13, above.

¹⁷ As noted above, there is no real parallel in either the Arabic or Ethiopic *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. See n. 14, above.

¹⁸ This *logos* is cited three times in the Clementine *Homiliae* in precisely the same form: *Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4 (See Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 55.11f; 75.19f; 250.12f. respectively).

¹⁹ These citations from Clement of Alexandria, Pseudo-Clement, and Socrates are given as representative of the many citations of the *logos*.

“dubbed in” equivalents of those Greek exemplars drawn on contemporary Gospel traditions? Or, further, are they constructions contrived by the authors of the versions to suit their respective contexts? If either of these, they are patently of little value for our purposes.

Furthermore, if we finally conclude that they do represent *ad hoc* translations of their respective Greek exemplars, how precisely do they represent those Greek exemplars? Do they contain accommodations to contemporary Gospel traditions? If they do, to what extent? Do they contain accommodations to their respective contexts? If so, to what extent?

1. *Evaluation of the Versions as Evidence for the Original Greek Form*

In order to answer these questions I first compare the versions of the *Didascalia* and the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* with their comparable extra-canonical parallels as they occur in the Patristic literature, for example, in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 1.28, 177.2, Pseudo-Clement, *Homiliae* 2.51.1, and Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16; and then analyze them in relationship to their respective contexts (the aim of both processes being to determine whether or not the versions represent *ad hoc* translations of their respective Greek exemplars); and, finally, if it is clear that the versions are, in fact, *ad hoc* translations, I examine them for possible accommodations both to their respective contexts and to their contemporary Gospel traditions.

For a comparison of the Syriac Didascalist's citation with its comparable parallel in the Syriac Gospel traditions, I have been able to find only one parallel of the *logos* under discussion in the Syriac Patristic literature, namely, that found in Cyril of Alexandria's *Contra Diodorum*, 1: *m^erpni' hkym' nhw'* (“Let us be wise money-changers”).²⁰ The following distinctive features should be noted:

²⁰ Pusey, *Cyrilli Alexandrini: Opera*, 5: 493.6.

1. While Cyril of Alexandria employs the noun *m^crpⁿ* ("money-changers"),²¹ the Didascalist employs the noun *m^prsⁿ* ("separators," "discriminators," etc.).²² Cf. the Greek Constitutor's *τραπεζίται* ("money-changers") (Funk, *Didascalica et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.).

2. While Cyril of Alexandria employs the adjective *ἡκ^ym*

²¹ Cf. the nouns *nummularii* ("money-changers") (so Origen, *In Matthaeum*, *Comm.* 33 [E. Klostermann, *Origenes, Werke*, XI: *Matthäuserklärung*, 2: *Die lateinische Übersetzung der Commentariorum*, GCS 38 (Berlin, 1933): 11.60.16ff]; and Jerome, *Epistulae*, 119.11 [I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi, Opera* I. 2: *Epistulae*, 71-120, CSEL 55 (Vienna, 1912): 467.22ff.]), and *trapezitae* ("money-changers") (so John Cassian, *Conlationes*, 1.20; 2.9 [M. Petschenig, *Johannis Cassiani, Conlationes*, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 1886): 29.20f.; 48.1f.] in the Latin traditions; and the noun *τραπεζίται* ("money-changers") (so, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 [Stählin and Früchtel, GCS 52^o: 109.12ff.]; Origen, *In Jeremiam*, *Hom.* 12.7 [Klostermann, *Origenes, Werke*, III: *Jeremiahomilien; Klagelieder Kommentar; Erklärung der Samuel- und Königsbücher*, GCS 6 (Leipzig, 1907): 3.94.6]; *In Johannem*, 19.7 [Preuschen, GCS 10: 4.307.5]; Dionysius of Rome, *apud* Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 7.7.3 [Schwartz, GCS 9.1: 274.21]; Pseudo-Clement, *Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4 [Rehm and Paschke, GCS 42^o: 55.11f.; 75.19f.; 250.12f.]; Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 [Migne, PG 67: 421.30ff.]; Apelles, *apud* Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, 44.2.6 [Holl, GCS 31: 2.192.16f.]; Chrysostom, *Opera*, 5.844 [A. Resch, *Agrapha: Aussercanonische Schriftfragmente* (Leipzig, 1906 [reprint, Darmstadt, 1967]), p. 116.3ff.]; Palladius, *Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi* [Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 114.14f.]; Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannis evangelium*, 4.5.407a; *Fragmenta homiliarum*, 14; *Adversus Nestorium*, 1.2c [Pusey, *Cyrelli Alexandrini, Opera*, 3:596.2f.; 5: 472.1ff.; 6:55.26ff.]; Caesarius, *Quaestiones*, 78 [Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 113.30ff.]; *Vita S. Syncreticae*, 100B [Migne, PG 28: 1549.25f.]; John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 4.17 [Migne, PG 94: 1177.19f.]; and Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, 23.3 [Migne, PG 148: 1365.9ff.] in the Greek traditions. Origen, *In Matthaeum*, 17.31 (Klostermann, *Origenes, Werke*, X: *Die Matthäuserklärung*, 1: *Die griechisch erhaltenen Tomoi*, GCS 40 (Berlin, 1935): 10.673.28ff); and Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 1.6.36 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrelli Hierosolymarum, Opera omnia*, 1: 206.13) employ the nominative singular *τραπεζίτης*; Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannis evangelium*, 4.3.374c (Pusey, *Cyrelli Alexandrini, Opera*, 3: 549.4), and Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 10.26.58 (Migne, PG 146: 513.56ff.) employ the accusative plural *τραπεζίτας* (as the subject of the infinitive *εὐνάει*).

²² That the Didascalist's term, "separators," "discriminators," etc. (*m^prsⁿ*) is to be interpreted as meaning "money-changers" (*m^crpⁿ*) is implied by (a) the context, (b) the parallel in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, and (c) the parallels cited in the Patristic literature. For the evidence, see n. 15, above.

("wise," "prudent"),²³ the Didascalist employs the adjective *bhyr'* ("approved").²⁴ Cf. the Greek Constitutor's δόκιμοι ("approved") (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.).

3. While Cyril of Alexandria employs an exhortatory first person plural form of the verb "to be" (*nhw'*),²⁵ the Didascalist employs the imperatival second person plural of the verb "to be" (*hwv*).²⁶ Cf. the Greek Constitutor's γίνεσθε ("be" [imperatival second person plural]) (Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1:123.17f.).

The immediate implications of this comparison, as far as our questions are concerned, are that this citation, as employed by the Syriac Didascalist, is, on the negative side, not a "dubbed in" form drawn on contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions, and, on the positive side, either an *ad hoc* translation of the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar, or an *ad hoc* construction contrived by the Syriac Didascalist to suit the special needs of its particular context.

²³ Cf. the adjective *prudentes* ("wise") (so Origen, *In Matthaeum*, *Comm* 33 [Klostermann, *GCS* 38: 11.60.16ff.]) in the Latin traditions.

²⁴ Cf. the adjectival *probati* ("approved") (so Jerome, *Epistula*, 119.11 [Hilberg, *CSEL* 55, 467.22ff.]), and the adjective *probabiles* ("approved") (so John Cassian, *Conlationes*, 1.20; 2.9 [Petschenig, *CSEL* 13: 29.20f.; 48.1f.]) in the Latin traditions; and the adjective δόκιμοι ("approved") (so, for example, Clement of Alexandria (1/1) [*Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³: 109.12ff.)]; Pseudo-Clement (3/3) [*Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4 (Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 55.11f.; 75.19f.; 250.12f.)]; Socrates (1/1) [*Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 (Migne, *PG* 67: 421.30ff.)], etc.) in the Greek traditions.

²⁵ Cf. the exhortatory first person plural γένώμεθα (so John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 4.17 (Migne, *PG* 94: 1177.19f.); and Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, 23.3 (Migne, *PG* 148: 1365.9ff.). Cf. Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 10.26.58 (Migne, *PG* 146: 513.56ff.).

²⁶ Cf. the imperatival second person plural of the verb "to be" *estote* (so Origen, *In Matthaeum*, *Comm.* 33 [Klostermann, *GCS* 38: 11.60.16ff.]; and Jerome, *Epistulae*, 119.11 [Hilberg, *CSEL* 55: 467.22ff.]) in the Latin traditions; and its equivalent γίνεσθε (so Clement of Alexandria (1/1) [*Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³: 109.12ff.)]; Pseudo-Clement (3/3) [*Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4 (Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 55.11f.; 75.19f.; 250.12f.)]; Socrates (1/1) [*Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 (Migne, *PG* 67: 421.30ff.)], etc.) in the Greek traditions.

As far as the *latter alternative* is concerned (namely, that the Syriac rendering is possibly a construction contrived by the Syriac Didascalist to suit the special needs of its particular context), the following factors are pertinent: (1) The parallel citation in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* is essentially identical. (2) Of the distinctive features of the citation (as compared with its comparable parallel in the Syriac Gospel traditions), none is determined by its particular context.

These factors, taken together, require the conclusions (a) that this citation is not, on the negative side, an *ad hoc* construction contrived to meet the special needs of its particular context, and (b) that it is, on the positive side, an *ad hoc* translation of the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar.

I turn then to a consideration of the *former alternative* (namely, that the Syriac rendering is an *ad hoc* translation of the Syriac Didascalist's Greek exemplar). The question of possible accommodation calls for immediate attention.

Given the conclusion that the Syriac Didascalist's citation is, in fact, an *ad hoc* translation, one question remains, that of possible accommodation either (a) to the context of the citation itself and/or (b) to the form of the comparable parallel in the contemporary Gospel traditions.

In regard to (a), the factors just considered (namely, that of the distinctive features of the citation [as compared with its parallel in the Gospel traditions], none is determined by its particular context; and that the parallel citation in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* is essentially identical) imply, not only, as we have argued above, that the Syriac Didascalist did not contrive the form of the citation to suit the special needs of its particular context, but also that, given the conclusion we have now reached (namely, that the Syriac rendering represents an *ad hoc* translation of its Greek exemplar), the Syriac Didascalist has not accommodated his translation to the context in which it occurs.

In regard to (b), the factors noted above (to the effect that the citation we are discussing is distinctly different from the form of its comparable parallel in the contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions) imply not only, as we have contended, that the Syriac Didascalist's citation is not a "dubbed in" equivalent (drawn on contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions) of its Greek exemplar, but also that, given the conclusion that the Syriac rendering is indeed an *ad hoc* translation of its Greek exemplar, the Syriac Didascalist has not accommodated his translation to the form of its parallel in the contemporary Syriac Gospel traditions.

I take up now a comparison of the Greek Constitutor's citation with its parallels in the Greek Gospel traditions.

The Greek Constitutor's citation γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι ("Be approved money-changers") (*Constit. Apost.* 2.36.9) is essentially identical in form and content to its parallels in the Greek Gospel traditions. Compare, for example, (a) Pseudo-Clement (3/3),²⁷ Socrates (1/1),²⁸ Chrysostom (1/1),²⁹ and Caesarius (1/1),³⁰ who render it precisely as does the Greek Constitutor; (b) Clement of Alexandria (1/1),³¹ Origen (1/3),³² Dionysius of Rome (1/1),³³ Apelles (1/1),³⁴ Palladius (1/1),³⁵ Cyril of Alexandria (2/4),³⁶ and *Vita S. Syncreticae* (1/1),³⁷ who render it in the form γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται; and (c) Cyril of Alexandria (1/4),³⁸ who renders it in the form

²⁷ *Homiliae*, 2.51.1; 3.50.2; 18.20.4 (Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 55.11f.; 75.19f.; 250.12f.).

²⁸ *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 (Migne, *PG* 67: 421.30ff.).

²⁹ *Opera*, 5.844 (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 116.3ff.).

³⁰ *Quaestiones*, 78 (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 113.30ff.).

³¹ *Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52²: 109.12ff.).

³² *In Johannem*, 19.7 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10: 4.307.5).

³³ *Apud Eusebium, Historia ecclesiastica*, 7.7.3 (Schwartz, *GCS* 9.1: 274.21).

³⁴ *Apud Epiphanius, Adversus haereses*, 44.2.6 (Holl, *GCS* 31: 2.192.16f.).

³⁵ *Dialogues de vita Joannis Chrysostomi* (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 114.14f.).

³⁶ *In Joannis evangelium*, 4.5.407a; *Adversus Nestorium*, 1.2c (Pusey, *Cyrilli Alexandrini, Opera*, 3: 596.2f.; 6: 55.26f.).

³⁷ *Vita S. Syncreticae*, 100B (Migne, *PG* 28: 1549.25f.).

³⁸ *Fragmenta homiliarum*, 14 (Pusey, *Cyrilli Alexandrini, Opera*, 5: 472.1f.).

δόκιμοι γενέσθε τραπεζίται. Compare also Cyril of Jerusalem (1/1),³⁹ who renders the *logos* under discussion in the same form as (b) but in the singular person, and John of Damascus (1/1),⁴⁰ who renders it in a parallel form but in the first person plural, as does also Nicephorus Gregoras (1/1).⁴¹ Origen (2/3),⁴² Cyril of Alexandria (1/4),⁴³ and Nicephorus Callistus (1/1)⁴⁴ imply forms comparable to either (a), (b), or (c) above.

The immediate implications of this comparison, as far as our questions are concerned, are that this citation, as employed by the Greek Constitutor, is either a “dubbed in” form drawn on contemporary Greek Gospel traditions, or an *ad hoc* copy of the Greek Constitutor’s Greek exemplar.

Since the Greek Constitutor is following his exemplar rather closely at this point,⁴⁵ and since the Greek Constitutor’s citation is identical with the Greek form presupposed by the Syriac Didascalist’s citation,⁴⁶ I conclude that the Greek Constitutor’s citation is not a “dubbed in” form drawn on his contemporary Greek Gospel traditions but an *ad hoc* copy of the form which appeared in his Greek exemplar.

Furthermore, I find no evidence of accommodation either to the context in which the citation itself occurs or to its parallels in the contemporary Gospel traditions.

2. Reconstruction of the Greek Original

In view of the fact that, as has been demonstrated, the Syriac

³⁹ *Catecheses*, 1.6.36 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyriilli Hierosolymarum, Opera omnia*, 1.206.13).

⁴⁰ *De fide orothodoxa*, 4.17 (Migne, PG 94: 1177.19f.).

⁴¹ *Historia Byzantina*, 23.3 (Migne, PG 148: 1365.9ff.).

⁴² *In Jeremiam*, Hom. 12.7 (Klostermann, GCS 6: 3.94.6); *In Matthaicum*, 17.31 (Klostermann, GCS 40: 10.673.28ff.).

⁴³ *In Joannis evangelium*, 4.3.374c (Pusey, *Cyriilli Alexandrini, Opera*, 3: 549.4).

⁴⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica*, 10.26.58 (Migne, PG 146: 513.56ff.).

⁴⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the Syriac *Didascalia* (Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, p. 42.25ff. = Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 1: 123.16ff.).

⁴⁶ See the discussion, below, on the reconstruction of the Greek original.

Didascalia and the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum* represent *ad hoc* renderings of their respective Greek exemplars, we may with some confidence conjecture the form of those exemplars and thereby determine the form of the original Greek text.

The implications of the evidence as set out above, are:

1. That the Greek Didascalist cited the *logos* under discussion in the *form*: imperative + noun + adjective. This is implied by both witnesses: *hw w mpršn' bhyr'* ("Be approved discriminators [= money-changers]") (*Didasc. Syr.*) = γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι ("Be approved money-changers") (*Constit. Apost. Grk.*).

2. That the Greek Didascalist employed the present imperative plural of γίνεσθαι ("to be").⁴⁷ This is implied by both witnesses: *hw w* (= *hwytwn*) ("be")⁴⁸ (*Didasc. Syr.*) = γίνεσθε ("be") (*Constit. Apost. Grk.*); and by the parallel Greek Gospel traditions.⁴⁹

3. That the Greek Didascalist employed the noun τραπεζίται ("money-changers"). This is implied by both witnesses: *mpršn'* (= *m^crpn'*) ("separators," "discriminators," etc. [= "money-changers"])⁵⁰ (*Didasc. Syr.*) = τραπεζίται ("money-changers")

⁴⁷ Rather than the present imperative plural of εἶναι which might be conjectured as lying behind the Latin *estote* (so Origen, *In Matthaeum, Comm.* 33 [Klostermann, *GCS* 38: 11.60.16ff.]; and Jerome, *Epistulae*, 119.11 [Hilberg, *CSEL* 55: 467.22ff.]). But compare the use of the infinitive *feri* in John Cassian's *Conlationes*, 2.9 (Petschenig, *CSEL* 13: 48.1f.).

⁴⁸ The perfect of *hw'* is "often used as an imperative" (so J. Payne Smith, *A Compendius Syriac Dictionary founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. P. Smith* [Oxford, 1903], s.v. *hw'*). Furthermore the verb *hw'* is regularly used to translate γίνεσθαι. See, for example, Mt 10.16 (*syr^s p^h*); Mt 24.44 (*syr^p h*; *syr^s* has *hwytwn*); and Lk 6.36 (*syr^s p^h*) where the imperative γίνεσθε is translated by the perfect *hw w* (intended as an imperative). However, the *Liber graduum*, 17.7; 30.2 (M. Kmosko, *Liber graduum, PS* 3 [Paris, 1926]: 781.23; 864.17f.), citing Mt 10.16, on both occasions employs the imperative *hwytwn*.

⁴⁹ The imperative γίνεσθε is employed consistently in the Greek Patristic witnesses. For the evidence, see ns. 27-44, above.

⁵⁰ As has already been pointed out, the Syriac Didascalist's term *mpršn'* ("separators," "discriminators," etc.) is to be interpreted as meaning "money-changers" (*m^crpn'*), the equivalent of the Greek Constitutor's τραπεζίται ("money-changers"). For the evidence, see n. 15, above.

(*Constit. Apost. Grk.*); and by the parallel Greek Gospel traditions.⁵¹

4. That the Greek Didascalist employed the adjective *δόκιμοι* ("approved").⁵² This is also implied by both witnesses: *bhyr'* ("approved") (*Didasc. Syr.*) = *δόκιμοι* ("approved") (*Constit. Apost. Grk.*); and by the parallel Greek Gospel traditions.⁵³

Given the above analysis and evaluation of the evidence, I conjecture that the dominical *logos* we are here discussing appeared in the following form in the original text of the Greek *Didascalia*: *γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι*.

C. COMPARISON OF THE GREEK DIDASCALIST'S CITATION WITH ITS COMPARABLE PARALLELS IN THE GREEK GOSPEL TRADITIONS

1. *The Texts*

(a)	(b)	(c)
<i>Didasc. Grk.</i> 2.36.9 (Reconstruction) γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι	Clem. Alex. <i>Syrom.</i> 1.28, 177.2 ⁵¹ γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται	Ps-Clem. <i>Hom.</i> 2.51.1 ⁵² γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι ⁵³

⁵¹ The noun *τραπεζίται* appears consistently in all the Greek Patristic witnesses. For the evidence, see n. 21, above.

⁵² And not, for example, the adjective *φρόνιμοι* ("wise") which might be conjectured as lying behind the Syriac *hkym'* ("wise") (so Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Diodorum*, 1 [Pusey, *Cyriilli Alexandrini, Opera*, 5: 493.6]) and the Latin *prudentes* ("wise") (so Origen, *In Matthaeum, Comm.* 33 [Klostermann, *GCS* 38: 11.60.16ff.]). *φρόνιμος* is rather consistently translated by *hkym'* in the Syriac Gospel traditions. See, for example, Mt 7.24 (syrc p h); Mt 10.16 (syrc p h); Mt 11.25 (syrc e p h); Mt 24.25 (syrc p h); Mt 25.2 (syrc p h); Lk 12.42 (syrc p h); Ephraem (?) (J. S. Assemani, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraemi Syri, Opera omnia*, 1 [Rome, 1737]: 189.AB); and Ephraem (*Comm. Diatessaron*, 10.14 [L. Leloir, *Saint Éphrem: Commentaire de P Évangile Concordant. Text Syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty, 709), CBM* 8 (Dublin, 1963): 48:13]). It is also translated by *crym'* ("wise," "astute"). See Mt 10.16 (syrc); and *Liber graduum*, 17.7; 30.2, (Kmosko, *PS* 3: 781.23; 864.17f.).

⁵³ The adjective *δόκιμοι* ("approved") occurs consistently in all the Greek Patristic witnesses. For the evidence, see ns. 27-44, above.

⁵⁴ See Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52²: 109.12ff.

⁵⁵ See Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 55.11f. This *logos* is cited on two other occasions in precisely the same form in the Clementine *Homiliae*, namely, *Homiliae*, 3.50.2 and 18.20.4. See Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 75.19f. and 250.12f. respectively.

⁵⁶ These citations from Clement of Alexandria and Pseudo-Clement are

2. *The Comparable Parallels in the Greek Patristic Literature*

I take up now an "evaluation" with respect both to the *form* (in the more technical sense of the term) and to the *function* of the parallels in the Greek Patristic literature.

The Form

The *logos* γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι belongs in the major "form-historical" category "wisdom sayings," and, more specifically, the subcategory "exhortations."⁵⁷ The distinctive feature of the *logoi* which belong within the subcategory "exhortations" is that they are formed as "imperatives." Rudolf Bultmann gives, as one illustration (among a number) of the "imperative form," the "exhortation" in Mt 10.16b:

γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις ("Be wise as serpents
καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστέραι and harmless as doves").

The *logos* we are discussing, apart from the fact that it has only one "strand,"⁵⁸ is essentially identical, in *form*, to the Matthean *logos* (Mt 10.16b).

Clement of Alexandria⁵⁹ cites an expanded version: γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται, τὰ μὲν ἀποδοκιμάζοντες, τὸ δὲ καλὸν κατέχοντες ("Be approved money-changers, rejecting those things which are [evil], holding on to that which is good").⁶⁰ If this is a fair indication of how the *logos* was understood in the

given as representative of the many citations of this *logos* in the Patristic literature.

⁵⁷ Rudolf Bultmann (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition* [2d. ed., New York, 1968], pp. 69f.) divides the dominical *logoi* into three major categories: (i) "wisdom sayings" (or "*logia*"); (ii) "prophetic and apocalyptic sayings"; and (iii) "laws and community regulations." The first of these three major categories he divides into three subcategories: (i) "Principles" ("declaratory form"); (ii) "exhortations" ("imperative form"); and (iii) "questions." It is to the second of these subcategories that the *logos* under consideration belongs.

⁵⁸ Bultmann speaks of Mt 10.16b as a "double stranded *maschal*." See *Synoptic Tradition*, p. 81.

⁵⁹ *Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52: 109.12ff.).

⁶⁰ Cf. 1 Th 5.21-22: πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε· ἀπὸ παντὸς εἴδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε ("Prove all things; hold on to that which is good; abstain from every form of evil").

early Church, and I believe it is,⁶¹ then we may fairly reformulate it:

γίνεσθε δόκιμοι ὡς τραπεζίται ("Be approved as money-changers").⁶²

As Joachim Jeremias points out,⁶³ the *tertium comparationis* in this *logos* is the ability to distinguish between that which is genuine and that which is false—in his words, "between genuine and valid coins and spurious forgeries."

The Function

In every context in which the extremely popular *logos* γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι is cited,⁶⁴ it is employed, as one might expect, with a purely *paraenetic* function.⁶⁵

3. *The Didascalist's Citation*

Before comparing the Greek Didascalist's *logos* with its comparable parallels in the Greek Patristic literature, it will be necessary to "evaluate" his citation as to both its *form* (in the more technical sense of the term) and its *function*.

⁶¹ Others interpret it similarly, also, no doubt, under the influence of 1 Th 5.21-22. So, for example, Origen (2/2) (*In Matthaeum*, 17.31 [Klostermann, GCS 40: 10.673.28ff.]; *In Johannem*, 19.7 [Preuschen, GCS 10: 4.307.5]); Cyril of Jerusalem (1/1) (*Catecheses*, 1.6.36 [Reischl and Rupp, *Cyritli Hierosolymarum, Opera omnia*, 1: 206.13]); Socrates (1/1) (*Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 [Migne, PG 67: 421.30ff.]); Chrysostom (1/1) (*Opera*, 5.844 [Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 116.3ff.]); and Cyril of Alexandria (2/4) (*In Joannis evangelium*, 4.5.407a; *Adversus Nestorium*, 1.2c [Pusey, *Cyritli Alexandrini, Opera*, 3: 596.2f.; 6: 55.26ff.]).

⁶² Or, perhaps, γίνεσθε κριτικοὶ ὡς τραπεζίται δόκιμοι ("Be discriminators as approved money-changers").

⁶³ *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, trans. R. H. Fuller (London, 1957), p. 90.

⁶⁴ It is cited more often than any other extra-canonical dominical *logos*.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, GCS 52^a: 109.12ff.); Origen, *In Matthaeum, Comm.* 33 (Klostermann, GCS 38: 11.60.16ff.); *In Johannem*, 19.7 (Preuschen, GCS 10: 4.307.5); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 1.6.36 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyritli Hierosolymarum, Opera omnia*, 1: 206.13); Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 (Migne, PG 67: 421.30ff.); Chrysostom, *Opera*, 5.844 (Resch, *Agrapha*, 116.3ff.); Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joannis evangelium*, 4.3.374c; *Adversus Nestorium*, 1.2c (Pusey, *Cyritli Alexandrini, Opera*, 3: 596.2f.; 6: 55.26ff.); John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, 4.17 (Migne, PG 94: 1177.19f.); and Nicephoras Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina*, 23.3 (Migne, PG 148: 1365.9ff.).

The Form

The dominical *logos*⁶⁶ γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι (*Didasc.* 2.36.9) belongs, as do its parallels in the Patristic literature, in the major “form-historical” category “wisdom sayings,” and, more specifically, the subcategory “exhortations.” It has precisely the same “imperative form.”

The Function

As to *function*, the dominical *logos* γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι is employed, in *Didasc.* 2.36.9, *paraenetically*. It is cited in a context in which the “laymen” are exhorted not to judge. To them “it is said,” “Judge not, that you be not judged” (cf. Mt 7.1 = Lk 6.37a). That is the prerogative of the “bishops.” To them “it is said,” “Be approved money-changers.”

4. The Comparison

The Greek Didascalist’s *logos* is essentially identical with its counterpart in the Greek Patristic literature in both structure and content.⁶⁷ It also fulfills the same general function. This

⁶⁶ The *logos* γίνεσθε τραπεζίται δόκιμοι is attributed variously in the Patristic literature—as a saying of “Jesus”: so, for example, Origen (*In Matthaeum, Comm.* 33 [Klostermann, *GCS* 38: 11.60.16ff.]; *In Johannem*, 19.7 [Preuschen, *GCS* 10: 4.307.5]); Pseudo-Clement (*Homiliae*, 2.51.1 [Rehm and Paschke, *GCS* 42²: 55.11f.]); Jerome (*Epistulae*, 119.11 [Hilberg, *CSEL* 55: 467.22ff.]); Socrates (*Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 [Migne, *PG* 67: 421.30ff.]); and *Vita S. Syncreticae*, 100B [Migne, *PG* 28: 1549.25f.]; as a word of the “Gospel”: so, for example, Apelles, *apud* Epiphanius (*Adversus haereses*, 44.2.6 [Holl, *GCS* 31: 2.192.16f.]); Caesarius (*Quaestiones*, 78 [Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 113.30ff.]); and John Cassian (*Conlationes*, 2.9 [Petschenig, *CSEL* 13: 48.1f.]); and as a citation from “Scripture”: so, for example, Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 [Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52²: 109.12ff.]); Origen (*In Matthaeum*, 17.31 [Klostermann, *GCS* 40:10.673.28ff.]); and Palladius (*Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi* [Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 114.14f.]).

In the Didascalia it is clearly a word of the “Lord.” See n. 2, above. It is also attributed to the “Lord” by John Cassian (*Conlationes*, 1.20 [Petschenig, *CSEL* 13: 29.20f.]).

⁶⁷ There is no significant difference between the formulation γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται (with the adjective *preceding* the noun) (so Clement of Alexandria [1/1], Origen [1/1], Dionysius of Rome, *apud* Eusebius [1/1], Cyril of Jerusalem [1/1], Apelles, *apud* Epiphanius [1/1], Palladius [1/1], Cyril

being the case, I turn immediately to the question of sources.

D. THE SOURCES

Regarding the sources, we must speak of both *ultimate* and *immediate* sources.

As far as the *ultimate* source is concerned, it seems to me that the *logos* γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δοκιμοὶ roots back into the earliest oral and written traditions—traditions that were transmitted independently of the traditions taken up into, or dependent upon, the canonical Gospels.

This *logos* was probably known already by Paul. His paraenesis in 1 Th 5.21-22: πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε· ἀπὸ παντὸς εἵδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε ("Prove all things; hold on to that which is good; abstain from every form of evil") is very likely an interpretation of it.⁶⁸ One thing is clear—the early Patristic authors frequently quote the Pauline paraenesis as an interpretation of it.⁶⁹

of Alexandria [2/3], *Vita S. Syncreticae* [1/1], John of Damascus [1/1], and Nicephorus Gregoras [1/1]) and the formation γίνεσθε τραπεζῖται δοκιμοὶ (with the adjective following the noun) (so Ps-Clement [3/3], Socrates [1/1], Chrysostom [1/1], Caesarius [1/1], and *Constitutiones Apostolorum* [1/1]). For the references, see ns. 27-44, above.

The Didascalist's *logos* is formulated according to the latter pattern—imperative + noun + adjective.

⁶⁸ So also M. R. James (*The Apocryphal New Testament*, [Oxford, 1955], p. 35), G. Kittel (G. Kittel, et al., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, trans. G. W. Bromiley, 2 (Grand Rapids, 1965): s.v. εἶδος), and Jeremias (*Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, p. 92). Kittel holds that "this seems very likely in view of the strong verbal similarities and the use of εἶδος for a 'mint.' In this case v.21b and v.22 would be the positive and negative outworking of the main advice in v.21a: '(As good money-changers) test all things: keep the good and reject the bad.'" Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 125.

⁶⁹ So, for example, Origen, *In Matthaeum*, 17.31 (Klostermann, *GCS* 40: 10.673.28ff.); *In Johannem*, 19.7 (Preuschen, *GCS* 10: 4.307.5); Chrysostom, *Opera*, 5.844 (Resch, *Agrapha*, 116.3ff.); and Cyril of Alexandria, *Adversus Nestorium*, 1.2c (Pusey, *Cyrilli Alexandrini, Opera*, 6.55.26ff.).

Others undoubtedly allude to it. So, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1.28, 177.2 (Stählin and Früchtel, *GCS* 52³: 109.12ff.); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*, 1.6.36 (Reischl and Rupp, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum, Opera omnia*, 1: 206.13); and Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.16 (Migne, *PG* 67, 421.30f.).

And, as far as the *immediate* source is concerned, I have argued elsewhere⁷⁰ that it is highly probable that the Didascalist cited this *logos*, along with many other dominical *logoi* which he quotes, from a collection of dominical *logoi* similar in form to that collection of dominical *logoi* known as the *Gospel of Thomas*.⁷¹

(To be continued)

⁷⁰ See my *Studies in the Determination and Evaluation of the Dominical Logoi as cited in the Original Text of the Greek Didascalia Apostolorum* (unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 1973), especially 2: 564-567.

⁷¹ I will deal more specifically with this point in a future article in this series.

POLITICS AND THEOLOGY
IN THE THOUGHT OF RICHARD BAXTER

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Richard Baxter (1615-1691) lived at a time which was conspicuous for its changes. His life spanned that period in which the principles and theories of social and political, as well as ecclesiastical, relations that were to prevail in the English-speaking world were formulated. Among his more famous contemporaries were William Laud, Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Hobbes, John Milton, John Lilburne and John Locke. Out of this group he emerged as perhaps the most articulate champion of conservative Puritanism at the time when the movement flourished and then began to disintegrate as a cohesive force. His pastoral ideals and achievements (notwithstanding many interruptions), his sense of mission as an advocate for Christian unity, and his moving piety strike the modern Christian with a strange contemporaneity.

Just as Locke and Newton achieved immense popularity because they ably enunciated statements of new insights and discoveries, while holding fast to that part of the old which not many men could then have discarded, so Baxter had earlier and in a more conservative way appealed to Christians who wanted the traditional faith with such adjustments to contemporary thought as every sensible man had then to make.

Baxter lived in an age prior to the modern compartmentalization of religion and politics. So intricately interwoven were these spheres that even Hobbes could not avoid discussing both at great length. Essentially, Baxter believed in the concept of the Christian state, but he opposed the scholastic view of the hierarchical, organic, and teleological structure. He defended the position that political government was necessarily rooted in the divine constitution of the world.

The social "creatureliness" of man, says Baxter, presupposes that the Creator wanted him to live in a society under the control of government. Man's rationality and ultimate responsibility to God strongly argue in favor of the theory that government (and that includes ecclesiastical government) by duly constituted law is not only desirable but is also consistent with man's nature.

Thus Baxter's respect for law and authority was rooted in his theological understanding and exposition of the absolute sovereignty of God, of the nature of man, and of the hierarchical structure of society. He therefore saw the relationship of political theory and practice to divinity as being one of mutual dependence.

The intention of the present essay is to show how Baxter's afore-mentioned concepts regarding church and state affected him as a pastor, as a scholar, as a consistent supporter of monarchy, and yet as a nonconformist. I will also draw attention to his continuing significance for our age, especially at a time when contemporary theologians are addressing themselves to the subject of political theology and its impact on the development of Western religious thought.

1. *The Theological Foundation of Baxter's Political Philosophy: Biblical and Medieval Background*

The foundation of Baxter's political philosophy was his theology. He states this as follows:

He that understandeth not the divine *dominium et imperium*, as found in Creation and refounded in Redemption and man's subjection to his absolute Lord, and the universal laws can never have any true understanding of the polity of laws of any Kingdom in particular.¹

Central to all of Baxter's teachings, theological and political alike, was the conviction that Christianity was a way of life and

¹ Richard Baxter, *Christian Directory* (1673), 4:104. Hereafter cited as *CD*.

not merely an ideology. He speaks of it as a religion, meaning by this that it is the integrating portion of the whole of life. Upon this premise, Baxter proceeds to build his system of political theory. He views the entire spectrum of theological knowledge from the perspective of both the theoretician and the practitioner, and carries the point further by affirming that the theoretical arises out of the practical.

Precisely for this reason, Baxter places strong emphasis on the biblical and medieval background, although from the latter there are some important differences which must be noted. However, this background is essential for an understanding of Baxter's principles of Christian practice, which includes politics.

The *modus operandi* of Baxter's world-view is the whole of biblical revelation. In several places in his writings he refers to the Bible as his statute-book. From this source he develops his conceptions of the sovereignty of God, of God's creative authority and rule by law, of the human instruments as ministers of God, and of a people whose primary purpose for existence is to glorify God in the purity of their religion and in the justice of their social relationships. These conceptions reflect the extent to which Baxter was influenced by the theocratic ideal of the OT.

Baxter felt that although the metaphorical language which is largely used in the OT to speak of the relationship of God to man (including political relationship) may make it appear that in OT times there was a radical separation of religion and politics, such a separation was inconceivable from the perspective of the OT itself. Rather, the OT's demand is precisely a recognition of the total sovereignty of God which extends to the whole of life.

The problem of the relation of the state to divine government as depicted in the NT, Baxter evidently saw as more complex. The complexity lies in a comparison of the teachings of Jesus with the OT. To Baxter, the words of Jesus seemed to create a more indirect relationship between human government and God's rule. For him, the *locus classicus* of this tension of relationship in the NT is revealed in the command in Rom 13 to be subject

to the civil powers for conscience's sake since in ultimate terms the civil rulers exercise jurisdiction because of God's supreme power; but on the other hand, the Roman state was personified as the beast in Rev 13.

Later I will clarify how Baxter dealt with this problem, but first our attention must be directed to the medieval period. During that period the tension just referred to was largely overcome. For although Augustine continued the tension in his dualism between the *civita Dei* and the *civitas terrena*, he put "beyond question for centuries . . . the conception that under the new dispensation, the state must be a Christian state, serving a community which is one by virtue of a common Christian faith, ministering to a life in which spiritual interests admittedly stand above all other interests and contributing to human salvation by preserving the purity of the faith."²

It is particularly in scholastic political and theological thought that the idea of the Christian state—*respublica christiana*—is most fully developed. The Christian theologians and philosophers of that period articulated with exceeding firmness their acceptance of the fact that God is man's true ruler and sovereign. Following from this they proceeded to develop the further theory that the constitutive principle of the cosmos is the "divinely-willed Harmony of the universe."³ "It is a system of thought which culminated in the ideas of a community which God Himself had constituted and which comprised all mankind."⁴

The background for the formation of the concept of the world as divinely ordered cosmos is traceable to both Greek and Christian ideas. As is well known, medieval political theory was strongly influenced by this synthesis of Greek thought and the Bible.

² George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1962), p. 191.

³ Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, trans. with an introd by Frederick W. Maitland (Cambridge, Engl., 1900), p. xvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

In the development of this whole system of beliefs there is a noticeable emphasis on the rational and teleological view of the constitution of reality. God is reckoned as the divine *Logos*, or "Reason," whose sovereignty pervades through a hierarchical arrangement of reality in which reason is the means of universal harmony. Not only is God the divine arranger of the universe, but he is also absolute being and timeless perfection and the final good of man. The proper function of all government, political and ecclesiastical alike, is to lead man towards the fulfillment of the good and so to an experience of genuine happiness.

Baxter's political philosophy was in effect an attempt to restate in seventeenth-century Protestant England the basic premise of the medieval ideal, that is, the world as a divinely constituted monarchy. He used models that were characteristic of medieval times: law, conscience, and the divine orders or powers of the *imperium* and the *sacerdotum*. With these he expressed his philosophy of the administration of God's government.

But because Baxter's seventeenth-century Protestant understanding of God and of God's relationship to man differed in some important respects from the medieval conceptions, his explication of law, conscience, and the powers also differed. We can speak of his views as "Reformed Medievalism." It should be further noted that though strong teleological and rationalistic elements can be traced in Baxter's thought, yet his concept of man's relationship to God was notably deontological rather than teleological.

The fundamental point that emerges from all this is that in Baxter's thought the question of sovereignty is a key doctrine—one that is carefully worked out in his effort to combine theology and political theory.

2. *God's Sovereignty a Key Concept in Baxter's Thought*

In his doctrine of Church and State, Baxter takes as his point of departure the concept of the *Corpus Christianum* rather than the concept of the duality of Church and State. His Protestantism,

and in a narrower sense his Puritanism, had taught him that God can be experienced first as "will," and not as "reason" or perfection of being. He believed that experience itself was relatively more immediate than the hierarchically and sacramentally mediated relationship to God which was characteristic of medieval Christianity.

Another point must also be noted regarding Baxter's hermeneutical structure: the effect on it of the Puritans' conception of Covenant as the ordering principle of the Puritans' whole world. One recent writer has noted:

The covenant was not for the Puritans, one idea or concept among others. It was the fundamental motif running throughout the whole of their life to shape their understanding and their feeling for existence. It pervaded and held together their views of religion, politics and ethics; it shaped their whole approach to marriage, church and society.⁵

While it is indisputable that Baxter in some of the essentials of his political philosophy reflected the medieval ideals, the dominant interpretative pattern of his thought was covenantal, rather than the hierarchical, organic and teleological pattern of medieval thought. In his method of interpreting law, conscience, and the sovereignty of God in the light of the covenant, he opposed such thinkers as Hobbes, who championed the mechanical pattern of interpreting nature and political government. According to the covenantal philosophy of history, the history of man's relationship to God reveals God's successive covenants with man by which God makes known on what conditions He would govern man.⁶ The biblical record is central in this revelation.

In harmony with this outlook, Baxter vigorously maintained that God's word determines man's duty, and that man must firmly accept that word although he may not always see the reason or wisdom behind doing so. This particular emphasis

⁵ Gordon Harland, "American Protestantism: Its Genius and Its Problems," *The Drew Gateway* 34 (Winter 1964): 71-72.

⁶ Baxter, *The Divine Appointment of the Lord's Day Proved*; in Orme, *Practical Works*, 23 vols. (1830), 13:484. Hereafter cited as *Works*.

brings to attention Baxter's voluntarism. In fact, Baxter's theological voluntarism was reinforced by contemporary political thought. As J. N. Figgis remarks, in the context of the times the central political questions were put in terms of right. Authority was established on the concept of right, and the primary political question was: Who has supreme right or authority to rule; that is sovereignty?⁷

Baxter, in all his exposition on political matters, never failed to combine politics with theology in order to bring out as clearly and forcefully as possible the fundamental question of God's sovereignty. He consistently maintained that God's rule is universal in its scope and nature.⁸

Thus, according to Baxter, it is always God's right to rule and man's duty to obey. Baxter never weakened his position on this point. And following from this firm conviction are two vital considerations. The first relates to Baxter's attempt to root political government in divine government. The second concerns his doctrine of law. The two are, in fact, closely interrelated.

Although we cannot deal here in any detail with Baxter's exposition of Law, a summary will be helpful. In a larger context, the whole biblical revelation, for Baxter, was included in the law by which God governs the world. "Law," he declares, "is a signification of the Ruler's will constituting the subjects Due."⁹ He also speaks of law as "the governing Will of a Rector signified, constituting or confirming Right (or Dueness) from and to the subjects," and as a "sign or signification of the reason and will of the rector as such to his subjects as such, instituting or antecedently determining what shall be due from them, and to them."¹⁰ Moreover, obligation which rests upon the authority

⁷ J. N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, pp. 177ff.

⁸ Cf. James I. Packer, *The Redemption and Restoration of Man in the Thought of Richard Baxter* (D. Phil. dissertation; Oxford University, 1954), p. 332.

⁹ Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth* (London, 1659), p. 320. Hereafter cited as *HC*.

¹⁰ Baxter, *Catholick Theologie* (London, 1675), p. 52. Hereafter cited as *CT*.

of a right to command is the essence of morality and law. Not the appropriateness of an act to an end, but obedience to an obligation, is the norm of action (although, as we have already mentioned, the teleological framework is often present in Baxter's thought). Such obedience must reflect God's glory and graciousness. Baxter asserts:

All that God commandeth us to do is both a duty and a means; it is called a duty in relation to God the efficient Law-giver, first; and it is a means next in relation to God the End, whose work is done, and whose will is pleased by it. And we must always respect it in both these notions inseparably.¹¹

God is therefore the Great *All* in human affairs, both spiritual and temporal. This fact must evoke from the creature respect and obedience, love and reverence; for all these are involved in the notion of God as both Beginning and End.

Thus, Baxter laid the foundation of his political philosophy by affirming that all right to govern, and therefore all law, is necessarily derived from and serves God's sovereignty. Moreover, Baxter felt that man is required to accept and obey God's law implicitly. At times, such obedience may seem to defy all the canons of logic and rationality, but this is precisely the reason why man must obey.

It is certainly not to be assumed, however, that Baxter is antirational. He has, in fact, given a high place to reason, but it is regenerate reason. When the law addresses man, it first addresses him as fallen man, removes the mask, and exposes his ignorance. However, there is another vital function of the law: It rehabilitates man, and in this process produces true rationality. Man is given back his dignity, and a sense of worth. He now possesses a vision which helps him to see God's glory, and enables him to become a rational being who can rule by moral means. Through this rational process God communicates and

¹¹ *CD*, 5:306. This insistence on combination and inseparability is peculiarly characteristic of Baxter. See G. F. Nuttall, *Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (London, 1946), end of chap. 2.

seeks to govern. Man's mind thus becomes the ground through which God's will can be known, and man can find good reasons for his actions.

Only in this light can Baxter's statement about God's authority be fully understood. To Baxter, no human authority is above God's, nor can bind us against him; but all authority is received from him, and is subordinate to him.¹²

3. *God's Sovereignty and the Nature of Man and Society*

Whenever Baxter discussed politics systematically, he provided clear evidence that his *a priori* point of departure is the absolute sovereignty of God.¹³ His system consisted of at least three basic points: (1) God is Creator, and therefore has absolute dominion or ownership; (2) God alone has a moral right to govern man because he alone is qualified by his fullness of wisdom, goodness, and power to fulfill such a task; and (3) God has the highest right to govern man because he is man's greatest benefactor. In particular, God holds this right over man through the redemption of Christ.

Correspondingly, there is also a threefold conception in Baxter's exposition of man's relationship to God: Man stands related to God as (1) God's own possession, (2) God's subject (as to obligation), and (3) God's beneficiary.¹⁴

Having described the ways in which God and man are related, Baxter concludes that God has not only the *jus imperii* but also the *jus dominii*; that is, the world under God is not only a monarchy, but an absolute monarchy. This is how Baxter expresses it: "The World then is a Kingdom where God is the King, and the form of Government is *Monarchia absoluta ex pleno Dominio jure creationis*; an absolute Monarchy from or with a plenary

¹² Baxter, *Life of Faith* (undated), p. 388.

¹³ R. B. Schlatter, *Richard Baxter and Puritan Politics* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1957), p. 61. Here the author quotes from a letter written by Baxter to John Swinfen. The original letter is among Baxter's correspondence in Dr. Williams Library.

¹⁴ *HC*, p. 17.

Dominion or propriety (property) of persons and things, by Title of Creation."¹⁵

At this point we must draw attention to what is perhaps one of the most vexing problems Baxter encountered in the development of his political philosophy, and specifically, in terms of God's sovereignty. We may put it in the form of a question: How does God exercise his sovereignty over man?

As Baxter wrestled with this question, one central concern dominated his thought, namely, the vindication of God's moral government. For unless this vindication could be assumed, both God and man would be debased and all morality undermined.

Baxter here again reverts to his argument of an orderly universe as necessarily requiring a good and omnipotent God. But inasmuch as man is not omnipotent, how, then, does he count in this grand plan? Baxter deals with this question by declaring that man is a rational free agent, and goes on to argue that God governs him as such. Again the pattern of interpretation is the Puritan covenant.¹⁶

A second approach which Baxter chose in dealing with this problem is what may be termed his theory of mediate government. He calls attention to the fact that God could rule the world directly so that there is really no necessity for mediate government, but that in fact he elected to rule mediately—that is, to use some parts of the creation to rule other parts. To say this, Baxter argues, is to agree that God had created a natural inequality in the cosmos, a hierarchy of administration, in which some parts mediate his government over other parts. Out of this concept arises, at least in part, Baxter's principle that man himself should be governed. Man is a microcosm, and the relationship of his faculties illustrates the universal principle of mediate ordered government.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁷ Packer, *Redemption and Restoration*, p. 6, notes that Baxter showed a very modern awareness of the pitfalls attendant upon all attempts to

However, Baxter was moved to issue the following caveat: "Take heed of those mistakes which confound sovereignty with subjection, and which delude the people with a conceit, that they are the original of power, and may intrust it as they please."¹⁸ Baxter was reacting to three contemporary theories that threatened to deny God's moral government: the mechanical theory, absolutism, and antinomianism. Against each Baxter argued that the only form of government appropriate to man as a rational, free, and therefore moral agent, is moral government by law.

Baxter was willing to grant that God exercises his sovereignty over the world and man by a determining necessity, but he shied away from any suggestion that tends to impute the same necessity to man. Man is a free rational creature, he argues; therefore God's government of him does not infallibly determine, and objects necessitate the will:

Because we know there is a true contingency in the world . . . we know there is a Will in man that is a self-determining Principle, and naturally free, and that this is part of the Natural Excellency of man, that is called God's Image, and maketh him capable of moral proper Government, which Brutes are not.¹⁹

Baxter criticized those who maintained an opposite view and cast doubt upon God's right to govern. Moreover, to his mind, they undermined all morality by making God the author of sin and man not responsible because he is not free. He states:

Man must be ruled by his Rector's Will, not merely as operating physically by a secret influx, but as knowing. And we cannot know God's Will immediately. . . . Only by signs can we know God's Will concerning our duty; and those signs are laws.²⁰

Here again can be detected the underlying theological concept implicit in Baxter's argument.

abstract universals from particulars and to communicate the results in words. Therefore it is with some care that he draws his illustrations from the universals and the particulars.

¹⁸ *CD*, 4:23. See also *Works*, vol. 6.

¹⁹ *HC*, p. 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Man, because of his social creatureliness, needs and desires to be governed, according to Baxter, who states:

The intellect in man is made to guide and the will to command, and all the inferior faculties to obey: showing us that in societies the wise should guide, the good should command, and the strong and all the rest should execute and obey. An ungoverned man is a mad man or a bad man.²¹

The same argument holds in an ungoverned society. This type of society is incongruous with God's universal mediate ordered government of the world. "The great disparity that is among all creatures (including the angels that did not sin) in the frame of Nature" Baxter declares, "intimateth the beauty of Orderly Political disparity."²²

In summary, since man is rational, moral, and ultimately responsible to God, government by law is the only government consistent with man's nature.

²¹ Ibid., p. 55.

²² Ibid.

(To be continued)

EARLY BRONZE AGE POTTERY IN THE ANDREWS UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

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Among the collections of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum¹ is a group of 20 pottery vessels dating to the third millennium B.C. in Palestine. These vessels represent the typical small forms of the Early Bronze Age and also include some unusual combinations of features. I will present the vessels in chronological order through the major subdivisions of the Early Bronze Age. Inasmuch as they are published here for the first time, I will describe them in detail and present comparative examples.

1. *Early Bronze I*

The majority of the Andrews University collection of Early Bronze vessels consists of forms typical of the earliest portion of the Early Bronze period. These forms include bowls, cups, jars, and a juglet, the majority with exterior slip, as well as several examples of painted decoration.

Bowls

1. Spouted vessel (AUAM 66.034) Fig. 1d
Prov.: Unknown, purchased in Jerusalem
Color: 10YR-8/3 very pale brown
Slip 10YR-4/4 and 10YR-5/4 weak red

This hemispherical bowl with a slightly incurved rim has a concave base, a horizontal pierced lug handle, and a wide spout. The gritty buff ware contains occasional large grits and is covered with an unburnished dark red slip on the exterior.

Hemispherical bowls with wide spouts, generally with lug handles, are characteristic of Early Bronze I. The wide, flaring spout developed out of a Chalcolithic form of the Ghassul-Beersheba culture, as known at Tell Abu

¹ I would like to express my appreciation to Siegfried H. Horn and Lawrence T. Geraty, former and present Curators of the Andrews University Archaeological Museum, for permission to study and publish these materials, and to Eugenia L. Nitowski, Assistant Curator, for providing assistance and facilities at Andrews University and for all the photographic work.

Matar,² in contrast to the elongated, drooping spout of Mesopotamian origin which first appears in EB I. Parallels for the Andrews example occur at Tell el-Far'ah T.17, Jericho T.A114, 'Ai T.G, Bab edh-Dhra', and Azor.³

2. Handled Bowl (AUAM 72.013) Fig. 1e
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 5YR-6/6 reddish yellow
 Slip 2.5YR-4/6 red

This sinuous-sided bowl is made of finely levigated red clay. Although generally well-made, this vessel is definitely asymmetrical, as seen clearly in profile view. The red horizontally burnished slip covers both the interior and the exterior of the vessel. The base is convex, producing a small omphalos-like projection on the interior. The omphalos is typical of EB I bowls, while after EB I the convex base is found only on Khirbet Kerak ware. Although the sinuous-sided bowl is also characteristic of Khirbet Kerak ware,⁴ this shape also has precedents in EB I.⁵

3. Incurved Rim Bowl (AUAM 72.006) Fig. 1b
 Prov.: Mt. Nebo, purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 2.5YR-6/6 light red

This hemispherical bowl has an incurved, thick, blunt lip, a disc base, and a vertical pierced lug handle. The well levigated red ware contains small grits, and the vessel has no slip. This simple bowl is common in EB I and occurs with or without a handle. This example is sturdily built and would certainly have functioned well as a utilitarian vessel for daily use. Comparable bowls have been found at, for example, 'Ai and Jericho.⁶

Cups

4. High-handled Cup (AUAM 72.005) Fig. 1a
 Prov.: Mt. Nebo, found inside 72.006, purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 7.5YR-7/4 pink

² J. Perrot, "The Excavations at Tell Abu-Matar, near Beersheba," *IEJ* 5 (1955): 17-40, 73-84, 167-189.

³ R. de Vaux, "Les Fouilles de Tell el-Far'ah," *Revue Biblique* 62 (1955): 547, Fig. 3:1; K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho I. The Tombs excavated in 1952-54* (London, 1960), Fig. 17:24; Joseph A. Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai (Et-Tell)* (London, 1964), Pl. IX:859, 852, 825; Sylvester Saller, "Bab edh-Dhra'," *Liber Annuus* 15 (1964-1965), Fig. 21:1, 12; Amnon Ben-Tor, *Two Burial Caves of the Proto-Urban Period at Azor* (Jerusalem, 1975), Fig. 5:30.

⁴ G. Loud, *Megiddo II* OIP 62 (Chicago, 1948), Pl. 5:14; J. B. Hennessy, *The Foreign Relations of Palestine During the Early Bronze Age* (London, 1967), Pl. LXIV:5.

⁵ Hennessy, *Foreign Relations*, Pl. V:54 (Jericho Phase K).

⁶ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T. G, Pl. VIII:807, 1330; J. A. Callaway, *The Early Bronze Age Sanctuary at 'Ai* (London, 1972), Phase II, Fig. 16:1-3; Phase III, Fig. 26:2; K. M. Kenyon, *Jericho II* (London, 1965), T.K2, Fig. 4:11.

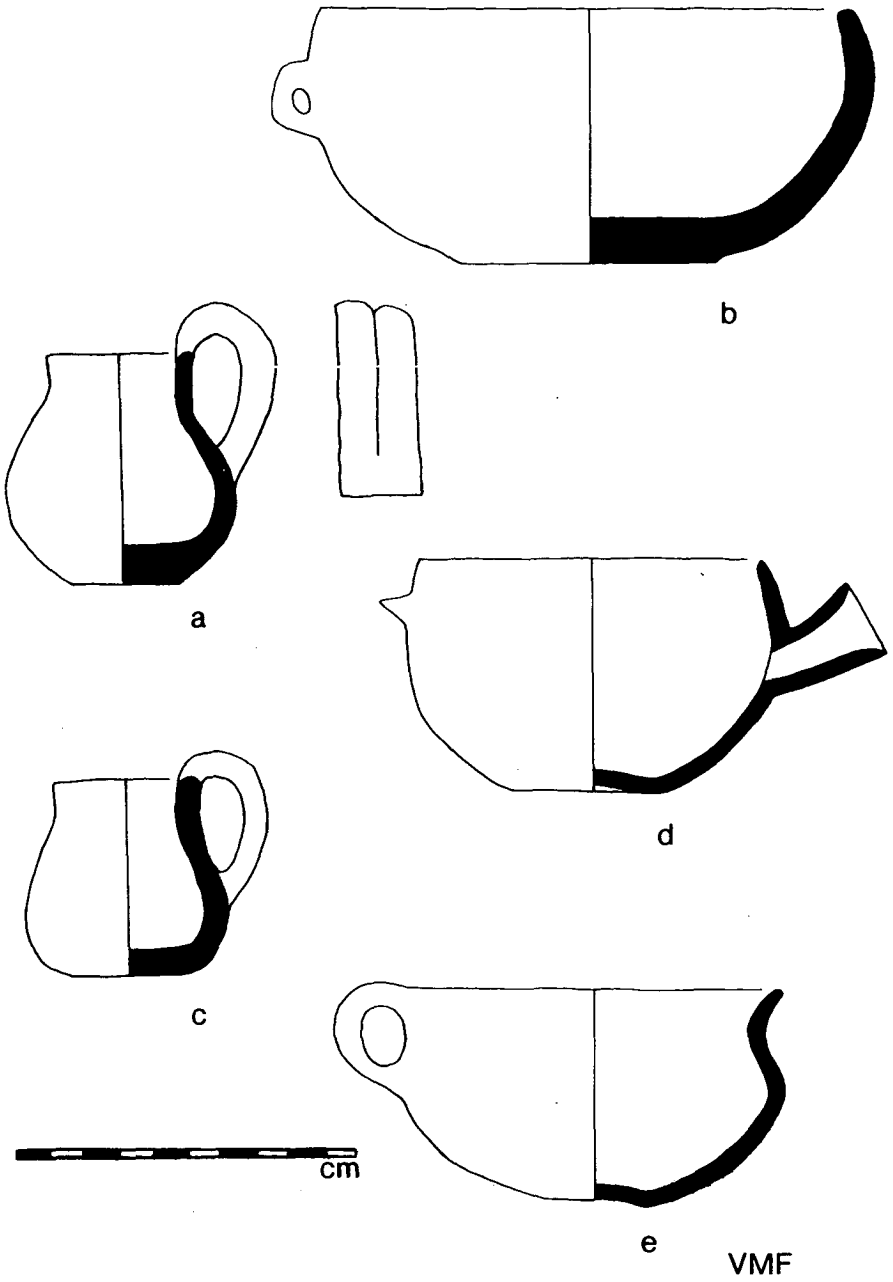


Figure 1. Early Bronze I vessels.

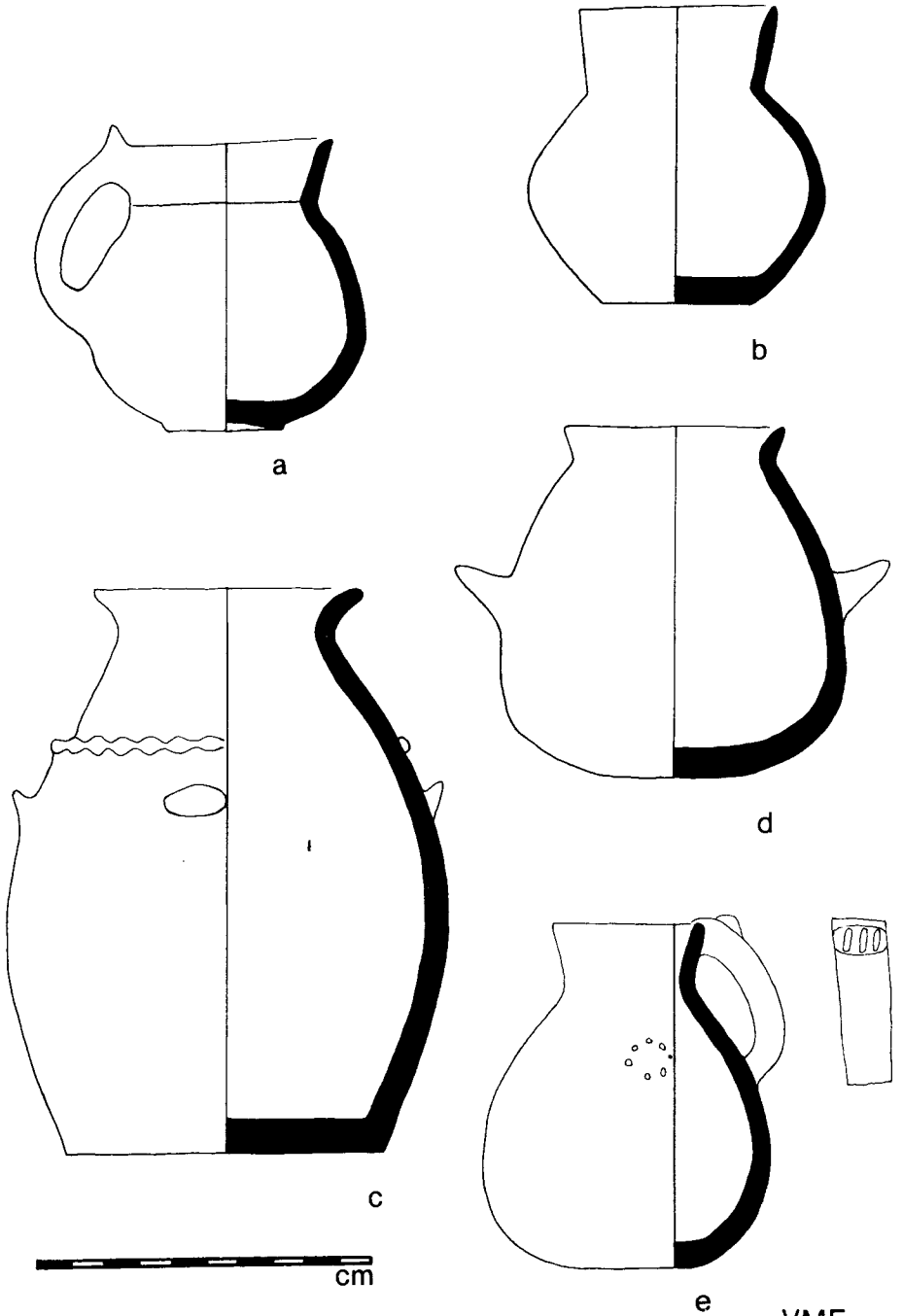
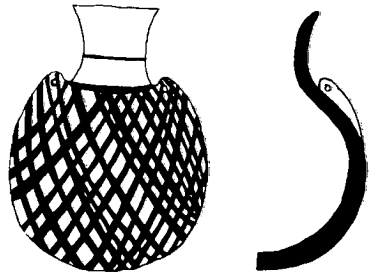


Figure 2. Early Bronze I vessels.

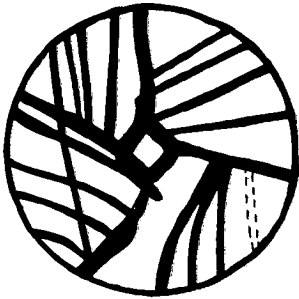
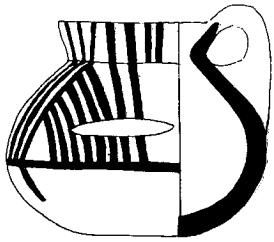
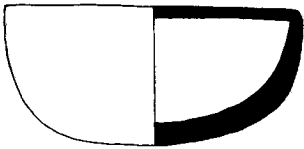
VMF



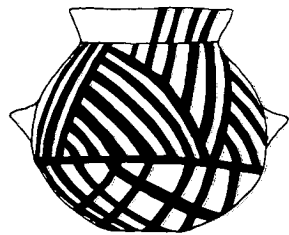
a



b



c



d

VMF

Figure 3. Early Bronze I painted vessels.

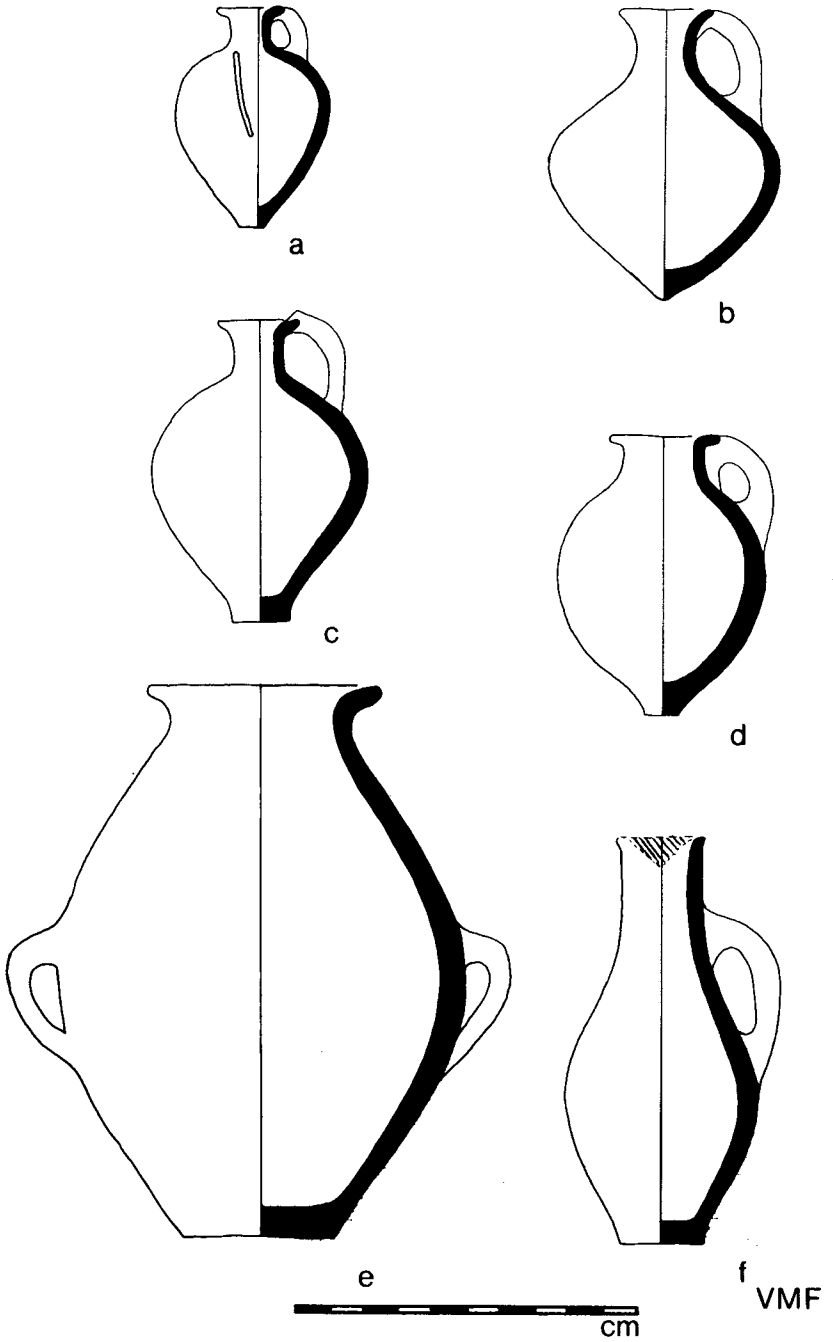


Figure 4. Early Bronze II and III vessels.

This roughly rounded cup has a flattened base and a thick, blunt, vertical lip. The double loop handle, slightly twisted, is anchored at the shoulder and the rim. The coarse, unslipped ware contains many large grits, and the surface is cracked in many places. This ubiquitous EB I form can be paralleled at numerous sites, such as 'Ai, Jericho, and Azor.⁷

5. High-handled Cup (AUAM 72.008) Fig. 1c

Prov.: Mt. Nebo, found with 72.005 inside 72.006, purchased in Jerusalem
Color: 7.5YR-7/4 reddish yellow

This cup resembles Figure 1a in its general shape, its coarse, cracked unslipped ware, and its thick, blunt lip. In contrast to Figure 1a, this cup has a single handle, and its widest point is almost at the base. Parallels for this form are also frequent, at Jericho and 'Ai in particular.⁸

Jars

6. Handled Jar (AUAM 72.017) Fig. 2a

Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
Color: 7.5YR-7/4 pink
Slip 10R-5/6 red

Dark buff, gritty ware with some chaff temper is the material of this jar. On the exterior, a red-brown unburnished slip covers the vessel. This small jar has a biconical body, ring base, and slightly everted lip. The flat loop handle, shoulder to rim, has a vertical projection at the rim. Biconical forms are not uncommon in EB I jars, and this particular shape is paralleled at Bab-edh-Dhra' and at Jericho,⁹ supporting an EB I date for this vessel.

7. Globular Jar (AUAM 72.020) Fig. 2b

Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
Color: 7.5YR-6/4 light brown and 10YR-8/3 very pale brown

This jar is made of a typical, gritty, buff ware, with a dark brown-gray unburnished slip on the exterior. The jar has a flat base, an almost vertical neck, and a slightly everted, tapered lip. Saller associated one Bab edh-Dhra' example of this type with the Proto-Urban assemblage at that site.¹⁰ A similar

⁷ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.C, Pl. XVII: 37.556, Pl. XVI: 463; Callaway, *'Ai Sanctuary*, Phase II, Fig. 23.16, 17; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.A94, Fig. 12, 13; J. Garstang, "Jericho, City and Necropolis," *AAA* 23 (1936), Pl. XXXVI:21; Ben-Tor, *Azor*, Fig. 6:15, 11:10.

⁸ Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.A94, Fig. 12:11; T.A13, levels III and IV, Fig. 21:5; Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.G, Pl. VIII:763, 737; T.C, Pl. XIV:548; T.B, Pl. XVIII:38.

⁹ Saller, "Bab edh-Dhra'," Fig. 21:18, Fig. 23:7, 15; Kenyon, *Jericho II*, Fig. 89:7.

¹⁰ Saller, "Bab edh-Dhra'," Fig. 23:9. Cf. also Paul W. Lapp, "Bâb edh-Dhrâ' Tomb A76 and Early Bronze I in Palestine," *BASOR* 189 (1968), Fig. 10:10, 11:18.

vessel, but with a more flared neck, may be found in the 'Amuq (Judeidah F), also in a Proto-Urban assemblage. The Bab edh-Dhra' finds throughout the Early Bronze Age, but especially in EB I, are characterized by forms rare or not attested in Palestine, so it is not surprising that there are few parallels for this vessel.

8. Ledge-handled Jar (AUAM 72.018) Fig. 2d
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 7.5YR-7/6 reddish yellow
 Slip 2.5YR-5/8 red

The gritty, rather coarse, buff ware of this vessel has a cracked surface with traces of a red-brown burnished slip, largely abraded. The roughly-made vessel has a flattened base, a slightly flaring lip, and two plain horizontal ledge handles. A number of sites provide parallels for this form in EB I. Several examples at Bab edh-Dhra' have similar ledge handles, but in combination with other types of handles on the same vessels.¹¹ An excellent example is known from Jericho T.K2.¹² The 'Ai and Tell en-Naşbeh tombs also contain examples of this form.¹³ All of these examples occur in EB I contexts, providing good support for an EB I date for this form.

9. Globular Ledge-handled Jar (AUAM 72.019) Fig. 2c
 Prov.: Kfar Malik, purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 5YR-6/6 reddish yellow

The somewhat coarse, red, gritty ware of this jar has a self-slip on the exterior. The globular form has a wide, everted, blunt rim and four plain vestigial ledge handles on the shoulder. Above the ledge handles there is one row of impressed rope decoration on the shoulder. This small jar is a miniature example of a type of large jar characteristic of the Early Bronze Age. EB I parallels occur in Jericho T.A94.¹⁴ A large jar with rope decoration and ledge handles is known from Affuleh and also belongs to EB I.¹⁵

Juglet

10. Loop-handled Juglet (AUAM 72.015) Fig. 2e
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 7.5YR-7/4 pink and 7.5YR-6/4 light brown

The ware of this vessel is a very gritty, dark buff with some chaff temper. The globular juglet with a flattish base has a slightly everted blunt lip and

¹¹ Saller, "Bab edh-Dhra'," Fig. 18:10, 25:7; Lapp, *BASOR* 189, Fig. 11:13.

¹² Kenyon, *Jericho II*, Fig. 9:8. Other Jericho examples include *Jericho I* T.A127, Fig. 26:5; T.A114, Fig. 18:23; T.D12, Fig. 35:49.

¹³ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.G, Pl. IX:765, 911; Hennessy, *Foreign Relations*, Pl. XXXI:7; J. Marquet-Krause, *Les Fouilles de 'Ay (Et-Tell)* (Paris, 1949), Pl. LXVIII:145, LXXIII:927; J. C. Wampler, *Tell En-Naşbeh II: The Pottery* (Berkeley and New Haven, 1947), Pl. 9:135, 137-138 (cave tomb 6).

¹⁴ Kenyon, *Jericho I*, Fig. 14:14, 15.

¹⁵ E. L. Sukenik, "Archaeological Investigations at 'Affula," *JPOS* 21 (1948), Pl. V:1.

a loop handle to the rim. On the handle very near the rim is a raised area with three impressed parallel lines. The decoration on the shoulder of the juglet consists of a circle formed by seven impressed holes. The globular body is typical of EB I and is found especially on the high-handled cups. A Bab edh-Dhra' parallel in EB I is known from T.A76.¹⁶ The circle formed of holes is paralleled at Tell el-Hesi and Jericho.¹⁷ In keeping with the unusual character of the Bab edh-Dhra' materials, this form has few parallels in Palestine, but it can be dated safely to EB I.

Painted Vessels

11. Double Juglet (AUAM 72.011) Fig. 3a
 Prov.: Tell 'Eitun, purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 7.5YR-8/2 pinkish white
 Paint 10R-5/4 weak red

Two small juglets are joined at their widest points to form this double juglet. Made of buff, gritty ware with a few small bits of chaff temper, the vessel has a light buff slip. The dark red painted decoration consists of crossing lines on the body and horizontal painted bands on the everted tapered neck. Two vertical pierced lug handles occur on each juglet. Painted lug-handled juglets are common in EB I (cf. 'Ai tombs¹⁸), while double vessels, both bowls and juglets, are not common but are reasonably well known. A good example of the double juglet was found in Ophel T.3.¹⁹ An unpainted example is known from Jericho T.K2.²⁰

12. Net-painted Juglet (AUAM 72.004) Fig. 3b
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 5YR-6/6 reddish yellow
 Paint 2.5YR-4/4 reddish brown

This "ear-handled" juglet is made of well levigated dark buff ware, with relatively few grits. Crossing parallel diagonal lines characterize the painted decoration, which covers the entire vessel up to and including the two vertical pierced lugs. This juglet is a well-known EB I form (Kenyon's Proto-Urban B). These juglets occur often in the 'Ai tombs, and other examples are from Bab edh-Dhra' and Ophel T.3.²¹

¹⁶ Lapp, *BASOR* 189, Fig. 9:15.

¹⁷ Frederick J. Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* (London, 1898), p. 33, B67; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, Fig. 10:7, 11:4.

¹⁸ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.G, Pl. X:41.986, Pl. XI; T.C, Pl. XIV:30.696.

¹⁹ Hugues Vincent, *Underground Jerusalem Discoveries on the Hill of Ophel (1909-11)* (London, 1911), Pl. IX.2.

²⁰ Kenyon, *Jericho II*, Fig. 4:25.

²¹ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.G, Pl. XI; T.C, Pl. XIV:35.40, Pl. XVI:428; Saller, "Bab edh-Dhra'," Fig. 12:3, 18:6, 11; Vincent, *Underground Jerusalem*, Pl. X, 1 (T.3).

13. Painted Bowl (AUAM 72.016) Fig. 3c
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 2.5YR-6/6 light red
 Paint 10R-4/4 weak red

The buff ware of this bowl has many small grits and some chaff and is covered by an orange slip. Faint dark red painted decoration is visible on the interior, and there is a painted horizontal band along the interior of the rim. This hemispherical bowl, slightly incurved at the rim, has a rounded base. The hemispherical bowl is ubiquitous in EB I, and the interior painted decoration is well attested at 'Ai, Tell el-Far'ah, Azor, and especially Jericho.²²

14. Small Handled Jar (AUAM 72.007) Fig. 3d
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 10YR-8/3 very pale brown
 Paint 10YR-4/1 dark gray

A light buff slip and dark brown painted line decoration cover the medium dark buff ware of this jar. The globular vessel has an everted, tapered neck, two vestigial plain ledge handles, a loop handle from the shoulder to the rim, and a slightly concave base. There are several examples of this form with ledge handles and painted decoration, but without the loop handle. These include tombs at 'Ai and Ophel.²³ This form and the painted decoration are characteristic of Kenyon's Proto-Urban B painted pottery tradition.

2. Early Bronze II and III Vessels

About one-third of the Andrews University collection consists of EB II or EB III forms. These include several juglets and a jar.

Juglets

15. Piriform Juglet (AUAM 70.038) Fig. 4b
 Prov.: purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 2.5YR-4/4 reddish brown

This juglet, made of well levigated, gritty, buff ware, has a highly burnished red slip, largely abraded. Its pointed base is a characteristic which is known in EB III and carries on into the Middle Bronze Age. The handle is attached at the shoulder and blends into the everted blunt lip. The best parallels for this form are found in EB III, in Jericho tombs F2, F3, and F4.²⁴

²² Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.B, Pl. XVIII:15, 18; T.G, Pl. IX:828, 1014; De Vaux, *Revue Biblique* 62 (1955): 581, Fig. 12:7; Ben-Tor, *Azor*, Fig. 5:6, 7; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.A94, Fig. 10:16; T.A108, Fig. 23:7; Kenyon, *Jericho II*, T.A124, Fig. 13:4; T.K2 (Phase I): Fig. 4:4.

²³ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.G, Pl. X:28.778; Ruth Amiran, *The Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1969), Photo 41; Vincent, *Underground Jerusalem*, T.3, Pl. IX.5.

²⁴ Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.F2, Fig. 60:27, 28; T.F3, Fig. 52:12, 13, 20, 31-33; Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (London, 1970), T.F4, Fig. 19:23-28.

16. Stump-based Juglet (AUAM 72.012) Fig. 4c
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 10YR-5/2 grayish brown and N4/ dark gray

This vessel is made of a dark gray gritty ware containing many large white grits, common in EB II and III. On the vessel's surface traces of a burnished black slip remain. The globular vessel has a small stump base, a wide everted neck, and a thick handle. This type is more characteristic of EB III, as evidenced by its popularity in Jericho tombs F2 and F3.²⁵

17. Elongated Piriform Juglet (AUAM 72.010) Fig. 4a
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 2.5YR-5/4 reddish brown

In this vessel, a finely levigated, reddish, gritty ware is covered with a red vertically burnished slip. In this case the piriform shape is slightly elongated, with a flat base and a narrow everted rim. A decoration of slightly curved vertical projections is located on opposite sides of the juglet. This juglet form is well attested for EB III, having been found, for example, at 'Ai and Jericho.²⁶

18. Stump-based Juglet (AUAM 72.009) Fig. 4d
 Prov.: Bab edh-Dhra', purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 2.5YR-4/4 reddish brown

The dark red highly burnished slip is the most striking feature of this juglet. On the exterior of the vessel a vertical burnish covers the gritty reddish ware which contains a few chaff inclusions. This juglet is an excellent example of a classic Early Bronze form. The height of its popularity is EB III,²⁷ but the burnished globular juglet occurs already in EB II, as at Arad.²⁸ This is one of the Early Bronze forms which reappears, in a slightly modified version, during the Middle Bronze Age.

19. Narrow Juglet (AUAM 71.008) Fig. 4f
 Prov.: Yaguz, from a Jordanian army officer
 Color: 5YR-6/4 light reddish brown

The brownish, very gritty ware contains many large white and black inclusions, with no slip or burnish on the vessel. The narrow globular juglet has a flat base, almost vertical rim, and a loop handle from the shoulder to the neck. Examples of this form occur in EB I and II. An EB I example was

²⁵ Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.F2, Fig. 61:15, 8; T.F3, Fig. 52:44, 45, 46.

²⁶ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.B, Pl. XIX, 45.89; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.F2, Fig. 61:15, 8; T.F3, Fig. 52:44-46; Kenyon, *Jericho II*, T.F2, Fig. 60:33, 34.

²⁷ Hennessy, *Foreign Relations*, Level F (EB IIIA), Pl. VII:73; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.F2, Fig. 61:3, 4, 6; 60:37, 38; T.D12, Fig. 34:32; Saller, "Bab edh-Dhra'," Fig. 28:4.

²⁸ Amiran, *Ancient Pottery*, Photo 57 (p. 62).

discovered at 'Ai, and later EB examples are known from Jericho and Beth Yerah.²⁹

Jar

20. Globular Jar (AUAM 70.036) Fig. 4e
 Prov.: purchased in Jerusalem
 Color: 7.5YR-7/4 pink
 Slip 2.5YR-5/6 red

Typical Early Bronze gritty buff ware, well levigated, is the material of this jar. A highly lustrous vertical burnish on a red slip covers the exterior. Other features are a flaring neck with blunt, everted rim, flat string-cut base, and two vertical loop handles placed at the point of widest diameter. Examples of this jar type are known from both EB II and EB III. The globular jar shape is common in EB II, when it generally occurs with combed ware. It is also to be found among the shapes of the EB II Abydos ware, although many of the Abydos jars are taller and thinner. EB II examples with red slip have been found at 'Ai and Jericho,³⁰ but these are much larger vessels. As the heyday of the globular jar with loop handles was in EB II, our miniature example may well belong to this period.

²⁹ Callaway, *Pottery from the Tombs at 'Ai*, T.C, Pl. XVII:37.556, Pl. XIV: 674; T.G, Pl. VIII:739; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, T.D12, Fig. 34:17, 36:24; T.F3, Fig. 52:3; T.F2, Fig. 59:1; B. Mazar, R. Amiran, and N. Haas, "An Early Bronze Age II Tomb at Beth-Yerah (Kinneret)," *Eretz Israel* 11 (Jerusalem, 1973): 181, nos. 17, 19.

³⁰ Callaway, *'Ai Sanctuary*, Phase IV, Fig. 42:13; Kenyon, *Jericho I*, Fig. 47:1.

THE TWO AEONS AND THE MESSIAH IN PSEUDO-PHILO,
4 EZRA, AND 2 BARUCH

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John Strugnell, in reviewing Pierre Bogaert's commentary on 2 Baruch, suggests that on the basis of this work, 4 Ezra, and Pseudo-Philo (*Biblical Antiquities*) "someone should try a descriptive study of the whole of apocalyptic Pharisaism of ca. 70—remembering that apart from the Psalms of Solomon, Josephus, and the gospels, this is all the direct evidence for rabbinic Judaism that we have until we reach the period after Bar Kochba."¹

The present article outlines one element of the above suggested descriptive study, viz. the conception of the two aeons and the Messiah. This element is significant, since the essential feature of apocalyptic lies in its dualism—especially, as P. Vielhauer observes, in the doctrine of the two aeons which dominates its thought-world.²

There appears to be a consensus among scholars that the thinking represented in 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and *Biblical Antiquities* is that of Pharisaic Judaism. R. H. Charles dealing with 2 Baruch writes, "Its authors were orthodox Jews and it is a good representation of the Judaism against which the Pauline dialectic was directed . . . almost the last noble utterance of Judaism . . . written by Pharisaic Jews as an apology for Judaism. . . ."³ Introducing 4 Ezra G. H. Box writes, "Its importance for the history of Rabbinical doctrine and for the elucidation of the earlier (pre-

¹ J. Strugnell, review of *L'Apocalypse Syriaque de Baruch: Introduction, traduction du syriaque et commentaire*, by Pierre Bogaert in *JBL* 89 (1970): 484-485.

² E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1965), 2:588.

³ R. H. Charles, "2 Baruch," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1913), 2:470.

Talmudic) phases of Judaism is very great."⁴ In discussing *Biblical Antiquities*, J. Klausner affirms that ". . . there is no doubt that it originated in the same circle from which came the Syriac Baruch and IV Ezra."⁵

Charles, following R. Kabisch, sees several sources with varying dates and authorship in 2 Baruch. He detects three fragmentary apocalypses written before A.D. 70 and four such sections after the destruction of Jerusalem.⁶ Hence he proposes that the final editing of 2 Baruch took place between A.D. 110 and 120. Box, discussing 4 Ezra, notes, "in its present form it is a compilation made by an Editor . . . , and was published by him about the year AD 120. . . ."⁷ P. Bogaert thinks that the introductory passages in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra give us a key as to their date. The former commences with the words: "And it came to pass in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah . . . that the word of the Lord came to Baruch. . . ." (1:1). Bogaert assumes that the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans in A.D. 70 is to be identified with the beginning of the captivity of "Jeconiah." So he adds twenty-five years to A.D. 70 and arrives at A.D. 95 as the date of 2 Baruch.⁸ He goes on to affirm: "Et dans ce cas, il n'y a pas d'obstacle majeur à ce que toute apocalypse ait été composée à la date indiquée par la suscription, en 95 ap. J.-C."⁹ In 4 Ezra the first vision commences with the words: "In the thirtieth year after the downfall of the City I, Salathiel— . . . was in Babylon. . . ." (3:1). Bogaert adds these thirty years to A.D. 70, arriving at A.D. 100 as the date of 4 Ezra. D. S. Russell concludes that 4 Ezra may have been penned near "the close of the first century AD, perhaps between the years

⁴ G. H. Box, "4 Ezra," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1913), 2:542.

⁵ J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* (New York, 1955), p. 366. Klausner also draws our attention to the fact that the ideas found in these works are closely akin to those in Talmud and Midrash; see pp. 330-331.

⁶ R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch* (London, 1896), p. liii.

⁷ G. H. Box, "4 Ezra," p. 542.

⁸ P. Bogaert, *L'Apocalypse Syriaque de Baruch: Introduction, traduction du syriaque et commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969), 1:285.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

AD 90 and 100."¹⁰ The date of *Biblical Antiquities* is equally debated. M. R. James in his introduction to this work writes:

Its importance lies in this, that it is a genuine and unadulterated Jewish book of the first century — a product of the same school as the *Fourth Book of Esdras* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and written, like them, in the years which followed the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.¹¹

L. Cohn and G. Kisch agree with James as to its post-A.D. 70 date.¹² Bogaert on the other hand sees no reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in *LAB* and therefore contends for a pre-A.D. 70 date. He writes: "Dans les *Ant. Bibl.* aucune allusion n'est faite à cet événement."¹³ For Bogaert the second destruction of the temple separates *Biblical Antiquities* from 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra. Bogaert's dating of *Biblical Antiquities* is supported by D. J. Harrington: "In fact, given the absence of any genuine reference to the fall of Jerusalem, it is likely that the work was composed before A.D. 70."¹⁴ We are thus justified in placing the three documents under consideration in the final third of the first century A.D.

The original language of these apocalypses is believed to have been Hebrew.¹⁵ Moreover, there is a close literary dependence

¹⁰ D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 63.

¹¹ M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (London, 1917), pp. 7, 31.

¹² L. Cohn, "An Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria," *JQR* 10 (1898): 327; G. Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Notre Dame, 1949), p. 17.

¹³ Bogaert, *L'Apocalypse*, p. 258.

¹⁴ D. J. Harrington, "The Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo's LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 17. Notice on the other hand the rather late date Klausner (*Messianic Idea*, pp. 366-367) attributes to *Biblical Antiquities*. He believes that it was composed after 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra and places it in the time of Trajan and Hadrian (ca. A.D. 110-130).

¹⁵ But notice the recent questions raised by Bogaert, and Strugnell's reply (cf. Strugnell, Review, p. 485) that 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, and *Biblical Antiquities* belong closely together and that 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra are closely dependent on the demonstrably Hebrew *Biblical Antiquities*. Furthermore 2 Baruch, according to Bogaert, is a second source of the Hebrew 4 Ezra; hence a Hebrew original is highly likely for 2 Baruch. Nevertheless, one needs to find more plausible examples of mistranslation. *Biblical Antiquities* has come down to us in a Latin version, but it too goes back to an original Hebrew

between 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra. E. Schürer and a host of others believed that 2 Baruch was earlier than 4 Ezra.¹⁶ Russell, with more recent contributors, states, "It is generally agreed that the imitator is 'Baruch'."¹⁷ For the present purpose, this matter need not concern us. The very nature of the question indicates that we are justified in seeing a common theology in these two apocalypses. A far more critical question is that dealing with sources. As mentioned above, Charles dissects 2 Baruch into seven sections. Composite authorship is also maintained for 4 Ezra by Kabisch, Charles, Box, and C. C. Torrey. W. Harnisch treats these two apocalypses as redacted unities, with an emphasis on the "Einheitlichkeit beider Schriften."¹⁸ In examining this very question Russell comes to the conclusion that:

The consensus of opinion is against the dissection of this book [4 Ezra] into a number of separate works of different dates. In support of the literary unity of the work it has been argued that the undoubted inconsistencies to be found in it can readily be explained by reference to the author's use of different traditions which he was not disposed to harmonize with one another and indeed which he could not make to harmonize even if he were disposed to do so. The book as it stands . . . may well be the product of a single author. . . .¹⁹

(see D. J. Harrington, "The Original Language of Pseudo-Philo's *LAB*," *HTR* 63 [1970]: 514; id., ed. and trans., *The Hebrew Fragments of Pseudo-Philo*, Text and Translations, SBL Pseudepigrapha Series 3, 1974).

¹⁶ E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1909), 3:309-311. So also Bissell, Thomson, Kabisch, Klausner, De Faye, Clemen, Wellhausen.

¹⁷ Russell, *Method and Message*, p. 64. So also Langen, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Dillmann, Box, Gunkel, Schreiner, Lagrange.

¹⁸ W. Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1969), p. 13.

¹⁹ Russell, *Method and Message*, p. 63. He is supported by H. H. Rowley (*The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 2d ed. [London, 1947], pp. 141), who cites James, Clemen, Lagrange, Violet, Grey, and others favoring the unity of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. More recently Michael Stone ("The concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," *Religions in Antiquity*, ed. J. Neusner [Leiden, 1968], pp. 295-296) took G. H. Box to task on his source dissection, concluding in one place, "It is best, therefore, to see the vision as the composition of the author, employing a literary form well known to him from tradition" (p. 303). Again, M. Stone ("Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra" [Doctoral Dissertations], *HTR* 58 [1965]: 463) contends that "the book is substantially a literary unity from the hand of one author living between 95 and 100 c.e."

The same writer takes a very similar view with regard to 2 Baruch:

There seems to be less reason even than in the case of II Esdras to break the book up in this way [i.e., Charles's dissection of 2 Baruch]. When allowance is made for the inevitable inconsistency of apocalyptic and its free use of traditional material, in literary or oral form, there seems little reason to doubt the unity of this work whose homogeneity of treatment and style indicates a single author.²⁰

It is in the light of this suggested unity that the particular eschatological elements will be examined. Recognizing the incorporation of contradictory traditional materials, we consider it appropriate to base our study on the final products.

Biblical Antiquities' "literary style is exceedingly monotonous and full of repetitions."²¹ It seems to pattern itself somewhat on the Books of Chronicles, but deals only with the period from Adam to the death of Saul. By means of fabulous genealogies, paraphrases of biblical stories, and some inventions (e.g., Kenaz, the first judge), the author's purpose seems to supplement the existing biblical narratives. The book obviously seeks to edify, to deepen the spiritual tone of some historical periods, and to strengthen the reader's belief in divine providence and the high mission of Israel. The doctrines of the resurrection, the day of judgment, and the advent of the Messiah, though not prominent, show the influence of rabbinic Judaism as we also see it in the oldest Midrashim.²²

Though the teaching of the two aeons and the Messiah is not prominent in the *Biblical Antiquities*, possibly because this work is primarily a collection of stories and legends, aspects thereof are nevertheless to be found. To *Biblical Antiquities*, "the basic element is not the nationalistic-worldly expectation, but the End

²⁰ Russell, *Method and Message*, p. 65. We have already noted the support Russell receives for his contentions from H. H. Rowley and others to whom Rowley refers. Recently Bogaert also favored the unity of 2 Baruch, as does J. Strugnell (Review, p. 485).

²¹ Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber*, p. 15.

²² Cohn, *Apocryphal Work*, p. 322.

of Days and the Age to Come.”²³ One of the most concise passages bearing on our topic is found in 3:10:

But when the years of the world shall be fulfilled, then shall the light cease and the darkness vanish; and I will quicken the dead and raise up from the earth them that sleep; and Sheol shall pay its debt and Abaddon give back that which was committed unto it, that I may render unto every man according to his works and according to the fruit of their imaginations, until I judge between the soul and the flesh. And the world shall rest, and death shall be quenched, and Sheol shall shut its mouth. And the earth shall not be without birth, neither barren for them that dwell therein; and none shall be polluted that hath been justified in Me. And there shall be another earth and another heaven, even an everlasting habitation.

The author of *Biblical Antiquities* clearly believes that the resurrection of the dead would occur at the end of the age or world. This end would be hastened (19:13).²⁴ Then the sleeping dead shall be raised from the earth (19:12; 28:10).²⁵ *Biblical Antiquities*, as well as the two apocalypses and the Talmud, speaks of the “treasuries of souls (*promptuaria*)” in which the souls of the dead are kept (21:9; 32:13).²⁶ These treasuries are to be emptied at the end of “this world.” Sheol and Abaddon will return what was committed to them, so that the Lord at the end of the age may render unto every man according to his works. The reign of death will end, for the lot of the righteous “shall be in eternal life” (23:13; 19:12).

“When the ungodly are dead they shall perish,” but the righteous who have fallen asleep shall be delivered (51:5). Even the remembrance of the wicked will perish and their punishment shall be suited to their offense (3:10; 44:10; 23:6; 38:4; 68:4).²⁷ Decisions for right must be made now; for there is no room for

²³ Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 369.

²⁴ Cf. 2 Bar 20:1, 2; 54:1; 83:1.

²⁵ Cf. Dan 12:2; 2 Bar 11:4; 21:24.

²⁶ Cf. 2 Bar 21:23; 30:2; 4 Ezra 7:29-32. Also notice talmudic quotations in Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 333, n. 5.

²⁷ Cf. 2 Bar 44:15; 59:2.

repentance after death, nor can the fathers after their death intercede for Israel (33:2-5).²⁸

The present temporary age will then be succeeded by "another earth and another heaven, even an everlasting habitation" (3:10). It will be a "place of sanctification" in which the just will have no need of the light of sun or moon but dwell in the light of the restored precious stones (19:13; 26:13; cf. also 13:6).

Political success and material prosperity are hardly touched upon in *Biblical Antiquities*, and it is debatable whether the King-Messiah is even referred to. James is "unable to find any anticipation of a Messiah in our text. It is always God, and no subordinate agency, that is to 'visit the world' and put all things right."²⁹ Klausner³⁰ believes that there may be such a reference in the prayer of Hannah: "And so shall all judgment endure until he be revealed which holdeth (*qui tenet*) it" (51:5, 6). He considers the words *qui tenet* as referring to "Shiloh" in Gen 49:10. Hence Klausner understands *qui tenet* in the sense of "he who takes over the rulership." James thinks that this reference is to Saul or David, though he sees a similarity with St. Paul's ὁ κατέχων ("he who restrains" or "he who grasps").³¹

Biblical Antiquities clearly presents the two aeons separated by the day of judgment. This age is transient; the age to come is everlasting. There is no messianic age separating the two.

It is evident that *Biblical Antiquities*, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch breathe that spirit of rabbinic Judaism which arose partly prior to, and mostly after, the A.D. 70 destruction of Jerusalem.

It is especially in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch that we notice the questioning mood and despair which seems to have seized many at the end of the first century A.D. Yet in these same works we

²⁸ Cf. 2 Bar 85:9.

²⁹ James, *Biblical Antiquities*, p. 41. The word *Christus* occurs in 51:6 and 59:14.

³⁰ Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 367.

³¹ James, *Biblical Antiquities*, p. 42. James believes 59:1-2 also refers to Saul or David (p. 41).

find a polemic against skepticism. This polemic, Harnisch claims, is framed in the doctrine of the two aeons.³²

Wir haben nachzuweisen versucht, dass die in beiden Apokalypsen geltend gemachte, *polemisch* konzipierte Zwei-Aeonen-Lehre insonderheit darauf abzielt, das Problem des Ausbleibens der Verheissung zu lösen und in eins damit die unausweichlich gestellte Warum-Frage des Zweifels zu beantworten. . . . Mit ihr soll die Skepsis . . . erschüttert und ins Unrecht gesetzt werden.³³

It is true that there is a disparity between God's promises and the realities of history with all its ills and sorrows, but there is a time coming when history, i.e. this age, will give way to the "age to come" when the Creator's intent will be realized.

2 Baruch and 4 Ezra are written against the background of terrible tragedy; hence in them the question of theodicy recurs. Many of the apocalyptic expectations can only be fully appreciated when we consider this basic concern. The disparity between God's promises and the realities of history leads the apocalyptists to polemicize against despair and skepticism. There is sin in the nation, but there will be an end to sin. History, i.e. this age, which began with the fall will end with the *eschaton*. This aeon is characterized by sorrows and ills, but both Ezra and Baruch are assured that the suffering of God's people will not be perpetuated *ad infinitum*. There is a better aeon to come, which is not far off.

In the first vision of 4 Ezra (3:1-5:19)³⁴ Uriel tries to reassure Ezra that the end of the present age is approaching. The demise of this aeon cannot be delayed. Before the end, however, the predetermined number of the righteous, who are currently in their chambers or storehouses, must be completed. The idea of "treasuries" in which some are kept, which we previously saw in *Biblical Antiquities*, recurs here. 2 Baruch also refers to this concept as does the Talmud, only in 2 Baruch the number to be fulfilled is

³² Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, pp. 240, 323.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

³⁴ It has been generally recognized that the first and last two chapters are later Christian interpolations. It is for this reason that the theological contribution of these sections will be disregarded. See B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York, 1957), p. 22.

of all souls who should be born, without limiting it to the righteous (21:23; 23:5, etc.)³⁵

Certain signs will precede the end. As indicated in 4 Ezra, these include terror, lack of faith, an increase in unrighteousness, a fading of truth, wisdom and knowledge, and the desolation of the presently dominating world power (the Roman Empire). There are changes in nature, with the sun shining at night, the moon giving its light during the day, stars falling from heaven, premature infants not only surviving but also dancing, and the springs of fountains failing (4 Ezra 5:1-13; 6:20). Earthquakes, intrigue among the nations, confusion and bewilderment are all signs of the nearness of the end (9:3; 13:30). God's people pass through narrow and dangerous paths into future bliss because of the absolute wickedness of this world (7:1-16). Nevertheless, the "first age" will be succeeded immediately by the "age to come" just as Esau was followed by Jacob without delay at the time of their birth (6:6-10). Blessed is he who survives these messianic woes, for he will enjoy the period of salvation and felicity inaugurated when those removed from the earth without dying return with the Messiah (6:25-28).

The picture in 4 Ezra now changes from the signs and hardships which precede the messianic age, and that age itself is suddenly introduced. The survivors are granted a view of the heavenly Jerusalem and paradise. The pre-existent Messiah (12:32; 13:26, 52; 14:9)³⁶ and those accompanying him are revealed (7:26-30). In chap. 7 we pass quickly over his person and work, which are described in greater detail in the visions of chaps. 11-13.

According to the third vision, the Messiah appears at the end of this aeon to rule for 400 years,³⁷ after which he and all who are alive die (7:30). The messianic age according to the seer is a period of transition which belongs to this age and terminates

³⁵ Cf. the 144,000 in Rev 7:4; 14:1.

³⁶ Cf. 2 Bar 30 (as also in *Derekh Erets Zuta*, chap. 1).

³⁷ The figure is apparently based on the total years of the rule of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem.

with it. This view is also represented in 2 Bar 40:3.³⁸ However, 4 Ezra is unique in depicting a period of seven days of primeval silence between "this aeon," and the "aeon to come." During this period of primeval silence the Messiah and all who draw breath will have died. This may be due to the fact that for 4 Ezra the end is like the beginning. As there was a primeval silence during creation week, so there must be a primeval hush before the new age, before a new creation can arise.³⁹

As suggested above, the work and person of the Messiah is described with considerable detail in the two visions recorded in chaps. 11-12 and 13 of 4 Ezra. The first vision has been named the "eagle vision," and the second has been called "the man from the sea." The designations for the Messiah vary. He is called "my Son" (4 Ezra 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9), possibly based on the messianic appellation in Ps 2:7. Again, probably imitating Dan 7:13, he is called "Son of Man," simply "Man," or "a man" (13:2, 25, 32). M. Stone was unable to find any relationship to "Son of Man" ideas in the interpretation in chap. 13. It is his contention that "on textual grounds 'servant' must represent the original reading of those verses which have been construed in the past to show a 'Son of God' ideology in IV Ezra."⁴⁰

In the "eagle" vision the Messiah is likened to a lion who reproves the eagle (Rome). The eagle is said to be the same as "the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to . . . Daniel" (12:11). The Messiah, for whom Davidic descent is claimed, finally destroys these Gentiles but delivers the surviving remnant, "making them joyful until the End come, even the Day of Judgment . . ." (12:33, 34).

In the next vision Ezra sees a great wind on the sea which caused "one like a man" to come up out of the heart of the seas, flying on the clouds of heaven (13:1ff).⁴¹ Those who hear him

³⁸ Cf. also Rev 20:3.

³⁹ Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 355.

⁴⁰ Stone, "Features of the Eschatology of IV Ezra," p. 463. Cf. also id., "The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra," p. 307.

⁴¹ Cf. Dan 7:2, 3, 13; Rev 20:8.

melt like wax before fire, and whatever he looks upon trembles. After this the seer notices an "innumerable multitude of men" coming up out of the sea to make war against the "Man." The "Man" proceeds to cut a mountain out for himself and flies up onto it. Though all those gathered for war are seized by fear they nevertheless attack, only to be burned up by the fire which proceeds from the "Man."

Subsequently he descends and gathers around him another multitude, viz. a "peaceable" one. Among those who draw nigh to him are some full of joy while others are full of sorrow.⁴² These are exiled Jews (in "bonds") whom the Gentiles are bringing back as an oblation to God.⁴³

In the interpretation which follows, the "Son" is identified as standing on Mt. Zion. Zion, i.e. the heavenly Jerusalem, comes and is made manifest to all people (4 Ezra 9:26-10:59).⁴⁴ The "Son" rebukes the hostile multitude and finally destroys it "by the Law which is compared with fire" (13:38).⁴⁵ The peaceable multitude are the ten tribes exiled in the time of Hoshea, now returned to Palestine. It seems that this group includes the Israelite survivors in Palestine itself.⁴⁶

Throughout these visions of the messianic age, political success is stressed in that the exiles return to Palestine and all who are in Palestine are delivered. The material prosperity so prominent in 2 Bar 29 is hardly referred to. This leads Klausner to conclude that 4 Ezra is more spiritual, "although as in any thoroughly *Jewish* book he [4 Ezra] does not nullify the political expectations. . . ."⁴⁷

⁴² H. Gunkel ("Das 4. Buch Esra," *Die Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des ATs*, ed. E. Kautzsch [Hildesheim, 1962], p. 395 n.u.) thinks this refers to Jews and Gentiles, righteous and unrighteous ones. Klausner (*Messianic Idea*, p. 360) believes the whole group depicts Gentiles and differentiates, like 2 Bar 72:2-6, between those Gentiles who did not oppress Israel and those who did.

⁴³ Cf. Isa 66:20.

⁴⁴ This fourth vision describes a mourning woman who suddenly disappears and in her place stands the New Jerusalem.

⁴⁵ Cf. Rev 19:20.

⁴⁶ Box ("4 Ezra," pp. 618-619) suggests this may also include proselytes.

⁴⁷ Klausner, *Messianic Idea*, p. 365.

After the seven-day hush the new aeon dawns. The general resurrection precedes the final judgment (7:31-44):

But the Day of Judgment shall be the end of this age and the beginning of the eternal age that is to come wherein corruption is passed away, weakness is abolished, infidelity is cut off; while righteousness is grown and faithfulness is sprung up (7:113, 114).

The judgment shall last "a week of years," during which time compassion gives way to absolute truth and judgment (7:43). Rewards will be commensurate with conduct. Both Paradise and Gehenna will be disclosed. The tragedy is that only a few will enjoy delight, but torment will come to many. The world to come is for the few only, for "many have been created, but few shall be saved" (8:3). Here, then, we have the doctrine of the first aeon, part of which is the messianic age. Both are transitory and to be succeeded by the "aeon to come," which is truly eternal and full of righteousness.

Where is Paradise in 4 Ezra? It has been suggested that Paradise must be on earth because Paradise is near Gehenna, and Gehenna was commonly thought by the Jews as belonging to the earthly sphere.⁴⁸ This is to be contrasted with the transcendent view of the future age in 2 Baruch. In Ezra, as well as *Biblical Antiquities*, it is the day of judgment (preceded by the resurrection only in 4 Ezra), which introduces the "age to come." This seems to contradict 6:7-10, which speaks of the future age as immediately succeeding this aeon. It could very well be that the illustration of Jacob and Esau was part of traditional material dealing with the doctrine of the aeons. The writer, therefore, utilized the illustration without being overly concerned about the contradiction.⁴⁹

Though the role of the Messiah has taken up the entire chap. 13 and much of chaps. 11 and 12, the Messiah is referred to only once outside of these chapters, viz. in chap. 7:28-30. This single

⁴⁸ H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols. (Munich, 1928), 4:813.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

reference is in the context of a comprehensive picture of eschatology. In considering this strange phenomenon, Stone suggests:

The reason for this may well be that the Messiah was not the answer to the questions that Ezra was asking. . . . Thus the place of the Messiah in the author's eschatological scheme cannot be doubted, yet it is misleading to see him as the exclusive center of his aspirations.⁶⁰

2 Baruch commences with the problem of theodicy, as had 4 Ezra. "Why do God's people suffer and their enemies prosper?" In answer, the seer is assured that the "aeon to come" is reserved for the righteous. Retribution will fall on the Gentiles. The very destruction of Jerusalem will hasten the coming of the future aeon.

Messiah will come, but his advent will be preceded by the "birth-pangs of the Messiah." The hardship and tribulations before his advent will be so immense that men will abandon all hope. This very condition itself will be one of the signs of the Messiah's imminence (2 Bar 25:1-4). Instead of the Talmudic portrayal of the "week of years"⁶¹ at the end of which the son of David will come, 2 Baruch has twelve woes (27:1-15). These twelve divisions include: commotions; the slaying of the great ones; the death of many; the sending of the sword; famine and absence of rain; earthquakes and terrors; falling of fire; rapine and oppression; wickedness and unchastity; terrible confusion; and finally in the last woe, all the previous elements mingled.

The tragedy is that the time of affliction is coming, but most world inhabitants are unaware of it. Wisdom and intelligence is hidden, and those who know the truth keep silent. The law of God will be disregarded, and brutality and violence will run rampant (48:26-41). As in 4 Ezra so in 2 Baruch there are two significant visions which are part of the "birth-pangs of the Messiah." The vision of the "Cloud with Black and White Waters" depicts the twelve periods of history prior to the Messiah's coming (53:1-12). The black waters represent dark eras in history and the white waters bright periods. These are then followed by the thir-

⁶⁰ Stone, *The Concept of the Messiah in IV Ezra*, p. 312.

⁶¹ Cf. Sanhedrin 97a; *Derekh Erets Zuta*, chap. 10, etc.

teenth period of the travail pains of the Messiah (70:1-10). It is a time of hatred, lack of affection and terrible confusion and death. However, the "holy land shall have mercy on its own, and it shall protect its inhabitants at that time" (71:1).

To this should be added the vision of "the Forest, the Vine, the Fountain and the Cedar" with its interpretation dealing with the "four kingdoms." Though the interpretation does not agree too well with the parable, the main points are clear. The vision deals with the destruction of the kingdoms mentioned in Dan 7 (cf. 4 Ezra 12). Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome are referred to. Rome is the fiercest and harshest, strong like the forest of the plain and proud like the cedars of Lebanon. However, the Messiah, who is compared to the fountain and the vine, will deal with Rome. The last leader of Rome is taken up to Mt. Zion to be convicted of his sin and destroyed while the reign of the Messiah "will stand forever, until the world of corruption is at an end. . . ." (39:3-40:4).

Having put an end to the Roman armies and their leader, the Messiah gathers all the remaining nations before his seat of judgment. Those who oppressed Israel are put to the sword, the rest are spared to serve his people (72:1-6): "When he has brought low everything that is in the world and has sat down in peace for the age on the throne of his kingdom . . . joy shall . . . be revealed, and rest shall appear" (73:1). All bloodshed, contentions, hatred and envy cease. Wild beasts shall minister to man and asps submit themselves to children (73:6).⁵² "The earth shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold. . . ." (29:5). Manna shall descend from on high and be consumed during the messianic age. After his reign the Messiah returns to glory, which commentators understand to be a reference to heaven (30:1). This is quite different from the picture of 4 Ezra 7:29-30, where the Messiah and all who live die at the close of the messianic kingdom.

As in 4 Ezra, the messianic days are temporary. It is true that 2 Bar 40:3 states that the messianic age "will stand forever," but

⁵² Cf. Isa 11:6-9; *Siphra Behuqqothai*, chap. 2.

“forever” must be understood relatively, viz. until the age of corruption is ended. Since this transitory world is the locale for the messianic kingdom, the present aeon and the messianic age, like two halves of a whole, will disappear before the new aeon begins. In 2 Baruch the new age is viewed from a transcendental perspective.⁵³ This new aeon is identical with the heavenly world.

The new aeons begins with the resurrection of the dead, who proceed from the “treasuries” (2 Bar 30:2). This resurrection is immediately subsequent to the Messiah’s ascension to glory. Those resurrected will be able to recognize each other (50:3). Subsequent to the resurrection the judgment takes place. For the godless there is “the way of fire and the path which bringeth to Gehenna,” where after beholding the glory of the righteous they suffer torment and waste away (85:13; 30:4, 5; 51:1-6).

The righteous, on the other hand, receive the immortal world and shall be transformed in stages into the “splendour of angels,” yes there shall “be excellency in the righteous surpassing that in the angels” (51:7-13). Those who have been saved by their works . . . [will] be made equal to the stars. . . .” (51:7).

We are now ready to pull our strands together. *Biblical Antiquities*, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch all mention the *promptuaria* or treasuries of souls, even though they vary as to who is in these “chambers.” In all three the treasuries are opened at the resurrection when Sheol must give up those who have passed away and death shall cease. The present aeon is regarded as temporary, marked by hardship, tribulation and despair. Though *Biblical Antiquities*, possibly because of the very nature of its contents, does not specifically mention the messianic age, this age features prominently in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch.⁵⁴ In these two apocalypses the messianic age is understood as part of this aeon. For 4 Ezra

⁵³ Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 6:809-810.

⁵⁴ Unless *Bib. Ant.* 3:10 refers to the messianic age: “And the world shall rest, and death shall be quenched, . . . And the earth shall not be without birth, neither barren for them that dwell therein; and none shall be polluted that hath been justified in Me.” On the other hand, this may be a description of the new aeon. See Harnisch, *Verhängnis*, p. 116, n. 3.

it will last 400 years, while 2 Baruch does not specify its length. Besides bringing joy to his own, the Messiah will deal with the Gentiles, especially the Roman power. Both 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch include visions which depict the demise of the fourth kingdom (Rome) and its leaders. For those in Palestine or those who come to Palestine, safety is assured. Here political expectations and territorial nationalism are characteristic of the spirit evidenced in other Jewish pseudepigraphal books. Material prosperity is particularly prominent in 2 Baruch while this is not so pronounced in 4 Ezra.

According to 4 Ezra the Messiah dies after the 400-year reign with all who draw breath. The world then is in a seven-day period of primeval silence as the new aeon is created. Here 2 Baruch differs sharply from 4 Ezra in that the Messiah (who is pre-existent in both apocalypses) ascends to glory, which presumably is to be understood as heaven. P. Billerbeck believes that 2 Baruch is the literary representative of a compromise tradition which endeavored to find a balance between the older earthly-national messianic kingdom tradition and the younger transcendental eschatology represented in 1 Enoch 71, Slavonic Enoch, and the Assumption of Moses.⁵⁵ Thus, for Billerbeck, 2 Baruch breaks from the earthly-national orientation after the ascension of the Messiah, into a transcendental eschatology by viewing the new aeon in heaven. It is maintained that in 4 Ezra Paradise and Gehenna lie opposite each other and since for the rabbis Gehenna was on earth, Paradise must also be found there. Though it is true that in 2 Bar 4:2-7 the seer beholds the heavenly Jerusalem and Paradise in the presence of God, it is not very clear whether both the city and Paradise remain there. Where are we to find Gehenna in 2 Baruch? Are we to assume that the wicked descend into the torments of Gehenna on earth? It is not possible to determine this with any degree of certainty at the present stage of research.

The new aeon commences with the resurrection, preparatory to the day of judgment mentioned by all three documents. Rewards

⁵⁵ Strack and Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, 4:809.

would be commensurate with one's deeds. Paradise is enjoyed by the righteous, while the wicked waste away in Gehenna. The new aeon, again all three writers agree, will be "everlasting."

At a time of national catastrophe with its resultant despair, these writers raised the hopes of those who, recognizing their failures, had most probably or to a large degree given up hope. The readers are thus assured that the disparity between God's promises and the realities of history would not persist. Israel and Yahweh's law would go on forever.

THE FIRST AND THIRD YEARS OF BELSHAZZAR
(DAN 7:1; 8:1)

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In 1885 George Rawlinson declared that "the date of the association [of Belshazzar with Nabonidus] was at the latest 540 B.C., Nabonidus' fifteenth year, since the third year of Belshazzar is mentioned in Daniel 8:1."¹ The view that Dan 7, dated to the first year of Belshazzar (vs. 1), and Dan 8, dated to his third year (vs. 1), were written close to the fall of Babylon and still is widespread. Rawlinson's influence on commentators is known,² but others held similar views before him.³ The interpretation that the first and third years of Belshazzar fall respectively two years before and in the year of the fall of Babylon or shortly before is preserved almost to the present in Daniel commentaries.⁴ These works do not take into account the extraordinary influx of cuneiform data that is now available on this

¹ G. Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* (New York, 1885), p. 610, n. 202.

² Uriah Smith, *Daniel and Revelation*, 2d ed. (Nashville, Tenn., 1944), p. 44, quotes Rawlinson. His comments on Dan 8:1 (p. 149) reveal that he dates the third year of Belshazzar in the year of the fall of Babylon. S. N. Haskell, *The Story of Daniel the Prophet* (South Lancaster, Mass., 1908), p. 102, dates the first year of Dan 7:1 to 540 B.C. and the third year of Belshazzar of Dan 8:1 two years later (p. 119).

³ O. Zöckler, "The Book of the Prophet Daniel," *Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, ed. J. P. Lange (1st ed. in 1876; with reprint at Grand Rapids, Mich., 1960), 13: 171; and others.

⁴ According to A. C. Gaebelcin, *The Prophet Daniel* (New York, 1911), p. 94, Dan 8:1 reveals that "it was the year when the feast of blasphemy was held and Babylon fell." E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1949), p. 165, states, "At any rate, this vision [ch. 8] occurred shortly before the events of the fatal night of ch. 5." H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1949), p. 165; suggests, "In any event, in point of time the matter revealed in our chapter [8] seems to have occurred but a short time before that revealed in chapter five, for Belshazzar's reign seems to have been rather short." G. R. King, *Daniel: A Detailed Explanation of the Book* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), p. 124; declares, "In the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar' . . . means that it was just before Babylon fell."

matter since the early 1880's. In the middle 1950's some commentaries reflect the changed situation,⁵ but uncertainty as to the dates of Belshazzar's kingship is nonetheless reflected to the present.⁶ The widely accepted date of 553/52 B.C., the third regnal year of Nabonidus, as the year of the installation of Belshazzar to kingship is based primarily on the suggestion of R. P. Dougherty made in 1929.⁷ But shortly thereafter F. W. König challenged Dougherty's interpretation,⁸ and the debate has not yet come to an end.⁹

In view of this set of circumstances it seems useful (a) to provide a survey of the relevant cuneiform finds, and (b) to discuss the chronological data for Nabonidus as they relate to the kingship of his crown prince Belshazzar. This investigation is intended to reveal the commencement of Belshazzar's kingship and thus determine his first and third years (Dan 7:1, 8:1).

1. *The Cuneiform Data*

The earliest existing discovery of a cuneiform record relevant to this study was published by T. G. Pinches in 1882 and is now

⁵ G. M. Price, *The Greatest of the Prophets* (Mountain View, Calif., 1955), p. 159, reflects the information gathered by R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, Conn., 1929), to whom he refers (pp. 44-45, 134) in this statement: "The third year of Belshazzar . . . [is] 550 or 547, since Belshazzar had become king in the winter of 553/2 or in the winter of 550/549 B.C." *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 1955), 4: 808, states that kingship was conferred on Belshazzar "in 553/52 B.C., or shortly thereafter" and seems also to reflect Dougherty's conclusions.

⁶ B. H. Hall, "The Book of Daniel," *The Wesleyan Bible Commentary*, ed. C. W. Carter (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969), 3: 534.

⁷ *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 134-135, 193.

⁸ F. W. König, "Naboned und Kuraš," *AfO* 7 (1931/32): 178-181.

⁹ J. Lewy, "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and Its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus," *HUCA* 19 (1946): 405-489, whose view of the Sin cult is refuted by E. Dhorme, "La mère de Nabonide," *Recueil E. Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 330-338; A. Parrot, *Babylon and the Old Testament* (London, 1958), pp. 118-121; C. J. Gadd, "The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus," *Anatolian Studies* 8 (1958): 35-92; W. Röllig, "Erwägungen zu neuen Stelen König Nabonids," *ZA* 56 (1964): 218-260; H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabonaid: Historical Arrangement," *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 351-363; W. G. Lambert, "A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus," *AfO* 22 (1968/9): 1-8.

usually called the "Nabonidus Chronicle."¹⁰ It contains a year-by-year account, sometimes fragmentary, of the seventeen-year reign of Nabonidus¹¹ and reveals that Nabonidus was in Tema in his seventh year, 549/548 B.C. In 1916 Pinches published another text in which Nabonidus and Belshazzar held a "regal position," although he stated that "we have yet to learn what was Belshazzar's exact position in Babylon."¹² Eight years later that question was cleared up with the publication by Sidney Smith of the so-called "Verse Account of Nabonidus."¹³ The well-known stanza from the second column, lines 16-23, of this Verse Account states that Nabonidus "entrusted the 'Camp' to his oldest son, the first born [Belshazzar], the troops everywhere in the country he ordered under his (command). He let everything go, entrusted the kingship to him, and, himself, . . . he turned towards Tema (deep) in the west."¹⁴ This text settled all doubts about a kingship for Belshazzar. The known cuneiform material was brought together in 1929 in the classic monograph *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* by Dougherty.

A discovery of great importance for the whole reign of Nabonidus and the kingship of Belshazzar was made in 1957 when stelae with inscriptions of Nabonidus came to light in the walls of an old mosque in Harran. They were published in the following year by C. J. Gadd.¹⁵ The Harran stelae provide much-needed information regarding the length of Nabonidus' stay in Tema and aid in solving the puzzle regarding the time

¹⁰ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 7 (1882): pp. 139-156. Later editions are found in S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts, Relating to the Downfall of Babylon* (London, 1924), pp. 98-123; *ANET*, pp. 305-307, and the most recent publication is A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1975), pp. 104-111.

¹¹ For a discussion of the nature of this chronicle, see W. H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period," *AUSS* 10 (1972): 95-111.

¹² *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 38 (1916): 30.

¹³ Smith, pp. 83-91; A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, pp. 312b-315a.

¹⁴ *ANET*, p. 313b.

¹⁵ Gadd, pp. 35-92; more recent studies and publications are by M. L.

when Belshazzar was entrusted with "kingship." Other discoveries during the last fifty years have aided considerably in providing chronological data for the Neo-Babylonian and Persian empires in general.¹⁶ These documents contain the primary data for the beginning and end of the kingship of Belshazzar in Babylon during his father's sojourn in Tema.

2. Chronological Information from The Primary Data

Various cuneiform documents reveal that Nabonidus began his reign in 556 B.C., which was reckoned as his accession year,¹⁷ and not in 555 B.C.¹⁸ In his seventeenth year, in the middle of October, 539, Babylon fell to the combined forces of the Medes and Persians, as the Nabonidus Chronicle states.¹⁹

A variety of suggestions have been made regarding the length of time of the coregency of Nabonidus and Belshazzar. As already noted, we know from the Verse Account that Nabonidus "entrusted kingship to him [Belshazzar]."²⁰ Further, we know from "two legal documents dated to the twelfth [544/543] and thirteenth years [543/542] of Nabonidus, which record oaths sworn by the life of Nabonidus, the king, and of Bēl-šar-ušur, the crown prince, for which there is no parallel in cuneiform

Moran, "Notes on the New Nabonidus Inscriptions," *Or*, n.s., 28 (1959): 130-140; W. Röllig, pp. 218-260; *ANET Supplement*, pp. 560-563.

¹⁶ See esp. R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 45*, 2d ed. (Providence, R.I., 1956); D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London, 1956).

¹⁷ Parker and Dubberstein, p. 11.

¹⁸ The chronology of Smith, pp. 107-170, of the first years of Nabonidus' reign is obsolete because he assumed that Nabonidus began to rule in 555 B.C.

¹⁹ Grayson, p. 109: "In the month of Tishri . . . On the sixteenth day Ugbaru, governor of the Gutu and the army of Cyrus II entered Babylon without battle" (cf. *ANET*, p. 306). Parker and Dubberstein, p. 11, suggests that the 16th of Tishri, the day on which Babylon fell, was Oct. 13; J. C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede* (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 22, suggests Oct. 12; D. J. Wiseman, "Babylonia," *New Bible Dictionary: Revised* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), p. 123, suggests Oct. 16.

²⁰ *ANET*, p. 313b.

literature,"²¹ that Belshazzar probably functioned as king in Babylon as early as 544/543. This line of evidence indicates that there is no basis for the old view that Dan 8 came near the fall of Babylon—a view which was customary before the cuneiform data came to light and which has been widely accepted to the present.

The Nabonidus Chronicle revealed for the first time something of the lengthy sojourn of Nabonidus in the Arabian oasis town of Tema. It begins the year-by-year account of Nabonidus for the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years with the words "the king (was) in Tema while the prince [Belshazzar], his officials, (and) his army (were) in Akkad."²² "Akkad" is the eastern half of the Babylonian empire, namely, Mesopotamia, as compared to "Hatti," the western part.²³

Scholars have been in disagreement on how long Nabonidus stayed at Tema, or when he went there,²⁴ but the question of the length of Nabonidus' stay in Tema was totally cleared up in 1958 with the publication of the Harran stelae. In these stelae it is revealed that he stayed for "ten years" in Tema: ". . . ten years I went about amongst them, (and) to my city Babylon I went not in."²⁵ It is also explained, "(After)²⁶ ten years arrived the appointed time,"²⁷ and when "fulfilled was the year, [then] came the appointed time [when] . . . from the city of Tema [Sin let me return]. . . . Babylon, my seal of lordship, [I entered]. . . ."²⁸ It is today beyond dispute that Nabonidus was in Tema for an entire decade and that then he returned to Babylon. He was

²¹ A. L. Oppenheim, "Belshazzar," *IDB*, 1: 379-380; Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 96-97.

²² *ANET*, p. 306a.

²³ M. Liverani, in *Peoples of OT Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman (London, 1973), p. 122.

²⁴ Seven years were suggested by Lewy, p. 435; eight years by B. Meissner, *Könige Babylonians und Assyriens* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 280; and F. Weissbach, in *RLA*, 1: 383. Cf. R. Dussaud, "Sur le chemin de Suse et de Babylone," *Mélanges Franz Cumont* (Paris, 1936), pp. 143-150.

²⁵ Nabonidus H 2, col. 1, lines 26-27; Gadd, pp. 58-59; Röllig, p. 224.

²⁶ With Röllig, p. 225. Gadd, p. 61, reads "(in) ten years. . . ."

²⁷ Nabonidus H 2, col. 2, line 11; Gadd, pp. 60-61; Röllig, p. 225.

²⁸ Nabonidus H 2, col. 3, lines 4-6; Gadd, pp. 62-63; Röllig, pp. 225-226.

taken prisoner after the fall of the city²⁹ and was made vassal ruler over the distant land of Carmania.³⁰

The cuneiform texts provide data that have a bearing on the time when Nabonidus entrusted Belshazzar with kingship. The "Verse Account" reports,

After he had obtained what he desired, a work of utter deceit,
Had built (this) abomination, a work of unholiness
When the third year was about to begin
He entrusted the 'Camp' to his oldest (son), the firstborn.
The troops everywhere in the country he ordered under his (command).
He let (everything) go, entrusted kingship to him
And, himself, he started out for a long journey,
The (military) forces of Akkad marching with him;
He turned towards Tema (deep) in the west.³¹

The crucial phrase "when the third year was about to begin"³² has been applied in different ways as regards the early reign of Nabonidus. It is generally agreed, however, that it is linked directly to the departure of Nabonidus to Tema and the building of the Sin temple Eḫulḫul in Harran,³³ and thus with the kingship of Belshazzar.

3. Interpretations of the Chronological Data

Suggestions differ greatly regarding the departure of Nabonidus to Tema—after the building of the Temple Eḫulḫul had been started or finished. Sidney Smith assumed that the restoration of

²⁹ Smith, p. 44, holds that Nabonidus fled in a southwesterly direction after the fall of Sippar, but finding the road blocked by Arabs, he returned to Babylon, which in the meantime had fallen; and there he was taken a Persian prisoner. Dhorme, "Cyrus le Grand," *Recueil E. Dhorme* (Paris, 1951), pp. 372-373, holds that Nabonidus was overtaken on the way to Borsippa and made a prisoner but was released by Cyrus; in this, Dhorme is followed by Parrot, pp. 120-121.

³⁰ According to Berossus as quoted by Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 1: 20-21; cf. Smith, pp. 34-35; Parrot, p. 121, n. 2.

³¹ *ANET*, p. 313b; cf. Tadmor, p. 354.

³² This is the translation of the phrase *šaluti šatti ina kašādi* by A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 313b. Tadmor renders this crucial phrase "on the advent of the third year" (p. 353).

³³ It may be argued that the phrase with the "third year" refers also to the events mentioned subsequent to the phrase itself.

Eḫulḫul began in the first year of Nabonidus and that it was finished in his "third year," in which he began his Arabian campaign.³⁴ Dougherty followed Smith's lead by equating the "third year" of the Verse Account with the events which the Nabonidus Chronicle assigns to the "third year" of Nabonidus' reign.³⁵ This interpretation has found considerable following, especially in view of an interpretation of the "Dream Text" in the Sippar Cylinder which states that the dream came "in the very first year (*rēš šarrūtiya*) of my [Nabonidus'] everlasting rule,"³⁶ and that Nabonidus, immediately upon the defeat of Astyages in the "third year,"³⁷ restored Eḫulḫul and Harran.

However, the deduction that Nabonidus finished the building of Eḫulḫul in his third year (553/552), in which year he also moved to Tema, has serious chronological problems: (1) The Nabonidus Chronicle dates the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus, not to the third year but to the "sixth year" of Nabonidus (550/549).³⁸ (2) The phrase "first year" (*rēš šarrūti*), which has been assumed to be the accession year of Nabonidus (556/555), can in this instance only refer to the early years of the king's reign.³⁹ This new interpretation of *rēš šarrūti* as suggested by H. Tadmor removes the chronological problem in the cuneiform data, and thus it eliminates the chronological problem posed by Smith's dating of events, which dating is no longer defensible. The Nabonidus Chronicle informs us that Nabonidus conducted military expeditions for the first three years of his reign against Que in Asia Minor (year 1), Hamath in Syria (year 2), and Adummu in Arabia (year 3);⁴⁰ but nothing is stated about any attention to Harran

³⁴ Smith, pp. 77, 108.

³⁵ *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 107.

³⁶ A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago, 1956), p. 250, no. 12. Published also by S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsschriften, VAB 4* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 218-219.

³⁷ So in the "Dream Text" of the Sippar Cylinder; cf. Oppenheim, *Dreams*, p. 250, no. 12.

³⁸ *ANET*, p. 305b; Grayson, p. 107.

³⁹ Tadmor, pp. 352-353.

⁴⁰ *ANET*, p. 305b. See J. Lindsey, "The Babylonian Kings and Edom, 605-

and/or Eḫulḫul. Accordingly, the suggestion that the restoration of Eḫulḫul should be dated after the end of the Syrian campaigns, i.e. the fourth year (552/551) of Nabonidus,⁴¹ fits the chronological and historical data in the Nabonidus Chronicle, the "Verse Account," and the Sippar Cylinder.

The identification of the "third year" in the "Verse Account" with the third regnal year of Nabonidus is no longer a sound assumption. Contextually, the "third year" of this text appears to refer to the period of time that had elapsed since the restoration of Eḫulḫul had been started. It is also the year in which Nabonidus turned against Arabian Tema. This campaign was apparently different from the Syrian-Arabian campaign in his "third year," mentioned in the Nabonidus Chronicle, because the campaign in his third regnal year (553/552) was not against Arabian Tema but against the "country of Amurru"—a campaign in the course of which he came to the oasis of Adumatu.⁴² Thus, the "third year" of the "Verse Account" appears to fall in the sixth regnal year of Nabonidus (550/549).

The chronological schemes of J. Lewy⁴³ and of Tadmor⁴⁴ present a different interpretation of the data. Aside from considering the fourth year (552/551) to be the year of Nabonidus' departure to Tema and thus the year when the kingship of Belshazzar began, they have little in common. Lewy argues that the restoration of Eḫulḫul was started in the second year of Nabonidus (554/553) and that the temple was finished in the fourth year (552/551), in which Nabonidus departed for Tema.⁴⁵

550 B.C.," *PEQ* 108 (1976): 32-36; W. G. Lambert, "A New Source for the Reign of Nabonidus," *AJO* 22 (1968/9): 1-8.

⁴¹ König, p. 179. K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1964), pp. 11-17, thinks that the restoration of Eḫulḫul began in the third to fifth years of Nabonidus and was finished while Nabonidus was at Tema.

⁴² Lewy, p. 428, n. 132, and p. 438.

⁴³ Lewy, pp. 428-429.

⁴⁴ Tadmor, pp. 356, 363.

⁴⁵ Lewy, pp. 434-439.

His identification of the "third year" with the fourth regnal year (in which the temple was supposedly completed) is historically quite difficult. There is no documentary evidence in support of this identification. The military endeavors that occupied Nabonidus in his second and third regnal years appear to rule out entirely that there was time and opportunity during those years for the building effort described in the Sippar Cylinder.⁴⁶

Tadmor claims also that Nabonidus' stay in Tema is "apparently counted from year 4."⁴⁷ He offers no particular historical or chronological data to support his scheme. Interestingly, he suggests that phrase "third year" is a "literary device that is used in the Sippar Cylinder, meaning 'and it came to pass', that is, one cycle of events has come to an end and a new one is about to begin."⁴⁸ In contrast to his suggestion that the expression "first year" (*rēš šarrūti*) in the same document should be understood as referring to the early years of the king's reign, he is unable to offer any literary or historical support for a non-literal meaning of "third year." He himself admits that all chronological difficulties can be solved without the novel suggestion regarding the expression "third year."⁴⁹ It seems, therefore, safer to consider the "third year" of the "Dream Text" of the Sippar Cylinder, which is the year in which Cyrus defeated Astyages according to the same text, as the sixth year of Nabonidus (550/549)—the year of the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus according to the Nabonidus Chronicle. This synchronism fits the available chronological data of the currently available cuneiform texts.

The argument presented so far seems to make certain that Nabonidus' extended ten-year stay in Tema cannot have begun before the king's fourth regnal year (552/551) nor after his sixth regnal year (550/549 B.C.). The weight of evidence appears to suggest that Nabonidus turned to Tema in his sixth year for

⁴⁶ See also the objections of Tadmor, p. 354.

⁴⁷ Tadmor, p. 356, n. 31.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

the following reasons: (1) He was already in Tema in the seventh year (549/548), as the Nabonidus' Chronicle states. (2) The "third year" of the Verse Account refers to the rebuilding of the temple Eḫulḫul, which is also the year of the king's departure to Tema when Belshazzar is entrusted with kingship. The synchronism of the "third year" in the Sippar Cylinder and the "third year" of the Verse Account with the sixth regnal year of Nabonidus (550/549) has the internal support from currently known primary sources of cuneiform literature. In both the Sippar Cylinder and the Verse Account the "third year" is linked with the rebuilding of the temple Eḫulḫul at Harran. The restoration of Eḫulḫul was apparently begun in the fourth year of Nabonidus (552/551), a conclusion supported by the information of the Nabonidus Chronicle⁵⁰ and by other cuneiform data⁵¹ according to which the fourth regnal year is the first year that was not occupied with military campaigns. The "third year" of the Sippar Cylinder is also the year in which Astyages was defeated by Cyrus,⁵² and this victory of Cyrus is dated to the sixth regnal year of Nabonidus (550/549) in the Nabonidus Chronicle.⁵³ In the Verse Account, a "third year" refers to the time after which the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul had been started, when Belshazzar⁵⁴ was entrusted with kingship and when Nabonidus went to Tema.⁵⁵ By combining the information of the Nabonidus Chronicle with that of the Sippar Cylinder and the Verse Account, one is led to conclude that the year in which Nabonidus moved to Tema and entrusted Belshazzar with kingship was his sixth regnal year (550/549).

⁵⁰ ANET, p. 305b; Grayson, pp. 106-107.

⁵¹ See W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Babylonian Literary Texts* (London, 1965), No. 48; cf. J. N. Strassmaier, "Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, Son of Nin-eb-nadin-šum," *Hebraica* 9 (1892): 4-5.

⁵² See above, n. 36.

⁵³ ANET, p. 305b; Grayson, p. 106.

⁵⁴ ANET, 313b, "the oldest (son)." Cf. J. N. Strassmaier, *Inscripfen von Nabonidus* (Leipzig, 1889), No. 50, line 13: "m^aBēl-šar-ušur mar šarri" = "Belshazzar, son of the king."

⁵⁵ ANET, p. 313b.

The chronological scheme outlined in the preceding paragraph fits perfectly the remainder of the information of the Nabonidus Chronicle, which records that in his seventh year (549/548) Nabonidus was in Tema,⁵⁶ and likewise in his ninth, tenth, and eleventh years. Unfortunately, the text is then incomplete until the seventeenth year, which is the last year of Nabonidus' reign. While prior to 1958 scholars had to guess the total length of Nabonidus' sojourn in Tema, the publication of the Harran stela^e has cleared up this question with the information that Nabonidus stayed there for ten years.⁵⁷ After ten years in Tema,⁵⁸ Nabonidus returned to "Babylon, my seal of lordship."⁵⁹ The exact day for this departure to Babylon is provided. One of the Harran inscriptions pinpoints it to the 17th of Tashritu,⁶⁰ which is in our reckoning exactly one day less than a year before the fall of Babylon on the 16th of Tashritu, 539 B.C.⁶¹ This would mean in our reckoning that Nabonidus left Tema on Tashritu 17 in his sixteenth regnal year, or October 25, 540 B.C.⁶²

This departure date dovetails with the report that the New Year's festival of the year 539 (regarding which the Nabonidus Chronicle informs us in detail⁶³) was celebrated again in Babylon for the first time in many years. The information of Xenophon regarding the Arabian campaign of Cyrus before the latter turned against Babylon also fits into this picture.⁶⁴ Further corroboration is furnished by information from Berossus to the effect that in the seventeenth year of Nabonidus' reign, Cyrus hastened to Baby-

⁵⁶ *ANET*, p. 306a: "Seventh year: The king (i.e. Nabonidus, stayed) in Tema; the crown prince [Belshazzar], his officials and his army (were) in Akkad."

⁵⁷ See above, n. 25.

⁵⁸ See above, n. 26 and n. 27.

⁵⁹ Nabonidus H 2, col. 3, line 6; Gadd, pp. 62-63; Röllig, pp. 225-226.

⁶⁰ H 2 A, col. 2, line 13; Gadd, pp. 60-61; Röllig, p. 225.

⁶¹ *ANET*, p. 306b; Grayson, p. 109.

⁶² Based on the table provided by Parker and Dubberstein, p. 27. Cf. Röllig, p. 244.

⁶³ *ANET*, p. 306b; cf. Smith, pp. 102-103; Grayson, p. 109.

⁶⁴ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 7:4.16.

lonia after "all the rest of Asia" (of which Arabia was a part) had been conquered.⁶⁵ The Cyrus Cylinder supports Xenophon and Berossus with the information that "all the kings of the West land living in tents, brought their heavy tributes and kissed my [Cyrus'] feet in Babylon."⁶⁶ Thus, the data derived from Greek and cuneiform sources regarding the events of the last year of Nabonidus' reign and Cyrus' Arabian conquest before the latter entered Babylon corroborate the suggestion of the return of Nabonidus from Tema barely a year before the end of his reign (and the end, also, of the kingship of his son Belshazzar).

The suggestion that the extended stay of Nabonidus at Tema began in his sixth regnal year (550-549) has been supported first by König,⁶⁷ and more recently by W. Röllig.⁶⁸ Some of König's remarks need to be qualified because he had no knowledge of the Harran stelae and their information regarding the building of Eḫulḫul and the length of Nabonidus' stay in Tema. Tadmor objected to König's suggestion that Nabonidus departed in his sixth regnal year to Tema because "the evidence collected by Dougherty makes it clear that by the end of the fifth year Nabonidus was in Tema and that Belshazzar was in charge of the administration."⁶⁹ The only evidence in support of this claim is Tadmor's inference "from certain economic documents, [that] Nabonidus departed to Tema not later than his fifth year."⁷⁰ The two texts upon which this inference is based hardly support the conclusions drawn from them. A brief receipt records the fact that on Elul 29 of the fifth year of Nabonidus (Oct. 9, 551) Belshazzar paid one mina of silver as tithe to the temple of Eanna in Erech.⁷¹ Such tithe-paying was done by Nabonidus himself in

⁶⁵ Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 1:20.

⁶⁶ *ANET*, p. 316a; cf. F. W. Winnett and W. L. Reed, *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (Toronto, 1970), pp. 99-103.

⁶⁷ König, pp. 179-180.

⁶⁸ Röllig, pp. 243-245, 257-260.

⁶⁹ Tadmor, p. 354.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

⁷¹ Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 87.

his accession year at another temple in Sippar.⁷² This text does not claim, however, that Nabonidus was in Tema nor that Belshazzar had been entrusted with kingship. According to our suggested chronology, Nabonidus would have been in Harran to restore the temple Eḫulḫul; and Belshazzar in this year took care of the needs of a Babylonian sanctuary. The inference that the latter already functioned with the authority of the kingship does not follow.

The other text is the brief Goucher tablet which reports that fifty shekels of silver and flour were given to Nabû-muṣētiq-urra who had been sent to "the land of Tema."⁷³ This provision was handed to him after he had returned from "the land of Tema" on Adar 5 of the fifth year of Nabonidus (March 11, 550). This text states neither that Belshazzar was in charge of the administration, nor that Nabonidus was either in Tema or in the oasis of Tema. The inference that Belshazzar was in charge of the administration of Babylon and that Nabonidus was in Tema has just as little support as the inference for Nebuchadnezzar's stay in Tema which one could draw from a text dated to the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar stating that a certain amount of provision was given to a man from Tema.⁷⁴

Thus, these texts from Nabonidus' fifth year merely claim that there was traffic between the land of Tema and its oasis and Babylonia. This may be no surprise, because such traffic is known also from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Tadmor's objection to the departure of Nabonidus to Tema in his sixth regnal year is not sustained by the data in the cuneiform records.

These texts, plus one more known from the fifth year of Nabonidus which speaks of Belshazzar's delivery of provisions to Nabû-ushallim,⁷⁵ are not a proof that he already functioned

⁷² Ibid., p. 87, n. 293; cf. Strassmaier, *Inschriften des Nabonidus*, No. 2, 1-6.

⁷³ R. P. Dougherty, *Archives from Erech I* (New Haven, 1923), No. 294: 6-7. Cf. *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 116.

⁷⁴ Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 117.

⁷⁵ Dougherty, *Archives from Erech I*, No. 405:1-7; *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 100.

with kingship in that year.⁷⁶ But they do indicate that he had a certain association with Nabonidus and an exalted position⁷⁷ by the fifth year of Nabonidus, a situation which finally led to his being entrusted with kingship in the year in which Nabonidus went to Tema, as the Verse Account states.⁷⁸ This was the sixth year of Nabonidus (550/549), a time when Belshazzar was engaged in a most important legal action.⁷⁹ This "whole document is meaningless if Nabonidus was present in Babylon at the time."⁸⁰ "If he had been, it would not have been appropriate for Belshazzar to give attention to the settlement of the problem."⁸¹

Thus, the extant cuneiform data lead to the conclusion that kingship was entrusted to Belshazzar in the sixth year (550/549) of the reign of Nabonidus, who returned from his ten-year stay in Tema on Tashritu 17 of his sixteenth year (Oct. 25, 540 B.C.).⁸²

4. Identification of Belshazzar's First and Third Years

The discussion of the chronological data of the cuneiform sources in the previous section has indicated that Belshazzar received "kingship" (*šarrūtīm*)⁸³ at the time when Nabonidus left for Tema, i.e. in the sixth regnal year, 550/549 B.C. It seems, therefore, safe to assume that this was the "first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon" (Dan 7:1).⁸⁴ This means that the book of Daniel has a very long period of time between the events described in Dan 2 and those of Dan 7. Dan 2 is dated to the

⁷⁶ This is an inference drawn by Lewy, p. 434, n. 145.

⁷⁷ Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 101.

⁷⁸ *ANET*, p. 313b.

⁷⁹ Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 125-129.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136. Cf. Röllig, p. 244, n. 70.

⁸² Smith, pp. 102-103, had already suggested that Nabonidus returned in the latter part of his reign. Parrot, pp. 116-118, believed that Nabonidus returned in his seventeenth year, i.e. 539 B.C. This guess was very good if one considers that he wrote before the Harran stelae had come to light. It has been pointed out above that Tashritu 17 must have been in the sixteenth year. Recent cuneiform data bring about greater precision.

⁸³ *ANET*, p. 313b.

⁸⁴ There is no need to reckon with an accession year of Belshazzar because he was never sole ruler over Babylon.

“second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar” (vs. 1), which is best considered as his second regnal year, i.e. 603 B.C.,⁸⁵ and Dan 7 is dated to 550/549 B.C. The time span of fifty-three years bridges the vision of Dan 2 and the vision of Dan 7 which “is a reminiscent replica of that of the Image in c. 2.”⁸⁶ This indicates that a long period of time can elapse between two closely related visions.

The “third year of the reign of king Belshazzar” (Dan 8:1) is accordingly to be dated two years after Belshazzar was entrusted with kingship, i.e. 548/547 B.C. The time span between Dan 7 and Dan 8 according to the dating of the visions in the book of Daniel is only two years, a relatively short time compared to the time between Dan 2 and Dan 7, two chapters that are closely related in content. A relatively short time elapsed also between Dan 8 and Dan 9, the latter of which is apparently dated in the year of the fall of Babylon, 539 B.C. The time span between chaps. 8 and 9 consists of only nine years, a relatively short period compared to the more than fifty years between chaps. 2 and 7.

On the basis of the discussion presented in this essay and the resulting chronological conclusions, a number of widely held views must be set aside. The claim that the third year of Belshazzar was the year in which the “feast of blasphemy was held and Babylon fell”⁸⁷ or that “this vision [ch. 8] occurred shortly before the events of the fatal night of ch. 5”⁸⁸ and similar ones are in need of revision. The positions that “these dates [Dan 7:1; 8:1] have no significance,”⁸⁹ or appear to be gratuitous,

⁸⁵ It is no longer necessary to explain the difficulty between Dan 2:1 and 1:1, 18 through textual emendation (H. Ewald, A. Kamphausen, J. D. Prince, K. Marti, and J. Jahn) or double reckoning (C. B. Michaelis, G. Behrmann). The practice of inclusive reckoning, together with the recognition of the Babylonian usage of the king’s accession year as not being counted, removes all difficulties.

⁸⁶ J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh, 1927), p. 283.

⁸⁷ Gaebelien, p. 94.

⁸⁸ Young, p. 165.

⁸⁹ N. W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 102.

unless there was a tradition of a three years' reign of that monarch,⁹⁰ also need to be revised. J. A. Montgomery rightly noted in 1927 that "the Bible story is correct as to the rank of kingship given to Belshazzar."⁹¹ New cuneiform data suggest that Belshazzar functioned with full kingship from 550/549 B.C. to the end of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

In short, the book of Daniel dates chaps. 7 and 8 to 550/549 and 548/547 B.C. respectively, or about eleven and nine years before the fateful night in which Belshazzar lost his life (Dan 5:30) and when Babylon fell (middle of October, 539). Accordingly, the book's own chronology dates these chapters a number of years before chaps. 5 and 9.

⁹⁰ Cf. Montgomery, p. 325.

⁹¹ Montgomery, p. 67, against O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Gütersloh, 1965), p. 107, writes that "historically he has never been an independent king but merely substituted for his father during his lengthy time of absence." Is there any claim anywhere that Belshazzar was ever an "independent king"?

ISSUES IN THE INTERPRETATION OF HEBREWS

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That the book of Hebrews continues to remain an enigma to interpreters is highlighted by the recent appearance of two significant works—George Wesley Buchanan's commentary in the Anchor Bible¹ and Lala Kalyan Kumar Dey's *The Intermediary World and Patterns of Perfection in Philo and Hebrews*.² Whereas Buchanan finds the document to be centered in a group of migrant Jewish Christians who await in Jerusalem the fulfillment of the promise to Abraham, Dey sees it as a polemic grounded in a Philonic-type milieu! Obviously, the *religionsgeschichtliche* background to Hebrews continues to remain elusive. Our primary concern in this essay is not with *Religionsgeschichte*, however, nor with the other issues suggested by Erich Grässer³ in his long review of the literature of Hebrews a decade ago.⁴ Rather, we shall approach the continuing problem of interpreting Hebrews from the perspective of the "internal" issues of the document. That is, we are concerned with the questions of the center of the argument, of the significance of one part over against another and of the intent of the writing. In this endeavor the efforts by Buchanan and Dey provide a convenient backdrop; the respective interpretations are helpful to focus these questions, either in terms of a response to them or a lack of awareness of them.

¹ *To the Hebrews: Translation, Comment and Conclusions* (New York, 1972).

² SBL Dissertation Series, 25; Missoula, Montana, 1975.

³ Erich Grässer, "Der Hebräerbrief 1938-1963," *TRu* 30 (1964): 138-236. A supplement to this excellent article is provided by F. F. Bruce, "Recent Contributions to the Understanding of Hebrews," *ET* 80 (1969): 260-264.

⁴ Grässer discussed questions of NT introduction (author, address, time and place of composition, sources and traditions, integrity), general introduction (the text, genre, structure), *Religionsgeschichte* (Judaism, Qumran, Philo, Gnosticism), connections with Christianity (Paul, synoptics, the Fourth Gospel), and theology (ground-thought, usage of Scripture, Christology, eschatology, the Christian life).

Accordingly, we shall first briefly review these two works; then we shall give attention to the issues suggested by each; and finally we shall relate these issues to the history of research in Hebrews in the modern period as we draw conclusions from the study.

1. *Review of Buchanan and Dey*

Buchanan informs us in his preface that "the first draft of this commentary was written without consulting the available secondary sources in an effort to avoid the conscious or unconscious imitation of earlier commentators."⁵ Although the work was subsequently modified to some extent after reading other interpreters, the stamp of originality strongly remains. His is an interpretation which stands apart; it is clearly outside that stream in which Franz Delitzsch,⁶ B. F. Westcott,⁷ James Moffatt,⁸ C. Spicq,⁹ and O. Michel¹⁰ are the beacon lights.

What distinguishes Buchanan's presentation is the *utter Jewishness* of the understanding. That Hebrews was written to meet the needs of Jewish Christians has been a view of long standing, particularly in British scholarship.¹¹ But in Buchanan's commentary the people addressed seem more "Jewish" than "Christian"! They are a group of migrants who have gathered at Jerusalem to await the promise to Abraham; the land of

⁵ *To the Hebrews*, p. IX.

⁶ Franz Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. Thomas L. Kingsbury, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1862-72).

⁷ Brooke Foss Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950). Originally published 1889.

⁸ James Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, ICC (New York, 1924).

⁹ C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1952).

¹⁰ Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, Meyer Kommentar, 12 Aufl. (Göttingen, 1966).

¹¹ Study of Hebrews in Germany has for long inclined towards a view of the "Hebrews" as Gentile Christians. Eugene Ménégoz, *La théologie de l'Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris, 1894) traces this view as early as M. Koehler (1834). Despite its espousal by Moffatt and by F. F. Scott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Doctrine and Significance* (Edinburgh, 1922), British scholarship has generally regarded the original readers as Jewish Christians.

Israel is at last to be theirs.¹² Hebrews is a midrash on Psalm 110 designed to encourage these waiting souls, whose ardor is growing cold with the passing of the years.¹³

What of Jesus according to Buchanan? He is an exemplary figure (but not God)¹⁴ whose sacrificial death has so built up the treasury of merits of the Jewish nation that the ancient promise may now be realized.¹⁵ Christ's death has made purification not only for his own sins (1:3 signifies "when he had made a purification for his sins") but for the sins of Israel as well.¹⁶

Indeed, the "Hebrews" are even more remote from our understanding. They are a monastic group, who practice celibacy¹⁷ (chapter 13, with its endorsement of marriage, is not considered part of the original homily¹⁸). Moreover, the Hebrews are altogether sectarian in outlook. They maintain the regulations of Judaism and insist upon strict community rules.¹⁹ No sin is allowed after baptism.²⁰ What we seem to see is a Qumran-type community which "believes" in Jesus transported to Jerusalem.

According to Buchanan's interpretation, the Psalms, which come later than the "law" (that is, the Pentateuch), are thought to override it.²¹ For each era there are corresponding temples, sacrifices, covenant, and leaders, but those of the later era supersede the earlier ones. This explains the basis of the contrasts of Hebrews: Christ and Moses, Christ and Aaron, the two covenants, the two sanctuaries, the two types of sacrifice.

Linking both eras, however, is the promise of "rest." This was the original promise of the land, given to Abraham.²² In the view of Hebrews, this was not fulfilled by either Joshua or the Davidic

¹² *To the Hebrews*, pp. 8-9, 64-65, 169-170, 194, 246.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 56, 58.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. XXV, 83, 108.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38, 82, 129, 130-131, 155, 254.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-219, 221, 231, 256.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 231, 235, 267-268.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 214.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 107-110, 171.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. XXIX-XXX, 164, 166.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 64-65, 169-170, 194, 246.

monarchy. Now, however, the sacrifice of Jesus has opened the way for its realization—for those who are “perfect.”²³ This is why no sin may be permitted of a member of the brotherhood. The Messiah, who is a priest-king (*not* a Davidite)²⁴ is about to bring deliverance from Roman rule.²⁵

Buchanan’s approach to Hebrews brings several advantages. These lie principally in the interpretation of the traditional “hard nuts” such as the problematic “no repentance” passages of 6:4-6 and 10:26-31 and the difficult passage at 12:22-24—“You have come to Mount Zion . . . and to the city of the living God, heavenly Jerusalem. . . .” Buchanan argues strongly that here, as elsewhere in Hebrews we take the language at face value: the writer allows for no repentance from sin after baptism, while *actual* Jerusalem is intended at 12:22.

Obviously, there is a great deal here upon which comment might be made. We shall confine our remarks to but one matter, however: To what extent has Buchanan proved his case? While he claims at the outset to let the conclusions emerge from the discussion of the text²⁶ and although he does, in fact, delay matters of “introduction” till the close of his book,²⁷ he has shaped the entire presentation to accord with his opening statement, “The document entitled ‘To the Hebrews’ is a homiletical midrash based on Ps 110.”²⁸ Before the commentary begins, the reader is given a 12-page description of the nature of midrashim, florilegia, parables, *a fortiori* argument, typology, inclusion, chiasm, the author’s use of the OT, and so on²⁹—key elements in Buchanan’s

²³ Buchanan sees the author’s vocabulary of “perfection” in terms of the cultus. Perfection “describes a person who was fully cleansed from sin, qualified for full membership in a religious order, or one who observed rigorously all the rules required by the group.” *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁴ Buchanan holds that Hebrews portrays a messiah resembling the Hasmonean priest-kings rather than one belonging to the family of David. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 38-51.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 169-170, 194.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. X.

²⁷ Under the rubric of “Conclusions.” *Ibid.*, pp. 246-268.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. XIX.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. XIX-XXX.

presentation. Throughout the text allusions are constantly made to the OT, rabbinical, and apocalyptic literature.

But how much is actually *established* by such an endeavor? That similarities in expression may be adduced by no means guarantees *necessary* historical links. The purported links, in fact, appear at best tenuous (how valid is the argument from the treasury of merits, for instance?). Such a radical departure in interpretation calls for a more convincing demonstration.

Dey's dissertation, on the other hand, has many scholarly antecedents. Moffatt, Spicq, and others were convinced that, in some degree at least, the book of Hebrews had links with the thought world of Philo.³⁰ That view was examined in great detail and rejected by R. Williamson in his recent *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*.³¹ We would expect Dey to engage this work in an *Auseinandersetzung*, but inexplicably we find no reference to it.

Although Dey seeks to illumine the character of the entire document, his emphasis falls on the first seven chapters.³² His primary concern is with the series of comparisons of Jesus as Son with the angels, the heavenly man, Moses, Aaron, Levi, and Melchizedek.³³ Dey sets out to prove that this entire argument is understandable on the basis of a single religious thought-world—that to be found in Hellenistic Judaism, and especially in the writings of Philo Judaeus. Here angels, logos, heavenly man, and wisdom constitute the intermediary world between God and man. The revelation and religious status of this intermediary world, however, are inferior to that of "perfection," which is character-

³⁰ See Grässer, "Der Hebräerbrief," pp. 177-179.

³¹ Ronald Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums (Leiden, 1970).

³² The last five chapters of Dey's dissertation are directly concerned with Hebrews. They take up in turn Jesus and the angels (chap. 4, dealing with Heb 1:1-2:4); Jesus and Moses (chap. 5, dealing with Heb 3:1-6); Jesus, Melchizedek, Levi, and Aaron (chap. 6, taking up 7:1-28); and the perfection of Jesus (chap. 7, based on Heb 2:5-18, 4:14-5:10). The final chapter, entitled "The Perfection of the Believer: Faith, Hope and Paracnesis in Hebrews" is very sketchy, with only seven pages in all.

³³ *The Intermediary World*, pp. 4, 7, 121-126.

ized by unmediated and direct access to God. Among those who had attained to "perfection" were Moses (he communicated with God face to face), Aaron as he entered the Holy of Holies (divesting himself of the robe of the universe), Isaac (whose wisdom was self-taught), and Melchizedek. Allegorically the upper limits of heaven (where God dwells) characterize this realm.³⁴

The letter to the Hebrews endeavors to establish the superiority of Jesus to readers steeped in such ideas.³⁵ This explains in particular the concern to prove the superiority of Jesus over the angels and Moses — two comparisons that long have puzzled interpreters of the document. Likewise, the stress on "perfection"³⁶ and the references to Jesus "passing through" or ascending "higher than" the heavens become understandable.³⁷

According to Dey, the book of Hebrews, while assuming this Philonic-type world of thought, makes several unique contributions to it. It selects those already "perfect" (Moses and Aaron) and puts Christ *above* them.³⁸ In an even more radical move, it argues that perfection is to be realized *in this world* of sensory existence, according to the model of Jesus himself.³⁹ Finally, the

³⁴ The first two chapters of the dissertation attempt to establish the Philonic basis of intermediary world and patterns of perfection: chap. 1 deals with "Synonymity of Titles and Interchangeability of Functions in the Intermediary World," and chap. 2 with "Patterns of Perfection."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 93-96, 110. Note esp. p. 126: "The people addressed in Hebrews, accordingly, were not in the danger of relaxing into a less taxing Judaism which promised inferior salvific benefits than Christianity, nor were they in a state of post-apostolic fatigue, as some have characterized it, but on the contrary their 'neglect' (2, 3) of Christianity was occasioned by a particular tradition of Judaism which promised much more—perfection and immediacy to God without intervening-mediators and the highest of religious status, like that of Aaron and Moses."

³⁶ The contrast between Buchanan and Dey at this point is striking. Whereas, as we noticed above, "perfection" for the former is bound up with the cult, for the latter it is part of a thought-world characterized by levels of religious existence.

³⁷ Heb 4:14, "passed through the heavens"; 7:26, "separated from sinners, exalted above the heavens"; cf. 9:29, "into heaven itself."

³⁸ *The Intermediary World*, pp. 179-180, 217.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 219: "The bold and revolutionary thesis of the author of Hebrews . . . is that Jesus has entered and participated in the realm of imperfection (flesh, blood and temptation) and has accomplished perfection

perfection of the "Hebrews" is to be a *present* reality attained through faith and hope.⁴⁰

That Dey's thesis is poles apart from Buchanan's will be manifest from these few considerations. In fact, Dey has a chapter⁴¹ in which he examines the thought-world of apocalyptic Judaism and concludes that the views of angels and perfection there do not accord with Philo and Hebrews (the presence of angels does not raise the problem of access or immediacy to God, while perfection involves cultic purity). Interestingly, Buchanan argues his position largely by reference to the cultic concerns of Hebrews! Unfortunately, we find not a single reference to Buchanan's book anywhere in Dey.

While both Buchanan and Dey have sought to explicate the basis for the comparisons of Hebrews, Dey's case seems to be the stronger. If occasionally the parallels drawn from Philo appear to be strained, in general he has succeeded in presenting a religious thought-world in which much of the argument of Hebrews makes good sense. But we repeat: *much* of the argument! Dey's thesis is selective in its presentation: There is a great deal of Hebrews left untouched. For instance, he has not been able to extend the series of comparisons beyond the seventh chapter of Hebrews; the "better covenant" and "better sacrifices" of 8:1-10:18 do not seem to fit into his schema.⁴²

With these remarks we are ready to look more closely at the internal issues of interpreting Hebrews raised by these two works.

2. Four Issues Suggested by Buchanan and Dey

Attention in this section will be directed to the following four issues suggested by Buchanan and Dey: the question of

within this realm and thereby has opened the way for others to participate in perfection within this realm of creation and not outside of it."

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 227-233.

⁴¹ This is his 3d chapter: "The Angelic World and the Concept of Perfection in Other Traditions of Judaism—a Comparative Perspective."

⁴² Dey gives a passing reference to the covenant motif on pp. 211-212—the "better covenant" is faith and hope. He makes no attempt to weave in the long argument based on sacrifice (9:1-10:18).

emphasis in the book of Hebrews, the matter of cult, the valence of the author's language, and the pilgrimage motif.

1. *The Question of Emphasis*

Whereas Buchanan has been chiefly influenced by the language of "brothers," "priests," "sacrifices," "purification," and "unpardonable" sin, Dey has been guided by the concern with angels, Moses, Levi, Aaron, Melchizedek, and perfection. Dey's construction rests upon the first seven chapters (particularly 1:1-3:6 and chap. 7); Buchanan's is particularly guided by the last seven (chaps. 6-12, chap. 13 not being considered part of the original).

The question of emphasis, which is the question of the "center" for interpreting Hebrews, is a vital one. It has often been expressed in terms of a theology-parenesis division of the material of the document.⁴³ Since the appearance of E. Käsemann's *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*,⁴⁴ the emphasis in Protestant studies of Hebrews has been on the parenesis: It has been argued that here the primary purpose of the writing is to be located.⁴⁵

While Dey's work does not embrace the entire document, he has sought to make the whole intelligible by locating the primary concerns of the writer. His findings are just the reverse of Käsemann: Instead of theology serving the parenesis, parenesis is directed toward the theology:

In other words, paraenesis in Hebrews is a mode of Christian paideia whose aim is to lead the Christians to the knowledge of God and the Christian 'virtues' of faith and hope. This is the precise opposite of the view advanced that theology in Hebrews is at the service of the paraenesis (Käsemann, Michel, and others). Put more simply, paraenesis in Hebrews has as its purpose to lead the learner to the knowledge of God and this knowledge informs and

⁴³ See Grässer, "Der Hebräerbrief," pp. 197-204.

⁴⁴ Ernst Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk* (Göttingen, 1939).

⁴⁵ This position is advocated by M. Dibelius, "Der himmlische Kultus nach dem Hebräerbrief," *Theologische Blätter* 21 (1942): 1-11; Berthold Klappert, *Die Eschatologie des Hebräerbriefs* (Munich, 1969); D. Kuss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Regensburg, 1953); and Albrecht Oepke, *Das neue Gottesvolk in Schriftum, Schauspiel, bildender Kunst und Weltgestaltung* (Gütersloh, 1950).

grounds their religious existence as faith and hope—and not the other way around.⁴⁶

Does Buchanan's emphasis then fall on theology or parenesis? The answer must be, neither. His work is guided by a factor which cuts across *both* theology and parenesis—the cult. Here we see raised a second—and related—issue in the interpretation of Hebrews.

2. *The Issue of the Cult*

The language of the cult impregnates the entire book of Hebrews. It is far more than the extended theological discussion of 7:1-10:18; rather it is found as early as the proem⁴⁷ and in the final chapters.⁴⁸ Even in the so-called parenetic sections, exhortations are couched in cultic terminology⁴⁹—a fact which casts to the winds the whole endeavor to dichotomize the material of Hebrews.

Buchanan has felt the impact of this language. If the end result of his reflections on it leaves much to be desired, his commentary at least enshrines this important insight—one that sets it apart from others.

Dey, on the other hand, has either not felt the force of the cult in Hebrews or has chosen to ignore it.⁵⁰ So, while the presentation of the comparisons between Jesus and the angels, Moses, Levi, and Aaron is laudable, it leaves too much unsaid. How does the "heavenly sanctuary" motif tie in here? What function can Christ have as minister of such a temple if perfection is already a

⁴⁶ *The Intermediary World*, p. 229.

⁴⁷ Heb 1:3—The Son "made purification for sins."

⁴⁸ E.g., Heb 12:15, "by it the many become defiled"; 13:4, "let the marriage bed be undefiled."

⁴⁹ E.g., after the long cultic argument of 7:1-10:18, the exhortation is to "draw near" (*proserchomai*, 10:22)—a term used for the approach of the priest to God. Cf. 4:16.

⁵⁰ Dey, of course, does not set out to interpret the whole document in detail (see *The Intermediary World*, p. 4); he has, however, claimed to have illumined the entire thought-world of Hebrews. The motif of sacrifice, however, does not seem to accord with Dey's explanation of "perfection" as realized now through faith and hope. This appears to us to be a major flaw in Dey's thesis for it is unable to gather up a significant part of the data.

reality for the readers by way of faith and hope? And especially, How does the argument of 9:1-10:18 concerning the *sacrifice* of Christ, a passage that appears to mark the climax of a long development, accord with Dey's construction?

Buchanan's concern with the cult, however, itself leads to a third issue: How *seriously* is this language to be taken? What intent of the letter does it serve? This is the issue of the valence (value) of the terminology adopted in Hebrews, and clearly it embraces the total argument. It pertains to specifically cultic language as well as to apparently non-cultic terminology. Confronting us as we try to understand his discussion is the question, What are we to take literally, and what is to be "spiritualized"?

3. *The Valence of the Language*

Once again Buchanan is sensitive to the issue. Continually he chides previous exegetes for their failure to confront the literal force of the argument, Protestant writers for "spiritualizing" it,⁵¹ and Catholic commentators for reading in ideas of the Mass.⁵² So he contends that the "rest" which is now available to the "Hebrews" was the actual land of Canaan,⁵³ the "sacrifice" of Jesus was a real one;⁵⁴ the heavenly temple stood immediately above the earthly, linked by the smoke of the sacrifice;⁵⁵ thus, Jesus' ascension was in the smoke of the sacrifice;⁵⁶ his sacrifice provided a cleansing of the heavenly temple, which had been defiled by sins on earth;⁵⁷ the Zion to which the believers had come was literal Jerusalem;⁵⁸ and the severe warnings of Hebrews permit of no sin after baptism.⁵⁹

⁵¹ *To the Hebrews*, pp. 136, 160-162, 189, 191-193, 222.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 64-65, 154, 169-170, 194, 246.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 162.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-162.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 162.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 162.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189, 222-226, 235, 256, 263.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66, 197-110, 171.

Dey, on the other hand, does not engage in a discussion of this issue. He assumes throughout that the book of Hebrews is operating in Philonic-type categories of thought which allow for a fluidity of meaning. For example, in dealing with the *crux interpretum* of 10:20—*tout' estin tēs sarkos autou*, (“that is, his flesh”)—he sees a distinction being made between the realm of God and the world of flesh:

The inner veil of the temple (*katapetasma*) which is a symbol of the separation of the Holy of Holies (God) from the outside world of body and flesh explains the enigmatic statement in Hb 10, 20, namely, that Jesus has passed out (or through, in terms of the special metaphor) of the realm of flesh when he entered into the Holy of Holies at his death (cf. 9, 11-12).⁶⁰

Both Buchanan and Dey, each in his own way, attempt to face the force of the “realized” element in Hebrews—the way into the Holy of Holies is now open; Christians may now find “perfection” or “rest”; they even now have come to Mount Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem.⁶¹ But whereas for Buchanan this element is to be understood in terms of literal Jerusalem and literal Canaan, for Dey it belongs to the realm of thought.

Obviously, the issue raised here is crucial to the interpretation of Hebrews. The decision made concerning the valence of the language shapes the understanding of the entire document, and is particularly acute in the areas of cosmology and eschatology.

We pass to a final issue which is suggested by the two works under consideration.

⁶⁰ *The Intermediary World*, p. 180. Not surprisingly, Buchanan, *To the Hebrews*, p. 168, finds 10:20 a difficult verse to fit into his literalistic interpretation and resorts to the possibility of a later gloss: “The allegorical interpretation, ‘that is, his flesh,’ seems like a later gloss, similar to the gloss ‘that is, not of this creation’ in 9:11.”

⁶¹ The rest *remains* (4:9); it may now be entered (4:10); Jesus has gone beyond the veil (4:14-16; 6:19, 20); the way through the veil has been opened (10:20); the “Hebrews” *have* come to Mount Zion (12:18-24). Hence the strong note of boldness (*parrēsia*) in the document.

4. *The Pilgrimage Motif*

While the idea that Hebrews sets out the Christian religion as a pilgrimage is of long standing, it was Käsemann⁶² who first focused the significance of this motif for interpreters of Hebrews. Despite the modifications which need to be made in his work (his argument that the gnostic redeemer-myth of the *Urmensch* supplies the format for Hebrews, for instance, may be seriously questioned), he has succeeded in isolating the *poignant* note of Hebrews.⁶³ As pilgrims, God's people are on the move; they have not yet arrived, although great privileges are theirs; the possibility of failure to attain the goal is ever-present; the great need is for faithfulness. Käsemann's book had the misfortune to be released just before the outbreak of hostilities in World War II and has never been revised; consequently, its impact has not been felt in the English-speaking world to the extent it deserves.

A major flaw in Dey's thesis is that it does not—and apparently cannot—accommodate this “pilgrim” motif of Hebrews. The argument that through faith and hope the “Hebrews” even now attain perfection seems directly opposed to the note of *waiting*, of *expectation*, that Käsemann defined so well. Passages that speak of the Return, of course, run directly counter to Dey's position—he must dismiss these as vestigial remains of apocalyptic.⁶⁴ Likewise do the appeals to faithful advance lose their force. Indeed, “faith” and “hope” seem to have been transmogrified on the basis of his argument.⁶⁵

⁶² In *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*.

⁶³ Käsemann was not the first to point out the pilgrim motif of Hebrews. Earlier works on Hebrews such as Philip Mauro's *God's Pilgrims: their Dangers, their Resources, their Rewards* (London, n.d.), however, were *homiletical* in thrust. It was Käsemann who in a convincing, scholarly manner first demonstrated the significance of the motif.

⁶⁴ *The Intermediary World*, pp. 95-96, 175.

⁶⁵ For Dey, “faith” and “hope” function in terms of cosmology; for Käsemann—and, in our judgment, for the book of Hebrews—they are tied to eschatology. It seems strange that Dey should pass by Erich Grässer's important study of Hebrews 11, *Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief* (Marburg, 1965). He has, however, included this work in his bibliography.

Nor is Buchanan's effort satisfactory in this regard. He has succeeded in maintaining the "not yet" aspect of Hebrews (the monastic community awaits the realization of the promise of the land), but the *wandering* motif has been lost. A group of migrants to Jerusalem simply will not fit the specifications.

These, then, are four internal issues of interpretation of Hebrews that arise directly out of our consideration of the comments of Buchanan and Dey: the question of emphasis of the parts, the place of the cult, the valence of the language, and the pilgrimage motif. We may now seek to place these issues against the general backdrop of research in Hebrews in the modern period as we draw conclusions from the study.

3. *Conclusions to be Drawn in Relating the Four Issues to Recent Research in Hebrews*

Of the four issues isolated above, the first and final ones clearly hang together. Käsemann's work threw the emphasis and intent of Hebrews on the parenthesis; and much interpretation of the document, especially from Germany, has followed his lead. That is, interpreters have increasingly looked to 3:7-4:13, 5:11-6:20, and 10:19-12:29 as the most significant parts of the document. Correspondingly, the clearly cultic sections dealing with priesthood, temple, and sacrifice 2:7-18, 4:14-16, 5:1-10, and 7:1-10:18 have been de-emphasized.

The roots of this trend, however, are much earlier than the release of *Das wandernde Gottesvolk* and reach back to the last part of the nineteenth century, as I have shown elsewhere.⁶⁶ During the twentieth century there has not been a single Protestant work devoted to the sustained argument of 7:1-10:18. Roman Catholic scholars, on the other hand, have manifested a continuing interest in this passage, particularly with regard to finding ideas of priesthood and the Mass. In addition to the major works, such as A. Cody's *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the*

⁶⁶ William George Johnsson, *Defilement and Purgation in the Book of*

Hebrews,⁶⁷ J. Smith's *A Priest for Ever*,⁶⁸ and F. J. Schierse's *Verheissung und Heilsvollendung*,⁶⁹ a steady stream of scholarly articles continues to appear,⁷⁰ likewise have Roman Catholic commentaries shown keen concern with the cultic argumentation.⁷¹

Protestant reaction to the cultus of Hebrews has been varied over the past 120 years. Delitzsch,⁷² Westcott,⁷³ and Davidson⁷⁴ interpreted the argument of Hebrews in terms of *continuity*: Christ's death was viewed as sacrifice, *surpassing* the OT sacrifices. Ménégos spoke for this view as he wrote:

Hebrews (Ph.D. dissertation; Vanderbilt University, 1973), pp. 27-96.

⁶⁷ Aelred Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews: The Achievement of Salvation in the Epistle's Perspectives* (St. Meinrad, Ind., 1960).

⁶⁸ Jerome Smith, *A Priest for Ever: A Study of Typology and Eschatology in Hebrews* (London, 1969).

⁶⁹ F. J. Schierse, *Verheissung und Heilsvollendung: Zur Theologischen Grundfrage des Hebräerbriefes* (Munich, 1955).

⁷⁰ As indicative of the continuing interest of Roman Catholic writers in the cultus of Hebrews we note the following articles published since 1963: A. Vanhoye, "De instauratione novae Dispositionis (Heb. 9, 15-23)," *Verbum Domini* 44 (1966): 113-130; "Mundatio per sanguinem (Heb. 9, 22, 23)," *Verbum Domini* 44 (1966): 177-191; "Par la tente plus grande et plus parfaite . . . (Heb. 9, 11)," *Bib* 46 (1965): 1-28; "Thema sacerdotii praeparatur in Heb. 1, 1-2, 18," *Verbum Domini* 47 (1969): 284-297; James B. Swetnam, "The Greater and More Perfect Tent: A Contribution to the Discussion of Hebrews 9, 11," *Bib* 47 (1966): 91-106; "Hebrews 9, 2, and the Use of Consistency," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 205-221; "On the Imagery and Significance of Hebrews 9, 9-10," *CBQ* 28 (1966): 155-173; "Sacrifice and Revelation in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Observations and Surmises on Hebrews 9, 26," *CBQ* 30 (1968): 227-234; "A Suggested Interpretation of Hebrews 9:15-18," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 373-390; P. Andriessen, "L'Eucharistie dans l'Épître aux Hébreux," *NRT* 94 (1972): 269-277; "Das Grössere und vollkommene Zelt (Heb. 9, 11)," *BZ* 15 (1971): 76-92; and L. Sabourin, "'Liturgie du sanctuaire et de la tente véritable' (Heb. viii. 2)," *NTS* 18 (1971): 87-90; "Sacrificium ut liturgia in Epistula ad Hebraeos," *Verbum Domini* 46 (1968): 235-258.

⁷¹ Apart from those of Spicq and Kuss, we note P. Joseph Bonsirven, *Saint Paul: Épître aux Hébreux* (Paris, 1953); Peter Ketter, *Hebräerbrief* (Freiburg, 1950); and F. J. Schierse, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. Benen Fahy (London, 1969).

⁷² Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*.

⁷³ Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*.

⁷⁴ A. B. Davidson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh, n.d.).

C'est ici qu'il faut nous garder d'une méprise dans laquelle sont tombés de nombreux théologiens. Ils ont confondu le sens propre et le sens figuré du mot *sacrifice*. L'auteur de l'Épître aux Hébreux voit dans la mort du Christ un vrai sacrifice, un sacrifice rituel, assimilé aux sacrifices lévitiques, un holocauste offert à Dieu sous une forme spéciale, exceptionnelle, mais réalisant d'une manière parfaite le type prophétique de ceux de l'ancienne Alliance, et procurant la rémission des péchés aux fidèles qui l'offrent, par l'intermédiaire du Christ, devant le trône de Dieu. C'est le sacrifice au sens propre de ce mot.⁷⁵

But the later current of scholarly opinion began to run counter to the cult. Already G. Lünemann had denigrated sacrifice as "a rudely sensuous means,"⁷⁶ and as the century came to a close A. B. Bruce⁷⁷ argued that the entire cultic framework of Hebrews in fact was directed toward an anti-cultic purpose. Thus, in the twentieth century we find D. B. Weiss dismissing the complete section 8:6-10:18 in only twelve pages under the heading, "Der Abschaffung des Opferkultus!"⁷⁸ M. Dibelius holding that Hebrews is opposed to all earthly cults,⁷⁹ J. Héring associating the cultus with a "magical conception of religion,"⁸⁰ and H. Strathmann⁸¹ arguing that the OT cultus itself rested on a delusion.⁸²

We should notice, however, that this issue of the place of the cultus in the overall purpose of Hebrews has not been clearly sighted. It has remained a hidden issue, as interpreters of the document have commented on the specifically cultic portions without sensing the need to justify the treatment they have adopted.

⁷⁵ Ménégos, *La théologie de l'Épître aux Hébreux*, p. 229.

⁷⁶ Göttlieb Lünemann, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. Maurice J. Evans (New York, 1885), p. 641.

⁷⁷ Alexander Balmain Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity* (New York, 1899).

⁷⁸ D. Bernard Weiss, *Der Hebräerbrief in zeitgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Leipzig, 1910), pp. 47-58. He devotes 32 pages to 12:12-13:25!

⁷⁹ Dibelius, "Der himmlische Kultus . . ."

⁸⁰ Jean Héring, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London, 1970), p. 78.

⁸¹ Hermann Strathmann, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 123, 128.

⁸² He holds that the OT cultus merely furnishes ideas to make the death of Jesus meaningful; the cultus itself rested on a delusion. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 128.

The related problem of the valence of the language of Hebrews has been discerned even less. We may detect three general responses with regard to it: a literalizing view, a "spiritualizing" stance, and an intermediate position.

During the course of studies in the present century, very few exegetes have favored according a literal significance to the cultic language of Hebrews. The literal view seems to present serious difficulties—the present approach to the Most Holy and to the heavenly Jerusalem, the offering of Christ as a real sacrifice, the need to purify things in heaven, and dire warnings against apostasy. Buchanan emerges as the chief proponent; apart from him, only Windisch⁸³ has been a prominent advocate of this view. Windisch saw Hebrews as setting forth a literal presentation of the blood of Jesus in a heavenly sanctuary, for instance.⁸⁴ The "spiritualizing"⁸⁵ view runs directly counter to this. Its advocates have been legion. Heavenly sanctuary, sacrifice, priest—all are said to indicate the *subjective* benefits of the work of Christ to the believer. W. P. Du Bose, for instance, in his *High Priest and Sacrifice*⁸⁶ equated the heavenly sanctuary with the Church, the Holy Place with flesh and the Most Holy with spirit, blood with human destiny through death, and Christ's act with ours. A. Nairne⁸⁷ asserted that the cult merely provides *auctor ad Hebraeos* with an analogy, while Smith⁸⁸ sees the entire cult of

⁸³ Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief*.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47. He argues (p. 85) that "blood" in Hebrews is not to be considered as merely a "'plastisches Wortsymbol' für die Erlösung durch Christus, wird doch gerade die überragende kultische Wirkung des Christus-blutes der rituellen Wirkung des tierblutes entgegengesetzt."

⁸⁵ The term "spiritualize" is itself a slippery one. E.g., in Webster's *Third New International Dictionary*, there is an oscillation between a *moral*, non-literalizing sense and a "spirit-ist" idea. When the cult of Hebrews is "spiritualized," the reference may be to an actual heavenly (=spiritual) cult or to a complete collapsing of the cultic language so that only "salvation" is indicated.

⁸⁶ William Porcher Du Bose, *High Priesthood and Sacrifice: An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York, 1908).

⁸⁷ Alexander Nairne, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1935).

⁸⁸ Smith, *A Priest for Ever*.

Hebrews as "extended metaphor."⁸⁹ Scholars such as Cody⁹⁰ and F. F. Bruce,⁹¹ however, have attempted to avoid both extreme literalism and the collapsing of the cultic language by taking an intermediate position. They understand an actual heavenly cultus to be pointed to in Hebrews but they seek by various means to avoid crass materiality; e.g., Cody argues that "heaven" is viewed under three different perspectives, while the sanctuary typology is organized in terms of two distinct "sets."⁹²

It is to be stressed, however, that this classification by no means suggests that the issue has been grasped. In general, interpreters of Hebrews have merely launched into their exegesis, presupposing the valence of the cultic language. There has been no clearcut awareness of alternate interpretations and of the need to justify the stance adopted.

We are now in a better position to place the presentations of Buchanan and Dey in terms of the scholarly treatment of Hebrews in the modern period. It has become clear that the issues of interpretation which lie behind these two very differing understandings of the pamphlet have, in fact, a long history. Unfortunately, however, they have remained for the most part hidden issues, and so the interpretation of Hebrews has been clouded accordingly.

What conclusions, then, seem warranted from our considerations in this essay?

First of all, the attempt to lay stress on one part of the document to the exclusion of the other(s) is not helpful. Theology and parenthesis are so intertwined that the neglect of any part of the document can only result in distortion. It is largely because each

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136. This, in fact, is in line with Smith's thesis that the entire argument of Hebrews is extended metaphor.

⁹⁰ Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy*.

⁹¹ F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964).

⁹² The three perspectives are cosmological, "axiological," and eschatological; the two "sets" are: (1) that in which the outer and inner apartments represent the earthly and heavenly orders of salvation respectively, and (2) that in which they represent the body of Christ and God's dwelling in glory respectively. *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy*, pp. 46, 77-86.

interpreter chooses to argue out of certain areas of the work that such contradictory "explanations" have resulted.

Second, effort to see the work holistically must take into account the cultic language. Here is a factor that unites both theology and parenthesis, but one which has been much neglected in modern studies of Hebrews. Buchanan's commentary has sought to acknowledge the place of this language, but has produced an extreme interpretation. A heightened awareness of the place of cultus in other writings of the NT with studies of the phenomena associated with defilement, blood, and purgation as universal religious manifestations⁹³ may serve as a corrective to his work.

Third, if the cultus is to be studied carefully, then the particular section 7:1-10:18 calls for thorough investigation. It seems undeniable that this passage forms the climax of an argument that has been anticipated from the first verses of the document and which has been built up step by step. Yet, apart from *religions-geschichtliche* interest in the curious figure Melchizedek, this part of Hebrews has been passed over by modern Protestant scholars. Hebrews is likely to remain an enigma until this section is fitted into its rightful place in the total plan of the work.

Fourth, the most urgent need is to tackle the problem of the *language* of Hebrews. This has been the hidden key issue behind investigation of this writing for more than a century. Is all the talk about priests, blood, and temples to be taken seriously? What weight shall we assign it? Is it no more than a *theologoumenon*? The longstanding *cruces interpretum* all spring from this issue; indeed, the entire view of Hebrews rests upon it. But how is the issue of the language of Hebrews to be resolved? Will it be by reference to works outside the document, that is, by a search for parallels? The history of research in Hebrews, illustrated once more by the efforts of Buchanan and Dey, suggests that this

⁹³ My dissertation, *Defilement and Purgation in Hebrews*, has set forth the evidence for this (chap. 3). Buchanan's perspective is too narrow; thus, he has concluded (wrongly, in my judgment) that the cultic language of Hebrews points to a monastic, celibate community.

approach may not be fruitful. Over and over, interpreters have endeavored to identify the *religionsgeschichtliche* contours of Hebrews by pointing to first one apparent similarity, then another—drawn from a different part of the data! Rather, should not *auctor ad Hebraeos* himself be allowed to indicate the answer? If he intends Hebrews to be a sustained metaphor, if all the cultic talk is a *theologoumenon*, somewhere in the writing he must reveal his hand. Unless, of course, he intended that the homily(!) forever remain a conundrum to his readers! Surely the alternatives before us are these: Either we must establish conclusively from the document itself that the language of the cult is to be “spiritualized,” or else we must grant that no such transposition of meaning is intended, with all the implications this entails for the problematic passages of the work.

Finally, a holistic interpretation of Hebrews must seek to resolve the apparent internal tension of the document. Both Käsemann and Buchanan have caught melodies of Hebrews: the former, the song of the wandering people of God; the latter, the chant of the cultus. One has seen the overriding danger to be confronted as that of unfaithfulness; the other, defilement and excommunication from the brotherhood. Is there an inherent theological dichotomy here? Or can, in fact, a dialectical or syncretical harmony be found? This problem, not even sighted by interpreters of Hebrews, calls for serious reflection.

It is evident that debate concerning the interpretation of Hebrews will continue. Such dialog will be significant, however, only as it is intelligent. It must take account of the long-acknowledged questions of dispute, as well as the more subtle ones—the “internal” issues of interpretation—which have not usually been noticed. Perhaps the major part of finding the right answers is in framing the right questions.



LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA: THE MARI ARCHIVES

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This is the first in a series of bibliographical articles on the extra-biblical written sources available to the historian who wishes to deal with the OT period and with the general area of Palestine-Syria. Its purpose is to acquaint the readers of this journal with the main bodies of texts to which reference is often made in books and articles treating that period. Inasmuch as readers of this journal include many whose specialization is other than OT, a general introduction will be given as well as the kind of bibliographical introduction which will permit those who are so inclined to consult the original and secondary literature on their own.

The Site

Mari, the ancient city which once occupied the mound which now goes by the name Tell Ḥariri, is located on the right bank of the Euphrates in Syria, about ten miles north of the Iraqi frontier. Its importance lies not so much in its location as in its inhabitants at the beginning of the second millennium B.C.: Their native language belonged to the family from which the Hebrew of the OT sprang (termed the "Northwest Semitic" group of languages by linguists), and thus when we trace the language and history of the inhabitants of Mari, we are in a sense mapping the family tree of the biblical Hebrews.

Archaeology

The first campaign at Tell Ḥariri was carried out by André Parrot and a French expedition during the winter months of 1933-34, and has been reported by Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari. Première campagne (Hiver 1933-34). Rapport préliminaire," *Syria* 16 (1935): 1-28, 117-140. Since that first session, preliminary reports of twenty more campaigns have been published in *Syria*,

the twenty-first in 52 (1975): 1-17. Also, the final comprehensive reports have begun to appear, as follows (all by Parrot in Mission archéologique de Mari [abbreviated hereafter as MAM], published by Geuthner in Paris): *Le temple d'Ishtar*, MAM 1, 1956; *Le palais: Architecture*, MAM 2/1, 1958; *Le palais: Peintures murales*, MAM 2/2, 1958; *Le palais: Documents et monuments*, MAM 2/3, 1959; *Les temples d'Ishtar et de Ninni-Zaza*, MAM 3, 1967; *Le "trésor" d'Ur*, MAM 4, 1968. Parrot himself has recently summed up the finds, both archaeological and epigraphic, with good bibliography: *Mari, capitale fabuleuse* (Paris: Payot, 1974).

The most spectacular finds fall into two categories: texts and architecture. To date more than 20,000 tablets have been found, as well as inscriptions on stone, cylinder seals, jewelry, etc., in far smaller number. The contents of the tablets are the main topic of this report.

As to the architectural discoveries, the most astonishing was that of a series of superimposed palaces stretching over a period of at least a thousand years from early in the third millennium B.C. (Early Dynastic II-III or pre-Sargonic in archaeological/historical terms) to early in the second millennium B.C. (the Old Babylonian period). The earliest palace (Pre-Sargonic II) is, of course, the deepest in the mound, and is now the least exposed. Nonetheless, several large rooms of the sacred portion of this palace, complete with altars and libation pits, have been completely excavated, as have also several of the surrounding rooms and corridors.

The plan of the later palace (Pre-Sargonic I) is the same as the earlier, with walls, altars, etc., all superimposed over a period of several hundred years. Parrot has been speculating in the last few preliminary reports as to whether or not a "Pre-Sargonic III" palace will be found. This is a prime example of the long-term "bated breath" required of archaeologists. Frequently one must wait a decade or more for the answer to a haunting question.

In addition to the pre-Sargonic palaces, several temples of these periods have been found (those of Ishtar, Ishtarar, and Ninni-Zaza have already seen final publication, in reports noted above). The most striking epigraphic finds of these early periods are short references to Ansud (also written Ansub and Hanusu), king of Mari, and to Mesannipadda, king of Ur, discussed by Parrot in *Syria* 42 (1965): 23, 220-225. These kings are presented in the Sumerian king list as founders of dynasties in Mari and Ur, but before Parrot's finds only Mesannipadda was known from contemporary sources (the Sumerian king list itself dates from a later period and its historicity is called into doubt). The inscriptions of Ansud prove (1) that he existed in the Early Dynastic period as king of Mari, and (2) that he was roughly contemporary with Mesannipadda (showing that the "dynasties" which appear in the Sumerian king list as successive were often contemporary—a situation analogous to the judges of the Bible for whom contemporaneity is not stated but likely in several cases).

The latest palace, which lay closest to the surface and which thus was excavated first, was that of the Old Babylonian period (early second millennium). It received its greatest expansion in the time of its last king, Zimri-Lim, when it covered eight acres and comprised 300 rooms, complete with throne rooms, audience chambers, schools, bakeries, wine cellars, archives, bath-rooms, and lavatories ("inside plumbing" in 1800 B.C.!). This is the palace treated by Parrot in MAM 2, noted above. It was also in this palace that most of the 20,000 tablets were found, particularly in rooms 5, 110, 111, and 115. Room 115 was re-excavated in 1972 and another hundred tablets were found, as reported by M. Birot, "Nouvelles découvertes épigraphiques au palais de Mari (Salle 115)," *Syria* 50 (1973): 1-11.

The Texts

Of the more than 20,000 texts excavated to date, only about one fourth have been published officially, in the series *Archives royales de Mari*. About two-fifths of the published texts are letters.

The rest are economic, administrative, and juridical texts. (The main collections are noted at the end of this article.) Besides these official final publications, however, many documents have been published in preliminary form in the journals *Syria*, *RA*, and elsewhere.

It should be noted also that English translations of Mari texts may occasionally be found in the English-language articles cited in this report. The standard collection of ancient Near Eastern texts in English translation contains relatively few texts from Mari: *ANET*, 3d ed. with supplement (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 482-483, 556-557, 623-625, 628-632. A few more are available in A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 96-110.

Virtually all of the texts of the Old Babylonian period are in Akkadian. It is clear, however, that the native language of the population was an early form of Northwest Semitic (i.e., there was a standard, official language used for business correspondence and probably utilized by the higher class of society for speech also, and there was the native, popular language spoken by the lower classes). This Northwest Semitic shows up in proper names (e.g., native Yabni-Addu as versus Akkadian Ibni-Addu) and in a few words used in a non-Akkadian sense or which are not Akkadian at all.

The texts are written on rectangular or square tablets, fatter in the middle than at the sides, made of unbaked clay. Because the tablets were originally not baked hard, they tend to be in very fragile condition when unearthed. The excavators have developed techniques for baking and cleaning the tablets shortly after discovery in order to prevent further decay.

History

From the standpoint of historical survey, the best is that of J.-R. Kupper in *CAH*, 3d ed., 2/1 (1973): 1-41. An older treatment is

that of Franco Michellini Tocci, *La Siria nell'età di Mari* (Rome: Università di Roma, 1960).

As for the texts themselves, the letters provide first-hand historical information and are of more intrinsic value as historical documents than royal inscriptions because they deal with real life situations and lack the propagandistic bombast of documents intended for public consumption. The letters do have several drawbacks, however: (1) They were written to and from individuals who knew what they were writing about and who thus did not bother to provide all the details the modern eavesdropper would like to have. (2) Though there is less propagandistic exaggeration and deviation from the truth than in the later Assyrian royal inscriptions, we are nonetheless never sure when someone writing to the king, for example, was embroidering on the truth. (3) Not enough letters have come down through the nearly 3000 years since they were written to fill all the gaps in our information, and those which have come down are often partly broken, leaving exasperating lacunae.

The economic, administrative, and juridical texts provide the raw material for assessing how goods and services were exchanged and the legal traditions regulating such exchanges, as well as giving information on other aspects of social intercourse. An example of how these texts can be used for reconstructing political history is provided below, in the next section.

The Mari texts, coupled with information from other Mesopotamian sources, reveal the following outline of the political history of Mari in the early second millennium: (1) A local dynasty wherein the royal names Yaggid-Lim and Yahdun-Lim occur (before about 1815, according to the so-called "Middle Chronology"¹); (2) foreign rule in Mari, with the king of Assyria, Shamshi-Adad, taking control of the Mari region and putting his

¹For the various chronologies which have been suggested, see the discussion and bibliographies of Edward F. Campbell in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. G. Ernest Wright (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 214-224.

son Yasmaḥ-Adad on the throne of Mari itself (until about 1780); and (3) the local dynasty regaining ascendancy, with Zimri-Lim, son of Yaḥdun-Lim, retaking the throne of Mari. In this last-mentioned enterprise, Zimri-Lim was aided by his father-in-law, Yarim-Lim (notice the -Lim name), king of the Syrian kingdom of Yamḥad. Finally, Mari was destroyed by the famous Hammurabi of Babylon in the latter's 35th regnal year (about 1757).

Beyond this bare skeleton of historical information, there is a vast amount of information in these letters about the administration of Mari and its dependent towns, and about Mari's relationships with other towns and nations of the time.

History of Neighboring Areas

The Mari texts are extremely useful in establishing the history and geography of northern Mesopotamia, but for the student of Syro-Palestinian history the references to the western countries are of paramount interest. We have already seen that Zimri-Lim was married to the daughter of Yarim-Lim, king of Yamḥad in Syria. His predecessor, Yasmaḥ-Adad of the Assyrian regency, was also married to a Syrian princess, the daughter of Ishḥi-Adad, king of Qatna, another town located in central Syria (which would indicate a rivalry between two of the major political centers in Syria).

The kind of information we can expect from the Mari texts is well illustrated by an economic document, recently published by G. Dossin, "La route de l'étain en Mésopotamie au temps de Zimri-Lim," *RA* 64 (1970): 97-106 (quoted here from A. Malamat, "Syro-Palestinian Destinations in a Mari Tin Inventory," *IEJ* 21 [1971]: 34):

10 minas tin (for) Sumu-Eraḥ
at Muzunnum;
8½ minas tin (for) Wari-taldu
at Laish;
30 minas tin (for) Ibni-Adad, king of Hazor.
Comptroller: Add[. . .] at Ḥazazar,
for the first time;

20 minas tin (for) Amud-pī-El,
 20 minas tin (for) Ibni-Adad,
 [for the] second time;
 [x] minas tin for the Caphtorite,
 1 [+ ? minas] tin for the dragoman,
 [x minas tin for] the Carian (?),
 [at Ugarit;
 20 (?) [minas tin for Ib]ni-Adad for the third time;

This short document mentions shipments of tin to two well-known places in Palestine (Hazor, located about ten miles north of the Sea of Galilee, and Laish, the ancient name of Dan, located at the northern extremity of Israel near Mt. Hermon); two less well-known places (Muzunnum and Hazazar²); Amud-pī-El, then king of Qatna; the city of Ugarit, on the far northern coast of Phoenicia; and a Caphtorite (Cretan). Malamat, in *IEJ* 21 (1971): 35, has called the reference to Wari-Taldu, king of Laish "the plum for the Palestinologist." It is indeed of extreme interest to find the king of Laish in northern Palestine bearing a name which must be identified as Hurrian, especially at so early a period.³ References to the cities of Palestine are so rare that a mention of Laish providing the ruler's name is indeed a real "plum."

Social History

These texts also provide material for research for many years to come into the social aspects of the early West Semitic peoples who lived in and around Mari. Some aspects of this social history have already been treated, but much remains to be done, especially as more texts are published. Some of the areas that have been studied thus far are as follows:

Nomadism: J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1957);

² For the localization of these two places, see M. C. Astour in *RA* 67 (1973): 73-75.

³ For the Hurrians at the beginning of the second millennium, see Kupper's chapter in *CAH* mentioned above.

Military Structures: Jack M. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969);

Tribal Organization: A. Malamat, "Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," *JAOS* 82 (1962): 143-150;

The Position of Women: H. F. Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

Linguistic History

Though the Mari texts are consistently written in good Akkadian, there is enough information from proper names and non-Akkadian words to outline the linguistic structure of the language spoken by the West Semites of the Mari region. I. J. Gelb, of the University of Chicago, has published a short grammar of this language (commonly, but properly only as a convention, referred to as "Amorite"⁴): "La lingua degli Amoriti," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti: Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8, vol. 13 (1958): 143-164. He is presently working on a further grammar of the language as derived by means of the computer.

A. Malamat has frequently referred to the non-Akkadian words or meanings found in the Mari texts. See his *JAOS* article mentioned in the preceding section on "Social History" and also "Mari" in *BA* 34 (1971): 1-22. Some examples of such non-Akkadian words or meanings are *gāyūm* (a term for a tribal subgroup), related to Hebrew *gôy* "nation"; *ummatum* (another tribal term), related to Hebrew *'ummâ*, also meaning "nation" (and rarely, as at Mari, a tribal unit; cf. Gen 25:16 and Num 25:15); *hamqum* — Hebrew *'ēmeq*, "valley"; and *higlum* = Hebrew *'ēgel*, "calf."

⁴ The term "Amorite," derived from the Akkadian word for the West, *amurru*, was often used to refer to those West Semites who were entering Mesopotamia from the West. The term is somewhat incorrect, however, in that (1) it probably was originally a place name or tribal name of very limited applicability and not a generic term for West Semites as a whole, and (2) it was never used by the West Semites of Mari to describe themselves (the word appears only rarely there as a designation of a small tribal subdivision).

Religious History

Both non-literary sources (such as altars of earth illustrated by Malamet in *BA* 34 [1971]: 14, fig. 6) and literary sources provide information of great interest for the religious history of the early West Semites. The appearance of deities well known from later Syro-Palestinian sources, for instance, shows that these deities had a long background (such deities as Dagan, god of grain, and Haddu/Hadad/Addu/Adad, storm-god, etc.).

Of greatest interest, however, is the series of texts containing references to prophetism among the inhabitants of Mari and neighboring towns (as far south as Sippar in Babylonia). To date, twenty-seven Mari letters have been discovered which contain references to communications from persons claiming to have dreams or direct messages from deities. These messages are directed from the deity to a third party, usually the king. Before the appearance of the Mari texts, induced divine guidance by various divination practices (extispicy, interpretation of smoke patterns, of oil patterns on water, of the flight of birds, etc.) was well known from Mesopotamian sources.⁵ The "message-dream" was also known, though it was not common.⁶ The modality of the Mari dream messages, however, and the phenomenon of immediately perceived prophetic messages are for all practical purposes unparalleled outside of the OT.⁷

As would be expected, this new source of material for comparison with the OT has elicited a flood of response. One major book has already been devoted to the subject: Friedrich Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* (Herzberg: Erwin Jungfer, 1968).

⁵ For the distinction between divination and prophecy, see Herbert Huffman, "Prophecy in the Mari Letters," *BA* 31 (1968):101-124, esp. pp. 102-103.

⁶ A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n. s., 46/3 (1956): 193-206.

⁷ James F. Ross has recently discussed the previously best known extra-biblical reference to "seers" from West Semitic sources: "Prophecy in Hamath, Israel, and Mari," *HTR* 63 (1970):1-28. For the more literary prophecies from Mesopotamian sources, see H. Hunger and S. A. Kaufman, "A New Akkadian Prophecy Text," *JAOS* 95 (1975):371-375.

(For a convenient summary of this work, see the review by S. D. Walters, *JBL* 89 [1970]: 78-81.) The most recent and, in many respects, the handiest coverage of the subject is by John F. Gaghan, "Mari and its Prophets: The Contributions of Mari to the Understanding of Biblical Prophecy," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 5 (1975): 32-55. This article contains the bibliographical references necessary to trace previous discussions of the material as well as providing an overview of the main lines which these discussions have followed. The most extensive recent attempt to place Mari prophecy in the context of general ancient Near Eastern prophecy is by Herbert B. Huffmon, "The Origins of Prophecy," in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, et al. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), pp. 171-186. Many of the Mari prophecy texts are available in English translation in *ANET*.

As an example of the Mari prophetic texts, I cite one which has so far been published only in French translation, by G. Dossin, "Sur le prophétisme à Mari," in *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), pp. 85-86. It is unique in that it is the only letter to date which was written by a prophet himself, all the others having been conveyed by an intermediary. It is not complete, but the sections provided by the editor are as follows:

Speak thus to Zimri-Lim: thus (says) the āpilum-prophet [literally "the answerer (of questions)"] of Shamash [the sun-god]. Thus says Shamash, lord of the country: "Please send immediately to me in Sippar, in order that prosperity continue [literally "for life"], the throne intended for my splendid residence, as well as your daughter whom I already have requested of you. . . . Now, as concerns Hammurapi, king of Kurda, he has spoken criminally against you. But when he attacks, you will be victorious; thereafter you are to relieve the land of its indebtedness. I grant you the whole land. When you take the city, you are to declare amnesty from debts.

This text reveals two of the main concerns of the Mari prophetic messages: (1) proper care of the deities, their temples, and the

temple-services; and (2) promises of military success (or threats of defeat in other cases).

The main concern of most researchers with a background in OT studies has been that of comparing the Mari materials with the OT prophets. This research has dealt with matters of form, factual content, and sociological considerations; i.e., do the Mari prophets use the same type of language as the biblical prophets, do they talk about the same things, and do they fill the same role in society? The answers to all three questions are Yes and No.

OT form-critics immediately picked out the formula "x-deity has sent me," so similar to many such statements in the Bible. The main thrust of Ellermeier's book, however, has been to show that there are too many variations in formulae at Mari to say that the "messenger-formula" was primary. The content of the letters shows many points of comparison with the OT (a repeated announcement to Zimri-Lim that he would be victorious over Babylon is reminiscent of biblical oracles of the same type; unfortunately, the Mari prediction was incorrect since Hammurapi of Babylon eventually destroyed Mari [compare 2 Chr 18]). One immediately misses, however, the strong moral emphasis of the Bible prophets. In this respect, the letter cited above is typical of the preoccupations of the Mari prophets. As for the role played by these prophets, it seems to be quite comparable to that of the Israelite prophets under unresponsive kings.⁸ Jeremiah, e.g., was heard, but only occasionally heeded, and had no real impact on the political events of his time because of the lack of attention paid to him.

The very large place that some of the Israelite prophets assume in our thinking today is mainly due to the fact that their literary creations, often of very high quality, have come down to us. We must be careful in comparing the role of the Mari prophets

⁸ J. S. Holladay has recently charted the development of Israelite prophets from court prophets (as at Mari) to populist prophets (i.e., their message was directed to the people rather than primarily to the king): "Assyrian Statecraft and the Prophets of Israel," *HTR* 63 (1970):29-51.

with that of the OT prophets for two reasons: (1) We have very little evidence with regard to the response accorded the messages of the Mari prophets (one Mari prophet, it may be noted, did claim that the present message was the sixth he had given on the matter in question; this apparently indicates a general slowness to comply on the part of Mari royalty); and (2) we have no literary production from the Mari prophets which is in any way comparable to that of the Israelite prophets. We can, in any case, say that the choice by the God of Israel of prophets as intermediaries between himself and his people was not a new and unfamiliar mode of communication. As with many aspects of Israelite religion, prophetism was an old phenomenon, raised to new heights of moral and aesthetic quality.⁹

Mari and the Bible

Much has, of course, been written in the last forty years about the importance of Mari for the Bible. We have already seen how valuable the Mari texts are for reconstructing the political history of Palestine and Syria in the early second millennium B.C., for establishing the prehistory of the West Semitic languages, and for tracing an early form of prophetism.

We enter upon a different level of use of these texts, however, with certain interpretations of biblical chronology wherein the patriarchs of Genesis are dated to the same general period as the Mari documents. There is little, unfortunately, beyond comparison of proper names (of persons and places) to link these texts with the patriarchs. Closer and more numerous links of a social nature, such as marriage and family customs, are discernible, in fact, with the texts from another and later site—fifteenth-century Nuzi.

⁹It may be noted that A. Marzal has studied the main forms of law as analyzed by form critics of the OT ("apodictic" and "casuistic"). He concludes that "both formulations are attested in Mari at the same time; the subject matter and the setting in life are not the factors which finally determine the selection of one formulation over another" (*CBQ* 33 [1971]: 509). Here, then, is another area of form criticism for which the Mari material seems to provide negative rather than positive evidence.

A recent book by Thomas L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham*, Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 133 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), has shown that the proper names and social customs from both Mari and Nuzi which have been compared with the patriarchal narratives find parallels from periods ranging from 2000 to 500 B.C. Thompson has also claimed that without a *specific* link between the patriarchal narratives and extrabiblical texts, we have no sure way of dating the patriarchs (or even, according to him, of asserting their existence). The argument is based on silence (no monument, e.g., has yet mentioned Abraham by name) and is, in a sense, unfair (the statistical chances of finding a contemporaneous reference to Abraham are practically nil).

One must, nonetheless, give heed to Thompson's argument: A secular historian dealing with the history of Syria-Palestine in the early second millennium could not assert that the patriarchs were historical personages, simply because the Bible is the only document that refers to them (one of the dicta of historical research is *testis unus testis nullus*, "one witness only is no witness at all"). One could, however, even as a secular historian, assert that the patriarchs may well have been historical personages because so much of the rest of the Bible has been proved true by the historical and archaeological research of the last century. This is essentially the approach of the so-called "Albright school" of historians (who follow the methodology of the late W. F. Albright, for many years the dean of American biblical archaeologists), typified by John Bright in his *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1959, 1972).

Other historians, such as Thompson and also John van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), remain much more skeptical about projecting the historicity of those sections of the Bible which report the royal and exilic periods back into the patriarchal period. From a strictly

evidential point of view, we must await further discoveries to elucidate the early second millennium B.C. It appears that the discoveries at Tell Mardikh west of Mari in Syria, just now beginning to be reported in detail, will provide further evidence for personal and geographic names mentioned in the patriarchal narratives as well as for a language much like Biblical Hebrew. These discoveries have brought to light materials from ca. 2500 B.C., several hundred years before the main Mari archives and the traditional dating of the patriarchs. Mari has taught us much, but we have every reason to believe that the soil of the Fertile Crescent has much to teach us yet.

NOTE REGARDING THE PUBLICATION
OF THE MARI TEXTS

The official publications of the Mari texts (see p. 191, above) are appearing in two parallel series, the first containing only hand copies of the tablets themselves (in the series *Textes cunéiformes du Louvre*, since 1976 in the new series *Textes cunéiformes de Mari*, available through Geuthner in Paris), the second containing transliterations of the Akkadian signs into roman characters and a French translation, usually with some form of commentary and/or glossary. Unfortunately, the publication dates of corresponding volumes varies, so a given volume may have appeared only in hand copies or only in transliteration. Moreover, both series go by the same name: *Archives royales de Mari*. As a convention, the hand copies are usually abbreviated *ARM* and the accompanying volume of transliterations and translations *ARMT*. Following is a list of the titles:

- ARM 1* (*TCL 22*, 1946, republished 1967), G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu et de ses fils* (= *ARMT 1*, Imprimerie nationale, 1950).
- ARM 2* (*TCL 23*, 1942, republished 1973), Charles-F. Jean, *Lettres diverses* (= *ARMT 2*, Imprimerie nationale, 1950).
- ARM 3* (*TCL 24*, 1948), J. R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan gouverneur de Terqa* (= *ARMT 3*, Imprimerie nationale, 1950).
- ARM 4* (*TCL 25*, 1951), G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu* (= *ARMT 4*, Imprimerie nationale, 1951).
- ARM 5* (*TCL 26*, 1951), G. Dossin, *Correspondance de Iasmaḥ-Addu* (= *ARMT 5*, Imprimerie nationale, 1952).
- ARM 6* (*TCL 27*, 1953), J. R. Kupper, *Correspondance de Baḥdi-Lim préfet du palais de Mari* (= *ARMT 6*, Imprimerie nationale, 1954).
- ARM 7* (*TCL 28*, 1956), Jean Bottéro, *Textes économiques et administratives de la salle 110* (= *ARMT 7*, Imprimerie nationale, 1957).
- ARM 8* (*TCL 29*, 1957), Georges Boyer, *Textes juridiques* (= *ARMT 8*, Imprimerie nationale, 1958).

- ARM 9* (*TCL* 30, 1960), Maurice Birot, *Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du palais* (= *ARMT* 9, Imprimerie nationale, 1960).
- ARM 10* (*TCL* 31, 1967), G. Dossin, *La correspondance féminine* (*ARMT* 10 has not yet appeared).
- ARMT 11* (Geuthner, 1963), Madeleine Lurton Burke, *Textes administratifs de la salle III du palais* (*ARM* 11 unpublished).
- ARMT 12* (Geuthner, 1964), M. Birot, *Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du palais (2ème partie)* (*ARM* 12 unpublished).
- ARMT 13* (Geuthner, 1964), G. Dossin, J. Bottéro, M. Birot, M. L. Burke, J.-R. Kupper, A. Finet, *Textes Divers* (*ARM* 13 unpublished).
- ARM 14* (*TCM* 1, 1976), Maurice Birot, *Lettres de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur de Sagarâtum* (= *ARMT* 14, Geuthner, 1974).
- ARMT 15* (Imprimerie nationale, 1954), J. Bottéro, A. Finet, *Répertoire analytique des tomes I à V* (sign list, glossary, etc., for volumes 1-5; contains no new texts so there is no corresponding *ARM* volume).
- ARM 18* (*TCM* 2, 1976), O. Rouault, *Mukannisum: lettres et documents administratifs* (*ARMT* 18 has not yet appeared).
- ARM 19* (*TCM* 3, 1976), Henri Limet, *Textes administratifs de l'époque des šakkanakku* (= *ARMT* 19, Geuthner, 1976).
- ARM 20* (*TCM* 4, announced), G. Dossin, *Correspondance d'Itûr-Addu*.

JONATHAN EDWARDS: HISTORY AND THE COVENANT

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Jonathan Edwards, the eighteenth-century minister generally acclaimed as one of America's greatest theologians, constructed a system in which grace was the determining factor in both individual and cosmic salvation. In doing so, he departed from the scheme worked out by his sixteenth- and seventeenth-century forebears, and articulated a perception of God's design for the world in which grace was the sole determining factor governing the universe. Historically, he represented a return to the Calvinist insistence on the absolute controlling power of divine grace,¹ effectually eliminating the structures that Puritanism had carefully raised to allow a terrain in which human free choice could function. In his theology, although he explained the controlling power in terms quite different from Calvin, he carefully expounded a view of the relationship between God and the universe under both individual and collective aspects in which divine grace alone determined human deeds through divine indwelling in the souls of the just, and through control of the minutest detail of the historical process. In a very real sense, Edwards represented an absolute "triumph of grace" in theology. This essay focuses on his theological efforts in this respect, viewed within their historical context.

1. *Edward's View of Grace*

In order to establish this "triumph of grace," Edwards modified Puritan ideas both of the individual's and the whole human race's

¹ For Edward's own assessment of the application of the term "Calvinist" to his thought, see his author's Preface to *Freedom of the Will*, ed. Paul Ramsey (New Haven, 1957), pp. 131-132.

relationship to God. Because Edward's vision of God's cosmic plan was only an extension of his understanding of God's action in the individual, it would seem useful first to consider briefly how Edwards apprehended grace in the individual.

The Puritans themselves had modified Luther's and Calvin's notion of the justified man as *simul justus et peccator* into a scheme whereby the individual's justification by God is one temporal act in which the human being is passive and as a result of which man is given sanctifying grace. This sanctifying grace is a quality in the soul by which the individual is himself enabled to do good works and thus perform works which are meritorious before God. In all this, God always remains, of course, the principal mover; nevertheless, man is a subordinate but real participant.

Edwards reacted against this kind of understanding of grace in man's soul. He wrote:

The Spirit of God is given to the true saints to dwell in them as his proper lasting abode; and to influence their hearts, as a principle of new nature, or as a divine supernatural spring of life and action.²

That is, grace is the Holy Spirit himself dwelling in the saints, acting to move their wills. Grace is the only possible source of virtue. For Edwards, virtue and indwelling by the Spirit were one. Thus the soul is the sphere in which the Holy Spirit immediately acts, and the saints' acts are the acts of the Spirit in the soul. Edwards reiterated on many occasions the notion that it is the Spirit acting in the soul who is the principle of grace producing all good acts of man.³

Instead of allowing any intermediate level of activity, Edwards transformed his Puritan forebears' theology into a view of grace in the soul in which God was the one true actor and the immediate cause of man's deeds. Thus from Luther's and Calvin's notion

² Jonathan Edwards, *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, ed. John Smith (New Haven, 1959), p. 200.

³ E.g., *Charity and Its Fruits*, photolith of the 1852 ed., edited by Tryon Edwards (London, 1969), pp. 36-37.

of grace as God's acceptance of man, the sinner, Edwards had moved through a Puritan view which allowed man some scope for choice in doing genuinely good deeds under the covenant relationship, to an understanding of grace which made it the transforming action of God alone, moving and changing men.

Accepting the principle of God as the sole actor in the salvation of the individual, Edwards also insisted that history was the sphere of God's activity in which God's initiative and movement, rather than man's good deeds, were the sole determining forces. In this respect, too, Edward's theological analysis departed from that of the Puritans, who wanted to allow some sphere for human responsibility. He did not distinguish, as had the Puritans before him, between personal salvation and the process of temporal history. For him, both were aspects of the one Spirit acting in the soul to integrate it into the one great manifestation of God's glory which is the creation and salvation of the world. History, for Edwards, was the process in time of grace moving through rational souls to unite all creation to God. There was no room for human initiative or novelty; God was the sole agent of history.

2. *The Puritan View of History*

In order to appreciate more fully Edwards's view of the movement of the universe in terms of the context from which this view emerged and against which it reacted, one must keep in mind the Puritan view of history. Both English and American Puritans shared what James Spalding has designated as the "Deuteronomic" view, after that theological view underlying the historical books of the Hebrew Bible, and whereby disaster was seen as "a judgment of God upon Israel's idolatries" and prosperity was seen to be "God's blessing upon a nation whose people and leaders had 'returned to the Lord.'"⁴ For the Puritans such a view did not attempt to interfere with God's decree of election or

⁴James C. Spalding, "Sermons Before Parliament (1640-1649) as a Public Puritan Diary," *Church History*, 36 (March 1967): 5.

reprobation for an individual, which decree man could only accept in unquestioning humility. It asserted, however, that the material well-being of both the old Israel and the new Israel (England) in their religious, political, and social spheres depended on obedience to the covenant. Disobedience resulted in God's punishment. Only by repentance and renewed obedience to the covenant law could prosperity be restored.⁵

Deep in its religious traditions, England possessed a self-understanding of itself as God's chosen people, called to obey his law as his covenant nation. This perspective, which can be documented as far back as William Tyndale in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, was accepted by the Puritans.⁶ In their view, England was God's chosen nation, a new Israel, and the people were God's instruments to guide England into the right observance of her national covenant relationship with God.⁷ As John Winthrop, their great lay leader, proclaimed in his "Model of Christian Charity," delivered to the Puritans coming to settle Massachusetts, the colony was intended to be a "city upon a hill," which God would reward if it obeyed him and punish if it disobeyed his covenant.⁸ This interpretation of New England's temporal state as being dependent on her obedience to God continued among Puritan thinkers from Michael Wigglesworth in

⁵ Perry Miller observed the existence of this view in New England Puritans in his "Declension in a Biblical Commonwealth," in *The New England Puritans*, ed. Sidney James, Interpretations of American History (New York, 1968), p. 131.

⁶ E.g., William Tyndale, *Expositions and Notes on Sundry Portions of the Holy Scriptures . . .*, ed. Henry Walter (Cambridge, 1849), 42: 457-459.

⁷ Spalding, "Sermons Before Parliament," pp. 4-7. Edmund Calamy's sermon "Trembling for the Ark of God," preached in 1662, illustrates how one Puritan view of the great ejection of Puritan ministers and the prevailing disinterest of the people expressed itself in terms of a Deuteronomic "English Saga." See *Sermons of the Great Ejection* (London, 1962), pp. 21-34, esp. pp. 29-32.

⁸ John Winthrop, "A Model of Christian Charity," in *The Puritans*, ed. Perry Miller and Thomas Johnson (New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1963), 1: 198-199.

the 1660s⁹ to Cotton Mather in the 1690s.¹⁰

On this point, the Puritans were good Aristotelians, focusing on a humanly perceptible cause-effect relationship. In the human sphere of history, they affirmed that God had given man power to act or refuse to act, to accept or refuse the Covenant. God was ultimately responsible for all, but in this human realm, man could make real choices which would have effects for good or ill on him. He could not bring about his eternal salvation, but he could change the course of history with its human benefits or curses. Man's action had genuine effectiveness in the human realm.

3. *Edwards's Understanding of History*

Edwards also accepted as axiomatic the importance of history as God's revelation to the elect. He did not, however, understand history from a Deuteronomic perspective, in which human history, as distinct from election to salvation, was controlled by human response to or rejection of God's covenant. Rather, Edwards defined history purely in terms of the action of God's Spirit. Both the actions and responses of history and election were all one in God's design of salvation. In his *History of Redemption*, a series of sermons which provided a preliminary idea of the greater dogmatic work that he had planned, but which death prevented him from working out, Edwards says that the whole work of redemption, in individual and historical manifestations, was

but one Design that is formed, to which all the offices of Christ do directly tend, and in which all the persons of the Trinity do conspire, and all the various dispensations that belong to it are united; and the several wheels are one machine, to answer one end, and produce one effect.¹¹

⁹ Michael Wigglesworth, "God's Controversy with New England," in *Seventeenth Century American Poetry*, ed. Harrison T. Meserole (New York, 1968), pp. 42-54.

¹⁰ Cotton Mather, "The Serviceable Man . . .," in *Puritan Political Ideas*, ed. Edmund Morgan, American Heritage Series (Indianapolis, 1965), pp. 240-249.

¹¹ *History of Redemption*, photolith of Jonathan Edwards, Jr.'s, 1773 ed. (Marshallton, Delaware, n.d.), pp. 17, 19.

The machine metaphor is a recurring one in Edwards's thought. For instance, in his *Dissertation Concerning the End for Which God Created the World*, he spoke of God as the end of all, and of creation as a huge machine moving towards God, in which "every wheel, in all its rotations," would move towards him "as if the whole system were animated and directed by one common soul."¹² From the point of view of the metaphor, one element was noted as common to the working of a machine and the operations of the world, including rational beings: Both unswervingly move towards their appointed end under a common overarching design according to which all the parts move and are moved. In another sense, however, the metaphor has an organic dimension, because the universe which is indicated is compared to the Platonic notion of the world as animated by a world soul. In the case of Edwards's perception of the universe, the "world soul," in the sense of governing principle ordering the world, was not any created entity but the divine activity itself. The glory of God was the controlling factor which moved the world, and no other reality shared in its task.

For Edwards the whole purpose of universal history is the accomplishment of God's work of grace. In his *History of Redemption* he states, for example, that the "design of God was to restore the soul of man, to restore life to it, and the image of God, in conversion, and to carry on the restoration in sanctification, and to perfect it in glory."¹³

If, then, history is the work of God's grace, Edwards's metaphysical version of that statement is to affirm that creation is an outcome of God's necessary activity. As he observes in his *Dissertation Concerning the End for Which God Created the World*, the creation of the world is the "necessary consequence" of God's "delighting in the glory of his nature, that he delights in the emanation and effulgence."¹⁴ The fullness of God's glory is

¹² In *Works of President Edwards* (Leeds, 1806), 1: 455.

¹³ *History of Redemption*, p. 23.

¹⁴ In *Works*, 1: 468.

both internal, of his own essence, and external, the glory of creation praising him in his justice or mercy.¹⁵ To have the fullness of his being, God needs both internal and external glory. Thus the emanation of creation is more than simply the activity of a God *totaliter aliter* to whom it may be a matter of love or concern, but not a matter of real necessity as to whether a creation responds by loving and glorifying him. God's attributes must be exercised, and he must be known and praised by created beings.¹⁶ Not by external compulsion, but because of inward metaphysical necessity God created the world so that all creation through rational creation, might praise him in his mercy or his justice. Thus no part of this design could be left to chance or the whim of the lesser being. All must be directed by God. Edwards quite specifically indicated God's glory as the reason why all the dimensions of history were immediately under the control of the divine Spirit:

In all this [the progress of history] God designed to accomplish the glory of the blessed Trinity in an exceeding degree. God has a design of glorifying himself from all eternity: to glorify each person in the Godhead. The end must be considered as first in the order of nature, and then the means; and therefore we must conceive, that God having professed this end, had then the means to choose; and the principal mean that he pitched upon was this great work of redemption that we are speaking of.¹⁷

The glory of God was the key reality which determined history, the movement of creatures; and the movement of creatures according to the divine plan was the means to the end of God's glory. Thus, Edwards concluded, all creatures were moved according to this end. Even God's sovereignty, the term normally used to indicate the subordination of all creatures to the divine will, was for Edwards an aspect of the all-encompassing notion of the divine glory.¹⁸ God's glory was the reason for his sovereignty.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 460, 501.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 458-459, 516-517.

¹⁷ *History of Redemption*, p. 25.

¹⁸ "God's Sovereignty in the Salvation of Men," in *Select Works of Jonathan Edwards* (London, 1965), 1: 238-240.

To Edwards the pattern of history was not, as for earlier Puritans, a series of events in which the chosen people were called by God, pledged themselves to the covenant, fell, were punished, repented, and so on until God's kingdom was brought about on earth. Rather, God from the beginning had envisaged one great end for the whole course of history, and had so designed each piece within that history as to best manifest his glory. God's purposes are served in history in each detail and are directly under his control. God's designs, not human endeavors or responses, are what determine each of God's actions towards man. Edwards continued the line of thought first cited above:

The work that was the appointed means of this [the glorification of the persons of the Trinity] was begun immediately after the fall, and is carried on until, and finished at, the end of the world, when all this intended glory shall be fully accomplished in all things.¹⁹

Just as an individual acts only as moved by God,²⁰ so the whole universe is also moved as an organic unity: God in one simple, unchangeable, perpetual action comprehends all existence as an immediately present unity.²¹ In his emanation of creation, as he had eternally planned it, God intends his own glory as creation's end. Among rational creatures he selects the saints and angels as the rational instruments through which all creation glorifies him. God's own glory, actualized as he sees fit, is the end of creation, redemption, and the consummation of the world.²²

The process of the world's history was understood by Edwards as a unity, encompassing a rational pattern of beginning, middle, and end — the emanation and return of all creation to God, in which God's glory, internal and external, was manifest.²³ Each and every episode, just as each and every individual, was part of God's eternal plan. This plan, in all of its details, was directly

¹⁹ *History of Redemption*, p. 25.

²⁰ *Freedom of the Will*, pp. 171-174.

²¹ From the "Miscellanies" in *The Philosophy of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. H. G. Townsend (Eugene, Oregon, 1955), p. 146.

²² *Dissertation Concerning the End . . .*, pp. 477-479, 492-500, 530-531.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 526-529.

brought into reality by God's direct action in all aspects of human history, moving towards the final consumation in which God's fullness would be manifest.

4. *Edwards's View of the Contemporary Scene*

Edwards interpreted the Great Awakening, the eighteenth-century revival of popular religious interest and enthusiasm, as a manifestation of God's grace poured out upon New England, with its own specific place in the pattern of divine activity. Where previous Puritan ministers had interpreted renewed dedication after a period of moral decline as stemming from people's renewed covenant loyalty to God, Edwards saw this "outpouring of the Spirit" with its improved conduct of the people as due totally to divine action and purpose in history.

In his own arena of history in New England, Edwards understood the events of the great revival as the direct action of God directing history in his own pattern. God's work was perceived in both the conversions themselves and the way in which the conversions happened.²⁴ In his *Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God*, he placed the events of New England history and its revival of religion in the dispensation of the Gospel, as part of the process of perfecting of God's covenant plan for humanity.²⁵ For Edwards, covenant is understood as God's plan, not an invitation to human response. Thus even his use of the common Puritan term was modified from the old view.

Because he saw these historical events as part of a pattern which was governed by the primacy of the glorification of God, Edwards tried to place these events in that part of the plan of emanation and return which seemed to make the most sense to him. On the basis of that premise he perceived his own time as being the end time. Edwards's own hopes for the revival of religion in the Great Awakening were not that individual salvation would be proclaimed, but that this glorious outpouring of the

²⁴ "A Narrative of Surprising Conversions," in *Select Works*, 1: 20-21.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88, 146-147.

Spirit of God over the greater community was a sign that God was drawing the world closer and closer to himself, for establishment of God's kingdom on earth and a closer union in glory. His lamentations about the decay of piety followed this same pattern of awareness about the world's movement towards God and the eschatological expectations for the increased union of God with the world, which would first bring about God's kingdom on earth and the rule of the covenanted saints, and would finally eventuate in the full establishment of God's rule everywhere.²⁶

As had his predecessors, Edwards viewed New England as "the principal nation of the Reformation." But he saw the role of New England as totally determined by God:

When those times come, then doubtless the Gospel, which is already brought over into America, shall have glorious success, and all the inhabitants of this new discovered world shall become subjects of the kingdom of Christ, as well as all the other ends of the earth: and in all probability Providence has so ordered it, that the mariner's compass, which is an invention of later times . . . should prove a preparation for what God intends to bring to pass, the glorious times of the church, viz, the sending forth the gospel wherever any of the children of men dwell, how far so ever off. . . .²⁷

Edwards even understood the current revival of learning as a manifestation of God's determining purpose in history:

But yet, when God has sufficiently shown men the insufficiency of human wisdom and learning for the purposes of religion, and when the appointed time comes for that glorious outpouring of the Spirit of God, when he will himself by his own immediate influence enlighten men's minds; then he may hope that God will make use of the great increase of learning as an handmaid to religion, as a means of the glorious advancement of the kingdom of his Son.²⁸

No detail of history, whether it was the invention of the mariner's compass, or the advancement of learning, was, for Edwards, a purely human deed or simply related to temporal

²⁶ "A Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth," in Jonathan Edwards, *Works*, 2 vols. (London, 1974), 1: 284-287.

²⁷ *History of Redemption*, p. 284.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-290.

welfare. Everything was part of God's great design which men exist to execute. The coming of the millennium, which Edwards foresaw for the end of human history before the final judgment, was always presented by him as the "work of God's Spirit." For instance, he remarked: "This great work of the revival of religion inaugurating the final days shall be accomplished, not by the authority of princes, or by the wisdom of learned men, but by God's Holy Spirit. . . ."²⁹ Each act of biblical or later history was understood by him as a part of God's process of redemption, directed by God's Spirit to the glorification of God apart from any notion of human freedom in any realm of God's dealing with man.

When speaking of the vicissitudes of true religion, and the "decay of vital piety" in New England, instead of preaching diatribes against those who were disobeying God's covenant, Edwards tried to discern the workings of God's gracious providence guiding the world, so that "the work of God will be wrought."³⁰ For him the fullness of God's glory was the understanding of the immediate action of grace on the soul and also pushed him into a vision of God's action in history which saw all that happened as God's working out of his redemptive scheme. He acknowledged no distinction between the divine election of a soul for salvation and the human course-offering relationship in God's covenant with man. The initiative, the execution, and the goal of the movement of history were divine. Human beings existed as the instruments of God's plan. The pattern of history did not hang on human response, but on divine design.³¹

5. *Edwards's Concept of Ethical Action*

When Edwards considered human ethical acts within the course of history as abstractions (as good acts generally), he also emphasized the element of divine design. In his *Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue*, he wrote:

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-304.

³¹ *Dissertation Concerning the End . . .*, pp. 477-479.

God is not only infinitely greater and more excellent than all other beings, but he is the head of the universal system of existence; the fountain of all being and all beauty; from whom all is perfectly derived, and on whom all is most absolutely and perfectly dependent. . . .³²

For Edwards, the dependence of creatures on God was absolute; God wove their lives, individually and collectively, into a pattern which was directly and completely controlled by him. Virtue (and indeed all human activity) was part of that system of which God was the head, and to which both the being and act of all the members of the system was directed. Just as Edwards found God's sovereignty and glory absolute in the realm of metaphysics (*Dissertation on the End for Which God Created the World*), so they were also absolute in the realm of human ethical action.

6. Conclusion

By erasing distinctions that his forebearers had made, Edwards eliminated the careful construction whereby the Puritans had reserved a space for some kind of human autonomy in man's dealings with God. For Edwards there was no such autonomy, either in relation to the course of individual salvation or to that of human history. Both were aspects of the divine activity in which human beings, individually and as a group were recipients of God's saving guidance which immediately directed all dimensions of human life to God's purpose. Human beings were reflections of divine intention, passive receivers of the divine energy which harmoniously moved them. Thus for Edwards the triumph of grace and divine purpose was not simply an individual experience, but an all-encompassing event in universal history.

³² *Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue*, ed. William K. Frankena (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), p. 15. Written in 1755, at the same time as the *Dissertation Concerning the End*, this work is the counterpart of the other dissertation, which deals with metaphysical issues. Together they form an outline of Edwards's systematic thought, and are bound together as one system by their fundamental notion that God is the immediate controlling influence directing all levels of existence as one harmonious whole.

BRIEF NOTE

OSTRACON II FROM HESHBON

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The second ostracon from Heshbon written in Aramaic script was recovered during the excavations there in the summer of 1971.¹ It was recovered from a late Iron II context (7th-6th century) in Area B, and it has been dated palaeographically to ca. 525 B.C. Only three lines of text are legible on the sherd, and F. M. Cross who published the text reconstructed and translated these lines as follows:

סכח פד' ננא	2.	plou[gh] tip(s)[
חטכא לן	3.	Tamak'ēl[
בני גבלא'	4.	men of Gubla'] ²

For his translation of line 2 as “plough tips” Cross cited *sekkat paddānā'*, an idiom with such a significance in some Aramaic dialects. The personal name Tamak'ēl in line 3 is attested by several Ammonite seals. Cross connected the men of Gubla' in line 4 with a Gebal in southern Transjordan on the basis of Ps 83:8, and he thus found this text to provide the earliest extra-biblical reference to that site. As far as the overall significance of this text is concerned, too little of it has survived to permit precise conclusions about its contents, but Cross suggested that “the ostracon may be a docket recording the distribution of tools, or a letter giving instructions to agricultural workers.”³

G. Garbini has also discussed this ostracon in his treatment of Ammonite inscriptions.⁴ The first point he raised about it was to propose that its language was Ammonite, not Aramaic as Cross originally suggested. In Garbini's favor on this point is the fact that the only distinctively Aramaic linguistic feature that Cross found in this text, the occurrence of *paddānā'* in the emphatic state, rested upon a reconstruction. Script should be distinguished

¹ F. M. Cross, “Heshbon Ostracon II,” *AUSS* 11 (1973): 126-131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴ G. Garbini, “Ammonite Inscriptions,” *JSS* 19 (1974): 163-164.

from language in this case. The script of this text is Aramaic, as Cross observed, but its language probably is Ammonite, as Garbini has proposed. With more examples of Ammonite available now, Cross seems to agree that the language of Ostrakon II may be Ammonite.⁵ If the language of this text is Ammonite and not Aramaic then it becomes less likely that *skt pd*[] of the second line should be translated "plough tips," since such a parallel belongs to a more remote linguistic horizon.

Instead of restoring *n'* at the end of the second line after *pd* as Cross did, Garbini has taken it as *pd(y)*, relating it to South Arabic *fdy* and Hebrew *pādāh*, "to redeem, free," and he has extended that meaning to "pay."⁶ He interpreted *skt* in this text as related to *skt* in South Arabic where it has to do with working in the fields. On the basis of these suggestions Garbini has translated this text, "*tmkl* paid the *bny gbl* for (their) work in the fields."⁷ The syntax is rather awkward for this translation, however, and such an interpretation also provides an uninterrupted translation for a text which obviously has been interrupted at several places.

Since some problems with the interpretation of this brief text remain, a new translation and interpretation of it is proposed here. I would suggest that there is a simpler solution to the problem posed by the first word of this text than either "tip" or "payment," and that is to take it as the place name Succoth. *Skt* in this text corresponds directly to the spelling of that place name in the Hebrew Bible with the exception of the absence of the *wāw* as a vowel letter, but an orthographic expression of that vowel is not expected here.⁸

Succoth was located east of the Jordan River near its con-

⁵ "By 525 B.C. at latest, Ammonite came to be written in the cursive Aramaic of the Persian chancellery, to judge from Ostraca I and II from Heshbon." F. M. Cross, "Heshbon Ostraca XI," *AUSS* 14 (1976): 148.

⁶ Garbini, "Ammonite Inscriptions," p. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁸ Etymologically the place name of Succoth originated from the plural of the feminine noun for "booth." The Ammonite inscription on the bronze bottle from Tell Siran which has been dated palaeographically as about a century older than Heshbon Ostraca II contains five feminine plural words, but the vowel letter of the feminine plural ending was not written with any of them. See H. Thompson and F. Zayadine, "The Tell Siran Inscription,"

fluence with the Zerqā/Jabbok, approximately midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.⁹ In this location, Succoth lay near the northwestern corner of the territory of Ammon at the time this text was written.¹⁰ The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir ʿAllā still is debated,¹¹ but it is of interest to note in this connection that a lengthy Aramaic text discovered there, dated to the middle of the eighth century, indicates that that site was a prominent religious center of some kind or other in the latter half of Iron II.¹² The building in which the inscription was found was destroyed by an earthquake, but the site continued in

BASOR 212 (1973): 9; F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," *BASOR* 212 (1973): 14.

⁹ For the biblical references to Succoth and a discussion of the location of that site that can be inferred from those references, see N. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine IV*, *AASOR* 25-28 (New Haven, Conn., 1945-1949), pp. 347-350.

¹⁰ This is the general viewpoint of the historical geographies of Palestine that have commented on or mapped this point. For examples see L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible*, ed. H. H. Rowley, trans. J. M. H. Reid (London, 1956), p. 96; J. H. Negeman, *New Atlas of the Bible*, ed. H. H. Rowley, trans. H. Hoskins and R. Beckley (Garden City, N.Y., 1969), p. 94; and *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible*, rev. ed., ed. G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 51.

¹¹ The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir ʿAllā received N. Glueck's tentative endorsement in his topographical survey cited above in n. 9, and in several other studies. The excavator of Tell Deir ʿAllā has rejected its identification with Succoth. H. J. Franken, *Excavations at Tell Deir ʿAllā I*, *Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, vol. 16, ed. W. F. Albright and J. Vandier (Leiden, 1969), pp. 4-8. Other sites suggested for Succoth include Tell el-Ekhsas, Tell Qaʿadan, and Tell Umm Hamad, 2½ km. west-southwest, ½ km. northeast, and 7 km. south-southwest of Tell Deir ʿAllā, respectively. On the basis of 1 Sam 11:15 Franken suggests that Tell Deir ʿAllā may be Transjordanian Gilgal. This interpretation appears to rest upon a misunderstanding of the text. When the Transjordanian tribes came to crown Saul at Gilgal, they crossed the Jordan River to do so. T. L. Thompson has reacted against Franken's rejection of the identification of Succoth with Tell Deir ʿAllā in *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, *BZAW*, vol. 133 (Berlin, 1974), p. 183, n. 65. Franken has subsequently responded to those who have accepted the equation of Succoth with Tell Deir ʿAllā in his study, "The Problem of Identification in Biblical Archaeology," *PEQ*, 1976, pp. 8-9.

¹² The discovery of these texts was announced by H. J. Franken, "Texts from the Persian Period from Tell Deir ʿAllā," *VT* 17 (1967): 480-481. Their date was subsequently raised to the middle of the eighth century on the basis of their palaeography by J. Naveh, "The Date of the Deir ʿAllā Inscriptions in Aramaic Script," *IEJ* 17 (1967): 256-258. Franken has recently provided a sum-

use into the Persian period, according to the excavator.¹³

If this *skt* was Succoth on the Ammonite side of the Jordan Valley, what is the meaning of *pd*[] which follows it? Although Cross restored a *nûn* after the *daleṭ* in this word for a different reason than the one proposed here, that restoration still makes good sense in this new context. That restoration yields *padan*, which is connected with Aram a dozen times in the patriarchal narratives of the Bible as the name for a region around the Upper Euphrates.¹⁴ Although Padan serves as part of a compound place name there, it appears to originate from Akkadian *padānu*, "way, route."¹⁵ Thus it has been proposed that Padan Aram might be translated "the route of Aram," and some support for this suggestion has been found in the fact that the name of Haran in the same area had a similar meaning in Akkadian.¹⁶

When Jacob returned from Padan Aram he encamped for a time at Succoth (Gen 33:15). Thus one could say that Jacob's *padānu* or "route" led to Succoth when he returned from the north. From this discussion of these parallels it is suggested here that "Succoth of the route" would fit well with *skt pd[n]* found in the second line of Heshbon Ostrakon II. For the next line the evidence from the seals cited by Cross certainly indicates that Tamak'el is best taken as an Ammonite personal name.

That brings us to the question of where the *gbl* was located

mary of the contents of these texts. They have to do with a night vision or dream in which an unnamed goddess came to Balaam the son of Beor (cf. Num 22:5) and threatened to destroy something by fire. Upon arising in the morning Balaam started crying and the priests sent to ask him what had happened. In response Balaam related his experience in the form of a prophecy to which he added a call to repentance to the populace. There follows a description of a meeting of the gods who attempted to persuade the goddess to abandon her plans. "The Problem of Identification," p. 9. The *editio princeps* of these texts is J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir eAllā* (Leiden, 1976). Hoftijzer's preliminary announcement of the contents of this text appeared in "The Prophet Balaam in a 6th Century Aramaic Inscription," *BA* 39 (1976): 11-17.

¹³ Franken, "Texts from the Persian Period," pp. 480-481. Id., *The Excavations at Tell Deir eAllā I*, p. 22.

¹⁴ All of these references occur in Genesis: 25:20; 28:2, 5, 6, 7; 31:18; 33:18; 35:9, 26; and 46:15. Padan occurs once in Gen 48:7, without Aram.

¹⁵ For the references to *padānu* in Akkadian, see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1972): 807-808.

¹⁶ R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* (Rome, 1948), p. 96.

from which the men (literally, "sons") mentioned in this text came. I doubt that they came from a Gebal in southern Transjordan, as has been proposed on the basis of Ps 83:8. If *skt* in the second line is Succoth in the central Jordan Valley, then we probably should look for their place of origin in a more northerly direction. As far as the Gebal of Ps 83:8 is concerned, I concur with M. Dahood's interpretation of that verse as referring to the better known *gbl* of Byblos in Phoenicia.

Customarily conjectured to be an Arab tribe residing in the environs of Petra, the MT hapax legomenon *gēbāl* should rather be identified with the famous Phoenician city. With *šōr*, Tyre, another Phoenician city, it forms the rhetorical figure known as inclusion. In this verse, the poet moves from north to south, and then back from south to north. In Ezek xxvii 8-9, Tyre and Byblos occur in parallelism.¹⁷

If one looks for the *gbl* of this ostrakon north of Succoth, rather than south, then there is no better candidate for it than the same Byblos of Phoenicia. Perhaps because of its northern location, or because of the similarity of its name with the word for "border," there has been some reluctance to identify *gbl* in the Bible with Byblos. Aside from Dahood's citations of *gbl* as Byblos in Ps 83:8 and Ezek 27:9, *gbl*/Byblos also appears in Josh 13:5 as a location on the northern border of the Promised Land and in 1 Ki 5:18 as a place from whence men came to work on Solomon's temple along with Hiram's workmen from Tyre. While it is consonantly correct to translate all four of these references as Gebal, as the RSV does, geographically this site was what is more commonly referred to historically as Byblos. It appears to me that the same reticence to translate *gbl* as Byblos has occurred in the case of this ostrakon when that site is more likely the one in question if the search for it starts from Succoth.

Putting these suggestions together, the revised translation of Heshbon Ostrakon II proposed here is:

טכח פדןן	2. Succoth of the route
]תמכאל	3. Tamak'el
]בני גבל	4. the men of Byblos ¹⁸

¹⁷ M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, The Anchor Bible, 17 (Garden City, 1968): 274.

¹⁸ Cross has restored an *'alep* after the *lamed* in *gbl*. "Heshbon Ostrakon II," p. 126. Only a small portion of this letter remains, however, so that it is uncertain as to which letter was originally written there. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI, A.

According to this translation, there are three basic elements in the portion of this text that has survived: men from Byblos in Phoenicia, Succoth in the central Jordan Valley, and the Ammonite personal name of Tamak'el. There probably are several ways these bits of information from this text could be put together. The one I would tentatively suggest is as follows: A mission from Byblos had arrived in the territory of Ammon by travelling the route down the Jordan Valley as far as Succoth. At Succoth they encountered Tamak'el, probably the ranking Ammonite official in residence there, and he reported their arrival to Heshbon by way of this text.

While a political mission would not have been impossible in this case, a contact of a commercial nature would seem to have been more likely. In the latter case, Tamak'el may have reported the arrival of some goods. Or in the former case, he may have sought authorization to permit the Byblites to pass on further into Ammon.

It is suggested here, therefore, that this ostrakon represents the remnants of a report or letter originally written by a scribe in the service of Tamak'el at Succoth and that by it he relayed the information to Heshbon that an embassy of some type or another from Byblos had arrived there.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ball, Bryan W. *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought, vol. 12. Leiden: Brill, 1975. xiv + 281 pp. Gld. 62.

This publication represents a revision of material that was originally presented in the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of London in 1970. During the intervening years Ball has been doing extensive research in broader areas of theological thought of the late 16th and early 17th centuries in the British Isles and has thus enriched his background knowledge for the particular line of theological concern which is the focus of the present book.

In six main chapters, the work here under review treats the following major areas or aspects of eschatological thought of 17th-century England up to 1660: (1) "The Word of God and the Second Coming of Christ" (pp. 15-54; incidentally, "World" should be "Word" in the table of contents on p. vii); (2) "Apocalyptic Interpretation and the End of the Age" (pp. 55-88); (3) "Signs of the Times and the Time of the End" (pp. 89-125); (4) "The Kingdoms of the World and the Kingdom of God" (pp. 126-156); (5) "Last Events and the Millennial Rule of Jesus" (pp. 157-192); and (6) "The End of Faith and the Godly Life" (pp. 193-227). Ball's discussion provides a truly comprehensive survey of important writers treating eschatology during that period in the British Isles, and among his significant and perhaps somewhat astounding conclusions are that eschatological hope was indeed widespread and that a surprisingly large amount of common ground existed regarding the basic doctrine of Christ's imminent second advent (even though there was more divergence with respect to millenarianism.)

In his "Conclusion" (pp. 228-238) Ball observes that the breadth of eschatological involvement was evident in various ways: (1) ecclesiastically, with representatives from among Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; (2) socially, with representation by "works of scores of clergy from virtually every rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy . . . complemented by the writings of laymen from a wide cross-section of public and private life" (p. 231); and (3) geographically, with London and southern counties figuring prominently, but with various other areas in England and with Scotland well represented too. Ball's "corollary" conclusion that "eschatological expectation belonged more to orthodoxy than it did to heterodoxy" (p. 233) seems valid. So also does his acceptance (*ibid.*) of Lamont's observation in *Godly Rule* that the book of Revelation has too frequently been identified, only with fanatical groups such as the Fifth Monarchists.

Concerning the nature of *A Great Expectation*, Ball himself considers this book to be more in the line of historical theology than theological history; and in a preface, the eminent British historian Geoffrey F. Nuttall has observed in this regard, "Whichever it is, he [Ball] is insatiably inquisitive and asks many questions of both history and theology. He has read widely

in seventeenth-century writers and has taken the trouble to study how these men thought. He also possesses a qualification essential but all too rare in that he is at home in the biblical material and understands the premisses from which argument proceeded" (p. x). With this evaluation by Nuttall, the reviewer would heartily concur; but he would also point out that in various chapters there seems to be a certain lack of synthesis of the materials (either historically or theologically) into a genuine frame of "historical theology" or "theological history." These chapters have impressed this reviewer as being more in the nature of a catalog of viewpoints than they are a cohesive or constructive account of why things happened as they did (or why they were as they were), even though frequent and judicious comparisons and contrasts between writers are made.

Perhaps it would have been impossible for the author to do otherwise in any meaningful way in those various chapters. In any event, there certainly is a place for "compilatory" types of material as well as for thorough-going syntheses. The "Conclusion" is particularly valuable and helpful in bringing together the various strands and strains of material into a somewhat cohesive whole. The reader can read and reread it with great profit.

It must also be stated that this book indeed makes an outstanding contribution to the secondary literature on theological thought in Great Britain during the period under consideration. For all Christians of our day who emphasize an eschatological hope—whether they be scholars or laymen—, this publication will provide fascinating reading. Scholarly though it is in nature—with adequate footnote references—, the text is nonetheless written in a most readable style.

The volume closes with two appendices on "The Apocalyptic Significance of the Song of Solomon" and "The Resurrection of the Body" (pp. 239-242 and 243-246), an extensive bibliography (pp. 247-263), and indexes to biblical references (pp. 265-267), names (pp. 268-272), and subjects (pp. 273-281).

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Baum, Gregory. *Religion and Alienation: A Theological Reading of Sociology*. New York and Toronto: Paulist, 1975. 296 pp. \$6.95.

In the aftermath of Vatican II, Catholic bishops initiated a vigorous program to implement the reforms voted at the Council. Many of the difficulties they encountered were blamed on the secularizing influence of sociologists and worldly philosophers who based human salvation on "value-free" analysis, social planning, and scorn for the supernatural.

In 1969 Gregory Baum tried a new approach. The Canadian theologian took a leave from the University of Toronto to study sociology at the New School for Social Research in New York. He too was troubled about reform. "I was interested in sociology," he writes in his introduction, "largely because I could not understand why the Catholic Church, despite the good will of clergy and laity and the extraordinary institutional event of Vatican II, had been unable to move and adopt the new style of Catholicism outlined in the conciliar documents." He hoped that sociology, by exploring both the intended and the unintended consequences of religious positions, would be able to answer the question.

Religion and Alienation is the fruit of Baum's two years of study and reflection among the sociologists, classical and contemporary. Apparently he found this encounter stimulating. Sociology seems to have given him new tools for a more critical awareness of the work of the Christian religion.

This volume is not, however, a systematic discussion of the relationship between sociology and theology. Instead, it treats a variety of topics in which the Canadian theologian found the encounter of the two disciplines to be fruitful. Nor is the title of the book descriptive of its content. "Religion and alienation" is but one of the topics discussed. The book is rather the travelog of one theologian's journey through the sociological territory, reporting on what struck him most, and sharing with the reader his insights and perspectives on the social institutions of religion.

The first eight chapters (pp. 7-192) introduce us to the great social thinkers of the 19th and 20th centuries: Alexis de Tocqueville, Friedrich Hegel, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Toennies, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Ernst Bloch, Karl Mannheim, and their successors. The last four chapters (pp. 193-294) deal with theological considerations, and particularly whether or not there is solid sociological evidence for the power of innovative religion.

Baum's question to the sociologists is a leading one: "Can religion be an independent, creative, original force in human life?" (pp. 163-192). Because religion as an institution in society at times legitimizes the *status quo* while at other times it is an innovative force producing such men as Francis of Assisi and Martin Luther King, Jr., the answer is Yes—and also No. Baum has evidently become convinced that the great sociological literature of the last two centuries records human insights and truths generally absent from philosophical and theological thought, truths that are bound actually to modify the very meaning of philosophy and theology.

Religion and Alienation is a vital and perceptive volume which will reward the careful reader. The sections on secularization (pp. 140-161), the ambiguity of religion (pp. 62-114), and critical theology (pp. 193-226) are superb. While the social sciences attempt to understand and explain social realities, theology seeks to discern in the light of transcendence the meaning of events and the shape of man's responsibilities. *Religion and Alienation* is a significant and searching probe into this important area where the two meet and organically relate.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Carley, Keith W. *Ezekiel among the Prophets*. Studies in Biblical Theology, 2d series, 31. London: SCM, 1975. x + 112 pp. £2.80.

Carley's study emerges from W. Zimmerli's observation (*VT* 15 [1965]: 515-527), of a number of similarities between Ezekiel and the preclassical prophetic narratives of 1 and 2 Kings. Carley examines these similarities with the intent to understand their significance and to suggest an explanation of how they arose. He also examines a selection of other OT traditions in order to understand Ezekiel's place among the prophets more fully.

Six topics are selected for comparison: (1) The Hand of Yahweh; (2) The Concept of the Spirit; (3) Demonstration of the Divine Nature in History: That You May Know That I Am Yahweh; (4) The Setting of the Prophet's

Face toward the Subjects of Prophecy; (5) The Motif of the Prophet Sitting in His House; and (6) The Covenant of Yahweh. On the basis of these comparisons Carley finds genuine grounds for speaking of a relationship between Ezekiel and the preclassical prophetic traits, yet he is careful to point out differences where they exist.

In relating Ezekiel to other major streams of OT tradition Carley goes beyond Zimmerli's detection of an "evident contiguity" between Ezekiel and earlier written prophecy, and G. Fohrer's consideration of the relationship between Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and postexilic prophecy, to find grounds for talking about a relationship between Ezekiel and Hosea. Carley discovers that Ezekiel's relationship to Hosea and Jeremiah complements rather than contrasts with the relationship between Ezekiel and the preclassical prophetic narratives. This is most clearly seen in their attitude towards the covenant. Carley then proceeds to take up the question of Ezekiel's relationship to Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code, both representing the conditions for the maintenance of the covenant. Ezekiel's relationship to Deuteronomy is expressed in the idea that disobedience has brought judgment; but the covenant tradition he used is one that he shared with the Holiness Code.

Carley states that in order to understand the relationships he has been discussing, it is necessary to consider the question of Ezekiel's sense of authority. The inclusion of autobiography, the dating of prophecies, and the presence of the preclassical prophetic traits in Ezekiel, including manifestations of ecstasy, are related to this question. While the presence of preclassical material in Ezekiel suggests that he was familiar with this tradition, it does not suggest simple literary dependence, or that those who preserved his prophecies employed these expressions as literary devices; they are derived from Ezekiel himself.

Carley's study of Ezekiel's place among the prophets finally leads him to conclude that distinctions between the prophets, cultic and classical, or even true and false, have become problematic. Furthermore, Ezekiel's relationship to other OT passages warns us not to isolate prophecy as was formerly done in OT scholarship. There is too much evidence for interdependence.

Previously Carley edited *Ezekiel* (CBCOT, New York, 1974); thus this is his second major publication on Ezekiel. In evaluating the work positively, I would point out that Carley has avoided extreme conclusions: He has not discovered exclusive relationships between Ezekiel and the preclassical prophets; he has been cautious in handling the questions of literary dependence between Ezekiel and Kings, and between Ezekiel and Jeremiah; and his integration of Ezekiel with so many other OT traditions is of considerable importance for contemporary studies on the prophets.

Carley argues that the preclassical prophetic traits in Ezekiel derive from the prophet himself. However, without disagreeing with his basic point, I must say that his arguments for maintaining this are not entirely convincing. In addition, it is difficult to believe that an ecstatic prophet such as Ezekiel, who experienced translocation, could deliberately fashion his statements to take preclassical prophetic forms in order to increase his prophetic authority.

Clements, Ronald E. *One Hundred Years of Old Testament Interpretation*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975. viii + 152 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

Professor Clements of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, England, provides a lucid and readable sketch of the history of the interpretation of the OT from the 1870s to the 1970s, geared to the student and general reader. He treats "the main lines of interpretation which have affected the study of the Old Testament, with a particular emphasis upon questions of methodology" (p. vii).

In view of this stated aim it would be unfair to compare this presentation with the authoritative and detailed treatment by H.-J. Kraus, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, 2d ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), Kraus's tome remains a must for the serious student. Clements places more emphasis on recent Anglo-American scholars. It may be considered as a supplement to H. F. Hahn, *The Old Testament in Modern Research With a Survey of Recent Literature*, ed. H. D. Hummel, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1966).

The sequence of chapters depends on the informative and scholarly collection of essays published under the title *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. H. H. Rowley (London, 1951) with the exception that Clements does not deal with (1) the text and language of the OT, an area in which the Qumran materials have brought about an explosion of knowledge, and (2) the archaeology of Palestine and the ancient Near East. The impact of archaeology on OT studies has been so profound that the lack of a treatment of this topic is a most serious shortcoming in Clements's presentation.

The first main chapter deals with "Interpreting the Pentateuch" (pp. 7-30) and leads in rapid steps from J. Wellhausen to the present, with a survey of the contributions of such figures as Gunkel, Gressmann, Alt, Welch, Bentzen, Pedersen, von Rad, Mowinckel, Noth, and Engnell. This survey follows on the whole the traditional lines of critical analyses of the Pentateuch by German and Scandinavian scholars. No mention is made of the recent denials of the existence of an E stratum by Mowinckel and of the J stratum by Rendtorff, not to mention such opponents to the documentary hypothesis as U. Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis* (Jerusalem, 1961); M. H. Segal, *The Pentateuch* (Jerusalem, 1967); G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* (Chicago, 1964); R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1969); and K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (London, 1966). One should expect at least a passing mention that not all OT scholars of the last 100 years have followed the mainline position of critical scholarship.

The chapters on the interpretation of the historical books (pp. 31-50) and the prophetic literature (pp. 51-75) particularly delineate traditional approaches. One of the best studies on this method is that of D. A. Knight, *The Traditions of Israel* (Missoula, Mont., 1973), who is not mentioned. It is surprising that no account is given of the significant study of J. Lindblom on ancient Israelite prophecy. Much is said about the commentaries of some prophetic books by H. W. Wolff but nothing is said about the equally significant commentaries by W. Rudolph and J. L. Mays.

The interpretation of the Psalms (pp. 76-98) is traced from Duhm via

Gunkel to Mowinckel. Some attention is given to the studies of Beyerlin and Delekat regarding the identification of the enemies of the worshippers. The various festivals as proposed by some scholars are touched on briefly. The most significant three-volume contribution to Psalms studies (1965-1970) by M. Dahood finds no treatment at all.

The brief chapter on "Interpreting the Wisdom Literature" (pp. 99-117) reflects an appreciation of wisdom in the ancient Near East. The contributions of Gunkel, Gressmann, Fichtner, Rylaarsdam, Ranston, McKane, and von Rad are surveyed. It is annoying to find that the major recent studies on OT wisdom by Schmid (1966), Hermisson (1968), Bauer-Kayatz (1969), Marböck (1971), Scott (1971), Skehan (1971), Whybray (1974) and Crenshaw (1975) are not even referred to in footnotes.

This reviewer turned in his reading of this volume first to the chapter on "Interpreting Old Testament Theology" (pp. 118-140). Although the chapter begins with Wellhausen and reference is made to A. B. Davidson and K. Marti, the reader will not discern that these OT theologies were really following the history-of-religion approach which led to the virtual death of the discipline of OT theology. That a revival of OT theology took place in the 1920s and that its golden age followed are, at best, only hinted at. A very one-sided picture is communicated by the suggestion that Th. C. Vriezen stands rather alone in maintaining "that the proper starting point for a theology of the Old Testament is to be found in an awareness that the true goal of the Old Testament lies in the New Testament" (p. 127). G. von Rad has the same emphasis and Eichrodt speaks of an "historical movement from the Old Testament to the New [but in addition] there is a current of life flowing in reverse direction from the New Testament to the Old. This reverse relationship also elucidates the full significance of the realm of OT thought" (*Theology of the Old Testament* [Philadelphia, 1965], 1: 26). Again, one is surprised that no reference is made to studies dealing with method in OT theology (Dentan, Kraus, Spriggs, et al.) and that nothing is said about significant recent OT theologies (Knight, Van Imschoot, Deissler, McKenzie).

Clements concludes that "while there are today signs of a great deal of fresh theological questioning about the proper scope, and inherent limitations, of historico-critical method," such historico-critical methods of research as "literary criticism, form criticism, tradition-history and redaction criticism all show a degree of interdependence which means that no one of them can be upheld without due regard for the others" (pp. 148-149). No consideration is given to structuralism as a method of research for the OT.

This book is a beginner's survey of major trends in the last hundred years of historical-critical study of the OT. We have seen repeatedly that its weakness is in the lack of discussion of most recent trends and in its selectivity. For a well-rounded understanding of the trends and issues in OT interpretation, the serious student needs to supplement this volume with such standard works as those indicated above.

Cragg, Gerald R. *Freedom and Authority: A Study of English Thought in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975. 302 pp. \$15.00.

The Reformation destroyed the pattern of authority which had developed in England in regard to the tension existing between papacy and monarchy. The reformers and their immediate successors were concerned to elevate the authority of the monarch—the new head of the church—as a bulwark against the restoration of Catholicism. Not until the accession of the Stuart dynasty did individuals feel free to reassess the role of the monarch and question his increased authority. Only then did men become aware of the conflicting interpretations of authority and the competing interests claiming the right to exercise, or to limit, that authority.

Cragg has skillfully analyzed this intellectual conflict, basing his study almost entirely upon books and pamphlets from the time period covered. Consequently, there are very few references to secondary literature (although he does appear to be aware of current research). Moreover, manuscript sources are completely ignored. His extensive knowledge of the printed primary materials has, however, enabled him to use numerous brief quotations which provide both clarity and enrichment.

The discussion of the intellectual milieu within which these controversies occurred includes a chapter on Bacon and the new science—a chapter which he justifies by claiming that “the challenge to old authorities arose in part from a new intellectual confidence” (p. 37). He then describes the divine-right concept of kingship and juxtaposes this with the developing theory of parliamentary sovereignty. These chapters merely provide the background against which he analyzes the problem of authority in the sphere of religion. This is where Cragg's interests lie and where he is at his best. His sensitivity to the issues enables him accurately to reflect the concerns of individuals searching for an authority around which to stabilize their own personal religious beliefs.

Cragg points out that although Hooker had provided a theological basis for the uniqueness of the Anglican Church, this appeared inadequate to “the school of Laud” which stressed the role of reason, history, and tradition in an attempt to strengthen the authority of the Church. Catholics realized the weakness which this implied for a Protestant church and renewed their ideological campaign in favor of Rome as a center of authority.

Cragg next turns to the division within the Catholic Church in England, where individuals were torn between the conflicting claims of their own political government and the religious authority of their Church. The Puritans, meanwhile, upheld the authority of the Holy Scriptures (see esp. pp. 142-143) against the claims of both Rome and Canterbury. Cragg's analysis of their position is excellent. He then discusses the manner in which failure by some individuals to resolve the tensions between the authority of the Word and the authority of Canterbury led them to form small separatist sects. But these, he concludes, had merely exchanged one set of tensions for another as they strove to accept the authority of the Word without antagonizing the authority of the magistrates.

Throughout these years, but especially after 1620, Cragg discerns a movement led by a group whom he defines as “lay liberals,” to provide a basis for the practical toleration which was achieved in England by the end of the

century. Authority for this group consisted of the common-law precedents which defined the limits within which Englishmen could act as free individuals.

Thus Cragg moves from a discussion of the various competing concepts of authority to delineate the growing concern for freedom in early Stuart England. Not only has he shown a sympathetic understanding of this complex period in English history, but he has also made the study of its intellectual and religious movements both easier and more pleasant for those who follow in his footsteps. In addition, many of the issues raised in the early 17th century have returned to haunt the world of the 20th century. In that context, the debate on the relationship between authority and freedom is as relevant today as when the Stuarts ruled England during the 17th century.

Andrews University

CEDRIC WARD

Cullmann, Oscar. *The Johannine Circle*. Trans. John Bowden. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976. xii + 124 pp. \$6.95.

The present volume represents an excellent translation of the German original that appeared in 1975 under the more descriptive title, which may be translated as *The Johannine Circle: Its Place in Late Judaism Among the Disciples of Jesus, and in Primitive Christianity* (Tübingen, 1975).

In general, the book may be characterized as Cullmann's attempt to defend some of his old views on Johannine matters, and at the same time to position himself vis-à-vis the arguments advanced by E. Käsemann and J. L. Martyn concerning the Johannine milieu. He follows Käsemann and recognizes the distinctiveness of the Gospel of John as due to its origin within a distinctive Christian circle (Cullmann prefers "circle" to "school," "sect," or *ecclesiola*). But there his agreement with Käsemann ends. The Johannine circle in no way finds itself at odds with the Christian mainstream. The Fourth Gospel does not represent a "naive docetism." It is, rather, a missionary document that proclaims Jesus as the Christ within a *heilsgeschichtliche* framework. Cullmann agrees with Martyn in that the Gospel reflects upon two historical moments at the same time. But whereas Martyn has argued that the stories in the Gospel describe both the experience of Jesus (an *einmalig* event) and the experience of the Johannine community (a contemporary event) simultaneously, Cullmann on the other hand argues that the evangelist has superimposed the Christ who is present in the church upon the incarnate Jesus. Thus, in contrast to Luke, who sets apart the Jesus who worked on earth in the flesh from the Christ who works through his apostles, John seeks to consider Jesus after the flesh and the present Christ together in one and the same perspective" (p. 14).

In order to defend this position Cullmann constructs a revised edition of the history of early Christianity, giving special attention to the formation of the Johannine community. His argument is rather simple: Among those who followed Jesus there were some who came from "marginal, heterodox Judaism." Because of their position within Judaism these followers of Jesus never fared well within the group of disciples of Jesus who came from "mainstream, orthodox Judaism." One of these marginal Jews was a disciple of John the Baptist who became known as "the other disciple" of Jesus. In time

he established a mission to the Samaritans and created a group with his followers and new converts who considered him as the authority behind their new faith. Before he died around A.D. 60 this "other disciple," who had not been one of the twelve but had witnessed some of the events in Jesus' life, wrote a gospel for his disciples. This circle kept his gospel, and enlarged it in terms of its own struggles with heterodox and mainstream Judaism. Their founder now became known as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." As we have it, the Gospel of John comes from the final redaction made by the disciples of the beloved disciple around A.D. 100. Unfortunately Cullmann rather cavalierly refers to "the three great Johannine scholars of recent times, F. M. Braun, R. E. Brown, and R. Schnackenburg," only to dismiss them because they identify the beloved disciple with John the son of Zebedee who wrote the Gospel (p. 83). But in fact, with the exception of the suggestion that the beloved disciple comes from "marginal Judaism," the rest of Cullmann's thesis had already been proposed in basic outline by Schnackenburg some years ago ("On the Origin of the Fourth Gospel," in *Jesus and Man's Hope* [Pittsburgh, Pa., 1970] pp. 239-240).

Besides the Fourth Gospel, the Johannine circle also produced the Epistles, the Apocalypse, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. As the group developed and gained better contacts with mainstream Christianity, Ignatius came out of this tradition to become bishop in Antioch. The Johannine circle lived most probably in Syria; if not there, perhaps in Transjordan.

Cullmann's argument is built on a triangular relationship tying together heterodox Jewish converts to Christianity, to the Hellenists in Jerusalem, and to the Johannine circle. Their common denominator is interest in a mission to Samaria and opposition to the Jerusalem temple.

The picture proposed by Cullmann is indeed quite neat and simple, but its very simplicity is what does not allow it to stand under scrutiny. The reconstruction of Samaritan theology is still in its infancy stages; therefore to pinpoint a Christian Samaritan mission is not as easy as may first appear. Also problematic is the differentiation made between mainstream and marginal Judaism during Jesus' lifetime. This seems to be an attempt to resurrect the ghost of "Normative Judaism" once given life by G. F. Moore. That the twelve disciples came out of mainstream Judaism seems to be impossible of being proved. Besides, to think that all those who opposed the Jerusalem temple were themselves agreed on everything else is again an oversimplification.

Even if Cullmann's well laid out argument proves defective, he gives some insightful suggestions concerning the religious phenomenon in 1st-century Palestine and its vicinity. Cullmann's erudition is again on display and the reader is certainly challenged and taught by it.

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HEROLD WEISS

Goppelt, Leonhard. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 2 vols. Erster Teil: *Jesu Wirken in seiner theologischen Bedeutung*; Zweiter Teil: *Vielfalt und Einheit des apostolischen Christuszeugnisses*. Ed. J. Roloff. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975-1976. 669 pp. DM 28 each.

NT theology has in the last decade entered its most productive period in its

two hundred years of existence as an independent discipline. Ten different authors, aside from Goppelt, have published works under this title: H. Conzelmann (1967), K. H. Schelkle (1968-1974), W. G. Kümmel (1969), J. Jeremias (1971), M. G. Cordero (1972), A. T. Nikolainen (1972), G. E. Ladd (1974), C. E. Lehmann (1974), E. Lohse (1974), S. Neill (1976). A reading of these works reveals that all is not well in NT theology. No two scholars are agreed on the nature, function, scope, and method of NT theology.

Goppelt, of the University of Munich, had worked for a period of ten years on his *magnum opus*. On December 21, 1971, he passed away suddenly before completely finishing his envisioned work. His student J. Roloff published Goppelt's NT theology in two volumes. All students of NT (and Biblical) theology will be grateful to both Goppelt and Roloff for this contribution to NT theology.

The reader of Goppelt's volumes is immediately struck with the scholarly competency and comprehensiveness with which the subject of NT theology is treated. It begins with an outstanding introduction on the history of the discipline of NT theology from its beginnings to the present (pp. 19-51). The emphasis is placed upon a distinction between (1) the "purely historical" approach (J. P. Gabler, F. C. Baur, J. Holtzmann, W. Wrede); (2) the combination of the "purely historical" and theological approaches of R. Bultmann, his school, and its division into the right (E. Käsemann, J. M. Robinson, et al.), center (H. Conzelmann, P. Viehauer, et al.), and left (H. Braun, F. Buri); and (3) the "positive historical" approach (J. C. K. von Hofmann, T. Zahn, A. Schlatter, O. Cullmann). Goppelt places himself squarely into the European school of salvation-history, but opposes others by emphasizing that the NT does not know "salvation history as the plan of a universal history, but knows only the correlation of promise and fulfilment" (p. 49). In Goppelt's view, salvation history distinguishes itself from history in general neither "through its miracle-like nature nor through demonstrable continuity," but through "a sequence of historical processes which are ultimately characterized and connected with each other. The final self-demonstration of God in Jesus is prepared through it and Jesus takes his stand with them" (p. 82).

In terms of methodology Goppelt seems to break new ground through his principle of "critical dialog," by means of which "the principles of the historical-critical method of biblical research, i.e. criticism, analogy, and correlation" are brought into a critical dialog "with the self-understanding of the NT" (p. 50). The principle of "critical dialog" takes the historical aspect, i.e. the religio-historical and the traditio-historical connections, and the salvation-historical aspect seriously by bringing both into dialog with each other. "Both parties, the New Testament and the man of today, have to be brought into dialog with each other" (p. 18). This means that a merely descriptive task is not enough for NT theology. The dialog is to come about through a presentation of the divergent scholarly attempts at interpretation, including their presuppositions, in order to "enable the reader to participate in the dialog of research and to make it possible for him to form his own opinions" (p. 17).

In sharp contrast to Bultmann, who considered the message of Jesus to be but the presupposition of NT theology, Goppelt begins his NT theology

with a "tradition-critical analysis" of the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel for a presentation of the earthly "activity and path of Jesus" (p. 62). Seven full chapters are devoted to this. Such titles as "The Coming of the Rulership of God" (pp. 94-127), "Conversion as Expectation" (pp. 218-270), "Conversion as Gift of the Rulership of God" (pp. 171-188), "Jesus' Saving Activity as Expression of Eschatological Renewal" (pp. 189-206), "Jesus' Self-understanding" (pp. 207-253), "Jesus and the Church" (pp. 254-270) and "Jesus' End" (pp. 271-299) give an indication of the direction chosen by Goppelt in distinction from the presentation of NT theology by J. Jeremias, who has also dedicated an entire volume to the proclamation of Jesus.

The post-Pentecost development is put together in the second volume under the subtitle of "Manifoldness and Unity of the Apostolic Witness to Christ." Goppelt's presentation works now with "the dialogical correlation between the formulation of the Jesus' tradition and the explication of the Easter kerygma . . . in the proclamation and teaching of the early church" (p. 353). The principle of "dialogical correlation" is the key to the development of the earliest Christology.

The theology of the early church is presented in three major parts. The first deals, as is customary, with "The Early Church" (pp. 325-355), in which the church itself is seen as a community of Jesus' followers where the beginnings of Christology are found. This is followed by "Paul and Hellenistic Christianity" (pp. 356-479). The center of Pauline theology is the concept of righteousness, i.e. a combination of the forensic aspect of God's putting man in the right relationship with himself and the subjective aspect of man's living in this relationship. Goppelt distinguishes himself here from the Christ mysticism of earlier years (W. Wrede, A. Schweitzer) and from both the purely forensic understanding (R. Bultmann, H. Conzelmann) and the strictly subjective emphasis (E. Käsemann, P. Stuhlmacher) of more recent vintage. The last part is entitled "The Theology of the Post-Pauline Writings" (pp. 480-643). Structurally it is inchoate. This may be due to the fact that it was not fully developed by Goppelt himself before his untimely death. The theologies of the following NT writings are paired in separate chapters: 1 Peter and Revelation, James and Matthew, Hebrews and Luke. The Johannine theology is not fully developed. No treatment is provided for Mark, the so-called Deutero-Pauline letters, the Pastorals, 2 Peter, and Jude.

Goppelt's two volumes contain an intriguing new approach to NT theology. It is puzzling, however, given the correlation approach chosen by the author, why he refrains from presenting the theology of the Synoptics. It is quite difficult to conceive why Luke-Acts are torn apart since they contain a salvation-history emphasis toward which Goppelt is particularly sensitive. Throughout his NT theology the manifoldness of the NT finds continuous demonstration. But what about an explication of the unity of the NT? Goppelt may have wished to do this in a final chapter which he was not allowed to write.

Goppelt and Ladd both are committed to a salvation history approach, but if one compares their works, the vastness of the differences in methodology, structure, and scope is particularly striking. One is inevitably led to the conclusion that there is no uniform or unified salvation-history school

of NT study.

No serious student of NT theology can afford to neglect Goppelt's work. His approach will not find support from all readers, but no one can lay these two volumes aside without having been stimulated to reflect anew on the nature, function, scope, and purpose of NT theology. The bibliographies provided for each section are in themselves worth the money invested. Goppelt's *Theology of the NT* is an outstanding landmark of a moderately critical approach to NT study.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Hall, Douglas John. *Lighten Our Darkness: Toward an Indigenous Theology of the Cross*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976. 253 pp. \$10.95.

This is a tremendously insightful book whose message, while particularly directed towards North Americans, applies equally to people everywhere. The image of man as master arose after the Middle Ages but found its fullest development in North America with its pioneer spirit, and in modern times in its mastery of technology. But this image of man as master is being shattered as technology enslaves man with its automation, terrifies him with the threat of nuclear incineration, and frightens him with the prospect of depletion of resources. The myth of progress, the philosophical basis for the image of man as master, and the officially optimistic society is no longer believable. Unfortunately, Christianity has been the priest of this society. It has given this society its blessings and its encouragement, though the Bible itself does not support this view.

What the author calls for in place of this triumphalistic theology is a theology of the cross, a theology that sees God present in the midst of peril, uncertainty, suffering, failure, darkness, and hopelessness. The problem with North American Christianity is that it has allowed the gap between experience and expectancy to grow too large. It refuses to look realistically at what experience teaches—that its condition is one of failure since its concept of man as master is not in harmony with reality. It has failed to assimilate fully the biblical doctrine of man as sinner. Therefore its expectancy is an illusion not based on experience, and from this standpoint it is in the same situation as Marxism. On the other hand, existentialism is blind to expectancy while concentrating only on experience. The tension between experience and expectancy must be maintained, but it must be between experience that is realistic and expectancy that is built on a true assessment of experience. The understanding of the human experience will lead to the "recognition of the crisis of our period as a crisis of failure: the failure of an image of man" (p. 170).

A new image of man is needed in this time when the old image no longer works. The image Hall proposes is the image of man as receiver. Man as receiver is no longer lord of nature but its protector, one who receives what is necessary for life, and recognizes his dependence on other men. Hall recognizes that this *might* lead to mere passivity, but he objects to the idea that such *must* be the result.

Thus, what is necessary is that we recognize the failure of the image of

man as master, the concept of inevitable progress, the success mentality without any limits, and that we learn to live with failure, to walk in the darkness and to die with Jesus on the cross. "A faith that knows failure, and even begins in failure, can touch the lives of many today who otherwise do not have the courage to have failed" (p. 229).

While this book is pregnant with insights and presents a theology that is appropriate to the times and the place, nevertheless it seems a bit too one-sided. To make its point it has overemphasized the cross without giving appropriate reference to the resurrection. Künneth's *Theology of the Resurrection* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1965) gives a better balanced view without the triumphalistic overtones that Hall decries. The resurrection is victory but it is a hidden victory. It remains hidden until the coming of Christ. Without this other aspect, it is difficult to see where hope comes from and how the Christian can be much of a helpful presence in a world full of despair, hopelessness, and meaninglessness.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Jaroš, Karl; Leimlehner, Marianne; and Swedlik, Grete. *Aegypten und Vorderasien: Eine kleine Chronographie bis zum Auftreten Alexander des Grossen*. Linz: Veritas Verlag, 1976. 206 pp. 24 maps. 26 illustrations.

This little book, according to a description on the back cover, was produced as a guide to students of religion and interested lay people who want to be introduced to the history of Egypt and the ancient Orient. The author, Karl Jaroš, a college professor, has taught OT in Graz and Linz in Austria and produced this book to meet a widely felt need for such a guide. Two of his students helped him in this work.

There can be no question but that there has always been a dearth of books dealing with ancient history written with the general public in mind. Every high-school or college instructor who teaches history will agree with this statement. James H. Breasted, the first famous American Egyptologist and founder of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, over sixty years ago tried to fill this void with his *Ancient Times: a History of the Early World* (Boston, 1916; rev. 1935). This was a superbly written general ancient history; but it contains 742 pages, and therefore is still a rather formidable tome, although it has been successfully used as a textbook in many college courses dealing with ancient Near Eastern history.

When I received Jaroš's little book I wondered how he could cover several thousand years of Near Eastern history on 127 small-sized pages, because the remaining 79 pages of his book are used up by the title page, table of contents, list of abbreviations, etc. (10 pages); by chronological lists of kings and dynasties (23 pages); and by maps, plans, and drawings of archaeological objects (46 pages). The result is a condensation of material that cannot nearly do justice to the political events from prehistorical times down to Alexander the Great, not to mention the cultural accomplishments and religions involved during these millennia. Jaroš devotes 33 pages to ancient Egypt, 39 pages to the ancient Orient, and 55 pages to Syria-Palestine (mainly the history of Israel). But even within these areas there are great

differences of coverage. The Neo-Babylonian empire is treated in but one page, while the kingdom of Urartu, which played a much less important role than Babylonia, gets five pages of treatment. The author also rides some hobby horses, for which he really had no space. For example, he devotes five pages of illustrations (pp. 178-182) and one page of text (pp. 51-52) to a description of the belief of the ancient Pharaohs that they had had a divine origin; and he describes the Arabic *hily*-system, a covenant-union entered by various tribes, to explain the bond existing between the tribes of ancient Israel (pp. 84-85).

Enough has been said to point out that this book tries to accomplish the impossible. A condensation of the ancient history of a dozen or so nations spanning about three thousand years into 127 pages is an almost meaningless endeavor. The reader who knows ancient history cannot learn anything from a book such as this one, and the uninitiated reader becomes confused and bewildered since there are too many facts thrown at him without being explained.

Pleasant Hill, California

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Lohse, Eduard. *A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*. Trans. W. R. Poehlmann and R. J. Karris; ed. Helmut Koester. *Hermeneia*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971. xviii + 231 pp. \$12.00.

The appearance in English of Lohse's commentary marked a happy event for English-speaking students of the Bible. They have now available to them the best commentary on Colossians and Philemon, a translation of the 14th edition of the German Meyer series. It launches also the new commentary series, *Hermeneia*, which will include original works as well as translations of the best commentaries available.

Lohse has achieved an admirable balance between the scholarly tapping of all possible sources of meaning for words and phrases, and clarity as to the meaning of the whole paragraph. Nothing is said just to display erudition. With a sure hand he moves in a search for meaning, and the results honor the title of the English series. He brings forth a lucid interpretation. Unlike most commentaries which are intended primarily as reference works, this one is meant to be read, and it reads well. In reading it, one does not find himself in the middle of a long, disjointed series of comments on words.

For each passage, Lohse always considers the possible backgrounds: Qumran, Hellenistic Judaism, Gnosticism, Apocalypticism, or an early Christian adaptation of apocalypticism with a soteriological rather than a cosmological thrust. In this connection this reviewer is only surprised that Lohse has not made references to the apocalyptic use of the *cheirographon* in Col 2:14.

Lohse identifies the "philosophy" being taught at Colossae as a form of syncretism having roots in Judaism. Therefore many of the terms used by the propagandists of the "philosophy" are best understood by reference to Hebrew terms. But a radical shift away from both Judaism and Christianity has occurred since the "philosophy" has established specific cultic practices of the mystery-cult type. Here his interpretation clearly affects his translation. Thus, the short phrase *ha heoraken embateuōn* is translated, "as he has

had visions of them during the mystery rites." In combatting this philosophy the author lays his theological foundation by quoting a Christian hymn (1:15-20). Lohse denies a pre-Christian origin to the hymn.

I would certainly agree with Lohse when he states that "in the context of Col, however, the command to keep festival, new moon, and sabbath is not based on the Torah according to which Israel received the Sabbath as a sign of her election from among the nations. Rather the sacred days must be kept for the sake of 'the elements of the universe,' who direct the course of the stars and thus also prescribe minutely the order of the calendar" (p. 115). As Lohse succinctly states it, "the 'philosophy' made use of terms which stemmed from Jewish tradition, but which had been transformed in the crucible of syncretism to be subject to the service of 'the elements of the universe'" (p. 116). Thus the "philosophy," which included a set cultus, and which propagandists were introducing at Colossae, may best be described as "pre-Gnostic" (p. 129).

Lohse does not think that Paul wrote the Epistle. As he sees it, Colossians is the best argument for the existence of a "Pauline school tradition" which, most probably, was centered at Ephesus. The recipient of this letter most likely lived in Colossae. But the letter is really addressed to Christians in Asia Minor (Colossae had been destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 60-61) in order to help them cope with the "menace of syncretism" (p. 181). The appeal of syncretism was based on the fear that the forgiveness of sins attained by Christians at baptism did not quite free them from the power of fate.

Only 22 pages are devoted to Philemon. Here the interpretation is rather straightforward and traditional. However, Lohse feels that Paul wrote the letter in the mid-fifties while he was a prisoner at Ephesus where he met the runaway slave, Onesimus. In writing to Philemon, Paul is not arguing that Philemon should free Onesimus so that he might come back to serve Paul. A classical parallel is provided by Pliny the Younger's letter to his friend Sabinianus on behalf of one of the latter's slaves who had run away. But whereas Pliny appealed to his friend's respect for the Stoic virtue of clemency, Paul's appeal is based on their common existence in Christ, and Philemon's knowledge of Christian love.

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HEROLD WEISS

McClendon, James Wm., Jr. *Biography as Theology: How Life Stories Can Remake Today's Theology*. Nashville and New York: Abingdon, 1974. 224 pp. \$13.95; paperback, \$4.95.

The author proposes in this book to do theology based on biographies rather than the study of God. People's lives are based on the convictions they hold in common with the community of which they are a part. The study of Christian beliefs can be more directly and authentically studied by concerning ourselves with lived lives. In studying lives, one needs to observe what are the dominant or controlling images found in these lives. These

images derived from the Bible are based on the concept of God and man as meeting.

McClendon uses the biographies of Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Luther King to develop his thesis. Hammarskjöld saw himself as Christ's brother and envisaged his life as a sacrifice to be offered, while King saw himself as a Moses leading his people on the Exodus to the Promised Land of freedom. What is significant here is that men having biblical faith derive their images from Scripture but apply them to themselves. They thus show not only what religion is—the application of certain great archetypal images to their own lives and circumstances—but also its content. The author uses as an illustration the doctrine of atonement. There is no formal interest concerning this doctrine on the part of Hammarskjöld and King, but yet for them it was central, since both sought to bring about unity—the former of nations, the latter of races and classes.

McClendon does not repudiate propositional theology, but he insists that the propositional statement be in continual and intimate contact with lived experience; otherwise it becomes merely an objective study. "With this living contact, theology may develop its propositions in the confidence that their meaning is exemplified in contemporary Christian experience" (p. 178).

This book has many insights and provokes one to think along fresh lines, but somehow it seems to the reviewer that McClendon has not yet put everything together quite properly or sufficiently. Interesting ideas are set forth, but they are not fully explored. What is said in one place is not fully complemented by what is said later. For example, the author emphasizes the individual within the community, but this relationship is not clearly explained. The relationship between images and conviction also needs clarification. Also, it is difficult to understand why the biographies themselves are separated by a chapter entitled "Biography as Theology."

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

MacPherson, Dave. *The Late Great Pre-Trib Rapture*. Kansas City, Mo.: Heart of America Bible Society, 1974. 88 pp. Paperback.

The main reason to review this book in *AUSS* is that in a sense it is a follow-up of the author's *The Unbelievable Pre-Trib Origin*, which I reviewed in *AUSS* 13 (1975): 86-87. (Of itself this new book can hardly rank as significant historical or theological literature, though it may have some practical value for seminarians and pastors, as will be indicated below.)

MacPherson's earlier volume is basically an historical treatment (written in a free journalistic style) and provides significant information and insights regarding some of the charismatic activity in Great Britain, especially south-western Scotland, in the early nineteenth century. But it fails, in my opinion, to prove its main thesis: that John Nelson Darby acquired his "secret-rapture" concept as a result of a vision of a young girl, Margaret Macdonald, in Scotland in early 1830—a thesis which I have subjected to careful scrutiny in my earlier review. (The rise of the "secret-rapture" idea.

as being an innovation at about that time and the connection of this idea with Darby are not, of course, in dispute.)

The volume presently under review begins with a reiteration of the author's theory about the origin of Darby's pretribulation-rapture concept, but then moves into an analysis of the present-day situation regarding dispensationalism. There is discussion of four different groups of "Tribulationists" (chap. 2) and presentation of a case for "Post-Tribulationism" as being the majority view (chap. 3). Next, attention is given to such matters as the following: an incipient anti-Semitism which MacPherson thinks he sees in pretribulationism; Hal Lindsey's writings; inconsistencies in interpretation that are evidenced among various advocates of pretribulationism; etc. (chaps. 4-8).

MacPherson's publication is popular in nature, rather than scholarly, and it abounds in colloquialisms. Its obviously *strong* polemical overtones and especially its sardonic remarks tend to impair its value, at least from a scholarly point of view. For instance, what benefit can possibly be derived from the following comment on p. 56 about Hal Lindsey's differentiation between Christ's coming "in the air" and "to the earth"? "Does he [Lindsey] think that when Christ comes to earth he won't travel 'in the air'? (Maybe he'll travel through layers of *water!*)"? Surely, a publication such as that by George E. Ladd, *The Blessed Hope* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1956), provides a more objective and scholarly analysis of dispensationalism.

Nevertheless, MacPherson's *The Late Great Pre-Trib Rapture* will undoubtedly fulfill a useful role for many seminarians and pastors, for it may rightly be recognized as constituting, in a practical way, a helpful source book and compendium on some matters. There is no question but that this author has done a great deal of careful research and analysis; and aside from unnecessary witticisms, sarcastic remarks, etc., the insights and documentation he affords in chaps. 5 and 6 ("The Lindsey Legend" and "A House Divided") are often interesting and useful.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Mays, James L. *Micah: A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976. xii + 169 pp. \$10.95.

Professor Mays of Union Theological Seminary (Richmond, Va.) has provided the student of the OT with another commentary on an 8th-century prophet. His commentaries on Amos and Hosea appeared in the same series in the year 1969.

Mays suggests that the historical Micah was active for "a relatively short time" (p. 15) in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. (p. 21), although the dating of Mic 1:1 allows a minimum span of public activity of 46 years. The reason for the suggestion of such a short period of ministry is supported by the critical conclusion that genuine sayings of Micah are found only in the first three chapters: 1:3-5a, 8-15 (with additions); 2:1-5 (revised); 2:6-11

(v. 10 is revised); 3:1-4, 5-8, 9-12. The remaining sayings in chaps. 4-7 derive from various later periods of time, particularly around 600-586 b.c. However, "the latest material in the book comes from the post-exilic period after the temple had been rebuilt (515 b.c.)" (p. 21). This assessment of the lengthy growth of the book does not follow the contemporary trend of scholars who have emphasized the unifying features of the book (e.g. J. T. Willis, B. A. Copass and E. L. Carlson, A. Weiser, W. Beyerlin) but the criticism of the previous generation (A. Stade, K. Marti, W. Nowack, et al.). The return of an older position is also reflected in the twofold division of the form of the book into Part One: 1:2-5:15 and Part Two: 6:1-7:20 (H. Ewald, et al.). It seems that the suggestions for a threefold division (J. T. Willis et al.) are not seriously considered.

The commentary as such (pp. 36-169) is not extensive in length considering the complexity of the content of the individual sayings. The pattern of his earlier commentaries is followed here again, with a lucid translation of the Hebrew text into English followed by a commentary on each unit translated. The interpenetration of both translation and interpretation (*exegesis*) is a typical characteristic of this work. Although the book of Micah has a remarkable range of theological themes and "in many respects is a miniature of the book of Isaiah [*sic*]" (p. 1), one misses the treatment of the theology of Micah.

Mic 4:1-5 is one of the best known passages in the OT which has its parallel in Isa 2:2-4. H. Wildberger has argued forcefully for an Isaianic origin of Mic 4:1-5 (*Jesaja* [Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972], pp. 76-90) as did H. Junker shortly before him. Mays does not think that this unit originates with Isaiah or Micah (so E. Cannawurf) but with an anonymous post-exilic prophet. "Perhaps the original saying was first spoken after the completion of the temple in 515 b.c." (p. 96).

The promise of Mic 5:2-4 has been understood to be Messianic by many, even to the present (A. Weiser, W. Beyerlin, S. Herrmann, C. Westermann). Mays does not share this position. He conceives it as a saying about the inauguration of a new ruler whom Yahweh will make great in the midst of the whole earth.

As regards Mic 7:8-20, the author follows H. Gunkel's study of 1928. This unit is made up of prophetic liturgies from a late compiler during post-exilic times.

On the whole, no significant new ground is broken in this commentary. It follows more or less the patterns established by critical biblical scholarship. As is expected, Mays is sensitive to form-critical and traditio-historical emphases. As a result he conceives the supposedly long history of the formation of the book of Micah as a veritable guide to the history of prophetic proclamation and thus the course of the prophetic movement. It remains to be seen whether this reconstruction will be sustained in future studies on Micah and the ancient Israelite prophetic movement.

The book as a whole is relatively free from typographical errors. Only the following were noted: p. 1, "Isiah"; p. 112, 4.1-4 should be 5.1-4; and p. 155, "liturgical." The usefulness of the book would have been enhanced by the addition of indexes on authors (the bibliography on pp. 34-35 is painfully brief) and on subjects.

Neill, Stephen. *Jesus through Many Eyes: Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976. ix + 214 pp. Paperback, \$5.50.

The *raison d'être* that the author presents for this book is the need for an introduction to NT theology that students with limited biblical background and thoughtful lay people can use with the hope that from this beginning they would be encouraged to move to larger and more difficult works. For this reason, the author provides at the end of the book a bibliography for each chapter. The method that Neill follows in the book may appear complicated to the special audience for whom he is writing, but it is necessitated by his rejection "of two presuppositions—that every part of the New Testament is equally inspired, and that, for all the variety that exists in the different parts, they can all in the end be reduced to an undifferentiated harmony" (p. 2).

His is a combination of methods. He combines the different circles of response to the original event and certain groups of writing that have affinities. Thus after discussing "The Earliest Church," that group which is described in the earlier chapters of Acts, he takes "The Pauline Corpus" (excluding 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, and the Pastorals), Mark and 1 Peter, "The Tradition of Israel: Matthew, James, Hebrews, Revelation," the Gentile world (Luke and Acts), the Fourth Gospel, and the rest of the NT (2 Peter, Jude, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus). The final chapter, picking up from the new quest, is Neill's own quest of the historical Jesus.

Neill stresses the shortness of the period from the time of Jesus to the time when the last book was written (before A.D. 96). He also challenges the assumption that the writers of the NT were not interested in history. While it is true that chronological details such as the year of the birth and death of Jesus are not provided, in a larger sense these writers were tremendously concerned with history. "The church never lost the sense of its origins, which were in a series of identifiable historical happenings" (p. 10). Another assumption he challenges is that we cannot get beyond the faith of the early disciples. The historian, he counters, is always moving beyond the evidences to the actual event. Though mathematical certainty is not possible, he can establish strong probability. If research on the origins of Buddhism can establish a credible picture of Gautama based on evidence written four centuries after his time, the same is more than possible for Jesus based on works written only twenty years after his death. Neill's parable of the tree and its shade forms a fitting conclusion to this section. Even if one can see only the shade of a tree, one must conclude that the tree itself is standing.

Neill sees the earliest church as more homogeneous than some who see real differences between the Jewish Christians and the Gentile Christians. He feels that too much has been made of the Gentile origins of the terms *Kyrios* and *mysterion* which can be explained on the basis of the OT. While the author is critical in his approach, his conclusions are relatively conservative in line with general British scholarship. Thus he writes at the end, "The task of the student today is frankly to recognize the differences within the unity, but also to consider how far we can recover the unity out of which all the differences have sprung" (p. 169).

Neill has written in his usual lucid style and has provided another useful book. It appeared to the reviewer, however, that the last chapter did not tie

in with the preceding chapters. It is a fitting chapter after a discussion of the problems of the historical quest, but it follows chapters on the different theologies of the NT. What I looked for was a synthesis of these earlier chapters. What Neill has given us is that which can be known about the historical Jesus or the source from which all the NT writings sprang. Perhaps the only synthesis is Jesus Christ; in that case, the chapter is too short to do justice to this theme itself and to its relationship to each of the preceding chapters. Some link appears to be missing.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Richard, Lucien Joseph. *The Spirituality of John Calvin*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1974. [vi] + 207 pp. Paperback, \$5.00.

In the preceding issue of *AUSS*, pp. 51-56, I have already given fairly extensive attention to the publication here under review, specifically in relationship to the question of the *Devotio Moderna's* impact on John Calvin. Here I will give a broader overview of Richard's book and will deal primarily with aspects not touched upon in my earlier discussion.

In addition to Richard's "Introduction" (pp. 1-11), his volume consists of six main chapters: (1) "The *Devotio Moderna*" (pp. 12-47); (2) "The *Devotio Moderna* and the Spiritualities of the 16th Century: The Context of John Calvin's Spirituality" (pp. 48-77); (3) "*Devotio* and *Pietas*: A Linguistic Approach to John Calvin's Spirituality" (pp. 78-96); (4) "The Spirituality of John Calvin: Its Genesis, Dynamics and Content" (pp. 97-135); (5) "The Epistemological Relevance of the Word and the Spirit: Calvin's Contribution to a New Spirituality" (pp. 136-173); and (6) "Conclusion" (pp. 174-194). There is a Bibliography (pp. 195-203) and an Index (pp. 204-207).

It is well, first of all, to note Richard's own definition of "spirituality": By this term he means "the personal assimilation of the salvific mission of Christ by each Christian and this in the framework of new and ever evolving forms of Christian conduct. Spirituality means the forms that holiness takes in the concrete life of the believer" (p. 1).

In my earlier discussion I have already indicated pitfalls into which Richard has fallen in his treatment of the *Devotio Moderna*, dealt with mainly in his first two chapters. Here I would mention, first of all, that his chap. 3 provides a helpful analysis of the historical backgrounds for the terms *devotio* and *pietas*, traced from the early church through the Renaissance. When the external manifestations of religious activity that were included in the concept of *devotio* lost connection with the interior dimension, the word *devotio* "took a pejorative sense and was gradually replaced by the Renaissance authors with the word *pietas*" (p. 86).

In chaps. 4 and 5, Richard's attention to "Justification and Sanctification" and to the relationship of "the Word and the Spirit" in Calvin's thought is useful. The material presented will not be new to Calvin scholars, but the clarity and balance with which Richard presents it provide one of the strong features of his book. Also, he clearly and forcefully brings to attention the emphasis of Calvin on the Holy Spirit's work for the individual,

in contrast to the Roman Catholic view emphasizing the Spirit's relationship to the ecclesiastical body; but in his presentation he may inadvertently have left the reader with the impression that Calvin's ecclesiological outlook and practice were somewhat less formal than they actually were.

Possibly the greatest drawback in Richard's publication stems from his effort to cover so broad a scope in rather limited space. For one thing, the brevity with which the author has dealt with such movements as the *Devotio Moderna* and Renaissance humanism leaves a question as to the adequacy and even accuracy of the treatment, as I have noted in my discussion in the previous number of *AUSS*.

In addition, although brief synopses are given of the views of various pre-Calvin writers, including certain humanists, scholastic theologians, and particularly John Major, there are some rather unusual omissions in regard to the possible backgrounds and sources for Calvin's "spirituality." First of all, is it not possible that Calvin, like Luther, may have derived a good deal of his "spirituality" from Scripture itself (allowing for the intermediaries too, of course)? And second, could not the intermediaries have included the earlier Protestant Reformers? (Luther and Zwingli seem to be given scant, if any, attention as possible formative elements for Calvin's "spirituality," and even Bucer receives only brief and passing notice!) Important as are the backgrounds with which Richard has dealt in his analysis of Calvin's thought (and the reviewer would surely not minimize the vital importance of this aspect of Richard's presentation), a serious question can still be raised as to the adequacy of a treatment which fails to explore the avenues mentioned above.

Indeed, in this connection, one even becomes rather puzzled at times by certain of Richard's remarks, such as, "It was Luther's doctrine of the justification of the sinner that had previously led to a denial of any spirituality in the doctrine of the Reformation" (p. 105). While the difference in emphasis of Luther and Calvin on "justification" and "sanctification" must certainly be recognized, were these two reformers really *that far apart*?

A fair amount of Richard's "Conclusion" deals in a practical way with the meaning of Calvin's type of spirituality for contemporary times (especially addressed to Roman Catholics, but certainly *apropos* also for other church groups). "What is required," he says, "are new Church structures able to sustain the authentic religious experience of the individual believer" (p. 186). With this kind of assessment of Calvin's relevance to the present-day situation one would certainly be inclined to agree.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Stivers, Robert L. *The Sustainable Society: Ethics and Economic Growth*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976. 240 pp. Paperback, \$5.25.

Increasing pollution and the depletion of resources call into question the axiom that growth is good. Technologically developed nations measure success by their gross national product. This idea shapes their values and lifestyle. The desire to live better and enjoy the fruits of technological advances is

part of the fabric of modern mentality. The author is not opposed to growth as such but measures it by two criteria: environmental soundness and contribution to human welfare. Undifferentiated growth which concerns itself with neither of these is condemned, but differentiated growth or selective growth is advocated which takes the two criteria into consideration.

The author has been very objective in setting forth the views of the advocates of growth and their critics. When economic growth becomes the primary social goal, the needs of people and of nature are neglected. Growth must not be the ultimate goal but the means of fulfilling men's needs by equitable distribution of its benefits and by preserving a livable environment for them. The debate between undifferentiated growth and differentiated growth is academic if the futurists are correct in asserting that there are limits to growth because there are limits to the world's natural resources. But some are more sanguine; they feel that technological advances will be able to cope with the problems of the future, create new resources, increase the food supply, and clean up the environment. These advocates of growth see no reason to be alarmed and press on, full steam ahead. The author sides with the futurists and opts for differentiated growth.

To be successful this strategy involves, however, a global view, immediate action, worldwide cooperation, a long-range perspective, and balanced economic development among the world's regions dealing with economic, environmental, and population problems with serious political implications. It cannot succeed if some nations cooperate and others do not. This means that there must be willing cooperation or else coercion. Besides, a new world view is demanded which has an appreciation for nature, a renouncing of the religion of growth, a reassessment of our attitudes toward work, consumption, and abundance, cooperation instead of conflict, emphasis on quality, ends, values, and concern for future generations. No less than the radical conversion of mankind is demanded. Immediate personal gains must be sacrificed for future benefits for all, selfishness must be changed to unselfishness, war by the strong nations as a means of obtaining resources must be given up for cooperation and sharing with the have-nots.

According to the author, in the face of these obstacles, while no optimism is called for neither is pessimism but a realism that trusts in God's love for hope. Men have been willing to make sacrifices in times of war and "persons will undergo great discomfort, frustration, and discontinuity quite willingly if a crisis is perceived and there is a sense of working toward some meaningful end" (p. 219). Ultimately our hope rests on God as Redeemer. We believe that "God's love and our response will provide the resources to overcome the forces of destruction even in the most threatening situations" (p. 222).

The author throughout has been quite fair in presenting opposing views and has not withheld anything in portraying the bleak future regarding the limits to growth and all the concomitant problems in dealing with the possibility of developing a sustainable society. He has done this so well that for me a realistic assessment can only be a pessimistic one. Here and there and from time to time there may be some cooperation and long-range strategies, but these will appear to be band-aid treatment when major surgery is called for. Selfish man will not even in the face of extinction alter his basic nature. It remains to be seen whether a sustainable society can be realized.

Taylor, Michael J., S. J., ed. *A Companion to Paul: Readings in Pauline Theology*. New York: Alba, 1975. xiv + 245 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

This book is a collection of articles previously published in books and journals authored by leading Catholic scholars, F. F. Bruce and Pierre-Yves Emery being the only exceptions. The authors and titles are: Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Paul's Understanding of Christ as the Personal Presence of God in the World"; David M. Stanley, "Christ, the Last Adam"; Anton Grabner-Haider, "The Pauline Meaning of 'Resurrection' and 'Glorification'"; Barnabas Ahern, "The Fellowship of His Suffering"; F. X. Durrwell, "Faith: First Step in the Assimilation of the Easter Mystery"; Joseph Fitzmyer, "Paul and the Law"; Stanislas Lyonnet, "Paul's Gospel of Freedom"; Lucien Cerfaux, "Paul's Eschatological Message to the Nations"; Frederick F. Bruce, "The Idea of Immortality in Paul"; Leonard Audet, "The Pauline Meaning of Man's Risen 'Spiritual Body' (1 Cor 15:44)"; Ceslaus Spicq, "To Live in Christ: Reflections on 'Pauline Morality'"; Mitchel B. Finley, "The Spirit of Kenosis: A Principle of Pauline Spirituality"; Jacques Guillet, "Paul on the Discernment of Spirits"; Ignace de la Potterie, "The Christian's Relationship to the World"; Pierre-Yves Emery, "Prayer in Paul"; David M. Stanley, "'Become Imitators of Me': Apostolic Tradition in Paul"; Rudolph Schnackenburg, "The Pauline Theology of the Church"; Charles H. Giblin, "A Summary Look at Paul's Gospel: Romans, Chapters 1-8"; F. X. Durrwell, "Christ the Cosmic Lord in the Pauline Epistles."

While a few of Paul's leading themes, especially justification by faith, are noticeably absent and the treatment of others is not comprehensive, what we have here is a remarkable collection of articles dealing mainly with the spiritual life. What is impressive about this collection is the bringing together of good scholarship and Christian devotion. In a way these articles are simply an elaboration of the Pauline emphasis to be "imitators of Christ." Though basically a Catholic book, one will hardly be aware of this fact.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Titles of all books received which are at all related to the interests of this journal are listed in this section, unless the review of the book appears in the same issue of *AUSS*. Inclusion in this section does not preclude the subsequent review of a book. No book will be assigned for review or listed in this section which has not been submitted by the publisher. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

- Edington, Andrew. *The Word Made Fresh*. 3 vols. Atlanta: John Knox, 1975. Paperback, \$3.95 each. A paraphrase of the Bible by a layman. Much freer and not as well done as Taylor's.
- Farmer, William R. *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis*. Dillsboro, N.C.: Western North Carolina Press, 1976. xi + 308 pp. \$12.95. A new edition of the controversial book first published in 1963 opting for Matthean priority.
- Modras, Ronald. *Paul Tillich's Theology of the Church: A Catholic Appraisal*. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1976. 314 pp. \$17.50. A student of Hans Küng, who calls Tillich "the anonymous father of post-conciliar Catholic theology," evaluates his ecclesiology with a view to its contribution in dealing with vexing problems facing the church today.
- Rhoads, David M. *Israel in Revolution, 6-74 C.E.: A Political History Based on the Writings of Josephus*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976. viii + 199 pp. \$9.95/5.95. A critical evaluation of the writings of Josephus to determine answers to the causes and reasons for Jewish resistance against Rome during this period.
- Rost, Leonhard. *Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon: An Introduction to the Documents*. Translated by David E. Green. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976. 205 pp. \$16.95/5.95. An up-to-date introduction to the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Qumran documents with good bibliographies. Discusses date, authorship, historicity, contents, text, literary criticism, and religious significance of each work.
- Southard, Samuel. *Religious Inquiry: An Introduction to the Why and How*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976. 127 pp. Paperback, \$3.95. A book on research for religious workers. Useful for students in doctor-of-ministry programs.
- Young, Norman. *Creator, Creation and Faith*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976. 219 pp. \$8.50. Seeks to answer the question, What difference does it make if we believe in God as creator? Approaches this question through a discussion of the views of Barth, Tillich, Bultmann, and Moltmann.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES
STYLE GUIDELINES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the previous number of *AUSS*, a "Note from the Editor" made reference to a style sheet available to persons planning to submit articles or brief notes to be considered for publication in *AUSS*. It has been thought wise to put the style guidelines into print in a more general way as well, and hence they are printed in the journal itself on the following pages.

In *JBL* 95 (1976): 331-346, there appeared a list of "Instructions for Contributors" which had been worked out and adopted by the editors of various biblical and theological journals. Those particular journals and some others have been utilizing these "Instructions" and in a number of instances are publishing them. *AUSS* style has in the past already been quite similar to that indicated in the *JBL* directives, and the following instructions represent an effort to bring even greater agreement between the styles, for the *AUSS* editors recognize the value of furnishing a more or less standardized guide to writers who may be contributing materials from time to time to different journals in the same field.

However, *AUSS* extends its coverage to areas beyond biblical and theological studies, thus necessitating a somewhat different list of abbreviations for periodicals and reference works than that published in *JBL*. Moreover, the *AUSS* editors have retained certain other differing style requirements deemed appropriate for *AUSS*. Therefore, instead of reprinting verbatim the particular "Instructions to Contributors" appearing in *JBL* and the other journals, a specific statement of *AUSS* guidelines has been drafted and is given below.

It should be noted that *AUSS* is adopting the abbreviations for ancient source materials utilized by *JBL* and several other journals in the biblical and theological fields. For the abbreviations for Bible books (see p. 255, below) there are a number of changes from our previously published list. The new list of abbreviations is effective for materials appearing in the 1978 and subsequent volumes of *AUSS*.

Also, the list of abbreviations for periodicals, serials, and refer-

ence works given on the inside and outside back cover of the current issue of *AUSS* represents a revision that is effective as of 1978. (It is anticipated that this list will be further updated from time to time, and prospective contributors of materials to *AUSS* are encouraged to consult the most recent issue of *AUSS* available at the time they prepare their materials.)

INSTRUCTIONS

AUSS accepts significant articles and "Brief Notes" in the fields indicated on the inside front cover. Materials will be considered only if they are *original* pieces, not previously published nor presented concurrently to another journal for publication. Book reviews accepted are only those assigned by the Book Review Editor. All manuscripts are to be typed with clear clean type, *double-spaced throughout* (including footnotes and book reviews).

Generally, short articles are preferred to lengthy ones. Occasionally, a long article may be subdivided so as to go into different AUSS issues, but it is preferable that the author submit the material as separate articles, if possible. Centered headings may be incorporated in articles for the benefit of the readers, and authors are encouraged to indicate their preference as to what these headings should say and where they should be located.

It is assumed that submitted manuscripts are in final form with no changes expected later. Authors of articles and "Brief Notes" are sent galley-proofs (except that in cases where overseas mailing is necessary the editors may, in order to avoid delay and possible loss of materials, choose not to send such proofs). Authors are expected to read these proofs carefully and indicate corrections (only necessary *corrections* are to be made; normally, new material may not be added at this time). Galley-proofs are not sent to reviewers of books.

The following instructions pertain to all materials, and serious departure from the standards indicated may be sufficient cause for return of a manuscript to the author for retyping (or possibly even rejection of the material), irrespective of the quality of the content.

1. Except for specific exceptions herein, the style guidelines of Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers . . .*, 4th ed. (Chicago, 1973), are to be followed. Also, American spelling is to be used as given in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (Springfield, Mass., 1967), with the first entry preferred when there is more than one correct way of spelling a word. (Turabian, 4th ed., follows generally the directives indicated in the University of Chicago *Manual of Style*, 12th ed. [Chicago, 1969], which may be consulted if greater detail is needed.)

2. Either a first typed copy (ribbon copy) or a clear Xerox copy is to be submitted, on white paper of good quality and of standard size. The text is to be on one side of the sheet only, with at least 1¼" margins. Special scripts (such as italics, small caps, etc.) should not be used. Words that are to be italicized in the printed text are to be *underlined*, not typed in italics.

3. Direct quotations of five or more typewritten lines should be indented in the manuscript and double-spaced, with a note in the margin indicating "smaller type." All indented block quotations that are not "run in" as a direct continuation from the preceding text will be put into paragraph style, irrespective of whether or not the material begins a paragraph in the original.

4. The American style of punctuation is to be followed. This means that double quotation marks are primary and single quotation marks are secondary.

5. Direct quotations should be double-checked for accuracy. Spellings, capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations should be reproduced exactly as they appear in the original publication, even if these do not follow the style of *AUSS*. Cases of obvious error within a quotation may be indicated by [sic] or [?] at the author's discretion. (However, the *AUSS* editors may take the liberty to correct what are clearly only minor typographical errors.)

6. The abbreviations of titles of periodicals and standard reference works indicated on the back cover are to be used in both text and footnotes, and so also are the abbreviations of Bible books and other ancient sources listed at the close of these instructions.

The list of common abbreviations given by Turabian, pp. 101-102, should be used; but the following exceptions or special cases should be noted (these apply to the main text of articles and "Brief Notes," to book reviews, and to footnotes, unless otherwise specified):

- app.: *do not use*, but always spell out as "appendix."
- chap., chaps.: "chapter," "chapters."
- esp.: normally use only in *footnotes* and *book reviews* for "especially."
- etc.: use for "et cetera" (in *main text* as well as in *footnotes*).
- l., ll.: *do not use*, but spell out as "line," "lines."
- n., nn.: "note" or "footnote," "notes" or "footnotes" (normally use only in *footnotes* or *book reviews*).
- p., pp.: "page," "pages" (in *main text* as well as in *footnotes*).
- vs., vss.: "verse," "verses" (in *main text* as well as in *footnotes*); if "versus" is meant, spell out the word.

Also the following should be noted as standard abbreviations used in *AUSS* (main text as well as footnotes and *with no period* following the abbreviation):

LXX: "Septuagint."
MS, MSS: "Manuscript," "Manuscripts."
MT: "Masoretic Text."
NT: "New Testament."
OT: "Old Testament."

It should be noted that chap., n., p., vs., MS, and their plurals are used only for *specific* citations. For general use of these terms, the words should be spelled out.

7. The first footnote reference to a source should be *in full*, according to the style indicated by Turabian. (The editors may at their discretion omit the name of publishers in certain articles, but prefer that authors include the information in manuscripts submitted.) In indicating the publication city, add the state, province, or country in cases where there may otherwise be ambiguity or if the place is not well known (e.g.: "Cambridge, Eng." and "Cambridge, Mass.;" "Birmingham, Mich.").

8. In the second and subsequent footnote references to a source, only the author and page location should be given (except that in cases where more than one work by the same author has been cited, a short title should be added as well). *Ibid.* is to be used where appropriate (also *Id.*), *not underlined*; but *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and *art. cit.* are to be avoided.

9. When quoting or citing modern works, the first footnote reference to the work should give the author's name as indicated in the work itself—first name, initials, etc., together with the surname. If a modern author or other individual is mentioned by name in the main text, the first such mention there (regardless of whether or not there has been footnote reference earlier) should include at least the first-name initial in addition to the surname.

It should also be noted that *AUSS* style generally precludes the use of such titles as "Professor," "Doctor," etc.

10. The abbreviations *f.* or *ff.* are not to be used for pages in a book or article (if scattered information occurs, cite the main *exact page references* and add "and *passim*"). These abbreviations may occasionally be used in connection with verses or with lines of a text;

but if possible, the specific verses and specific lines should be indicated instead of using f. and ff.

11. For indicating consecutive pagination, the hyphen rather than the comma is to be used (thus: "pp. 15-16"). Also, both page numbers in the sequence should always be given in their full digits (thus: "132-137," not "132-37" or "132-7").

12. AUSS style uses roman numerals sparingly. References to volume numbers of books in a series or to periodicals are to be indicated by arabic numbers even if the original work uses roman numerals. Roman numerals are used mainly for (1) identifying plates (see #19, below); (2) designating monarchs, popes, etc. (e.g., "Cyrus II," "Leo X"); (3) indicating *pages* in publications when such pages are numbered with roman numerals in the publications being cited (such as in prefaces and forewords: e.g., "p. xiv"); (4) giving the book number in a classical or patristic work (see #13, below); and (5) citing volume numbers in collections of inscriptions, papyri, ostraca, etc. (in which case a capital roman numeral should be used).

13. In references to classical and patristic works, a small roman numeral should be used to indicate the book number. Arabic numbers are to be used for lower levels—with periods separating different levels, and commas separating references at the same level (e.g., Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, iii. 3.1, 3-4).

14. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively, typed on separate sheets at the end of the manuscript, and *double-spaced*. They are to be given in *paragraph style*. Both in the main text and on the footnote pages, the numeral should be raised slightly above the text, and should not have punctuation or parenthesis. (Footnotes are not used in book reviews. References to other books or articles in book reviews are to be put in the body of the text.)

15. Blocks of Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic text can be set in their proper characters. Unpointed consonantal Hebrew and Aramaic will be used unless the argument specifically calls for the vocalized form of the words. Within a sentence, isolated words in a foreign language are preferably to be transliterated, and such transliterated words are always to be underlined in the manuscript. (See #16, below, and the transliteration style for Hebrew and Aramaic as indicated on the inside back cover.) Though in some articles it may be desirable to use both the foreign characters and transliteration, a mixing of these should be avoided whenever possible. (In inserting foreign characters

into a manuscript, preferably a typewriter with foreign type faces should be used. If such is not available, the author should be careful to write the words very *clearly* in ink, and in the forms of the letters which correspond to the type faces used in this journal.)

16. In transliteration, the following should be observed: *For Hebrew and Aramaic*, use the list of equivalents on the inside back cover of this journal. Draw in the ʾ and ʿ marks for the ʾAlep and ʿAyin (do not use the apostrophe sign on the typewriter).

For Greek, use the standard equivalents, noting in particular that *th* is to be used for *θ*, *ph* for *φ*, *ch* for *χ*, *ps* for *ψ*, *ē* for *η*, *ō* for *ω*, *h* for the rough breathing, and *y* for *υ*, except when it is part of a diphthong (e.g., *au*, *eu*, *ui*). Iota subscript should be represented by a cedilla under the vowel concerned (e.g., *q* for *α*).

For Coptic, apply the system for Greek to those Coptic letters that are the same as Greek. For the seven extra characters at the end of the alphabet, use the following: *š* for *šay*, *f* for *fay*, *h* for *hay*, *ḥ* for *hori*, *j* for *janja*, *č* for *čima*, and *ti* for *ti* (the digraph). For the supralinear stroke a raised italic *e* should be used (thus: *ᵉmpjoei*).

17. Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Coptic words, whether or not they are transliterated, should normally be accompanied by English translations set in quotation marks (at least at their first occurrence in the discussion). This is true also of words from other not generally known languages when such words appear as *primary* source material. Quotations from secondary literature in a foreign language should normally be given in English translation (or in French or in German in case the articles submitted to *AUSS* are in those languages). In case the precise wording of the foreign-language original is crucial, it may be inserted in the quotation within square brackets (if short) or placed in a footnote.

18. Special materials, such as lists, tables, charts, and diagrams, should be typed or drawn on separate sheets. These sheets should have a notation as to which page in the manuscript should contain the insertion of the special item (or which page it should face). Also, the location of such material in the main text should be indicated clearly (e.g., "Insert Table 1 here"). (The editors cannot guarantee to place charts, tables, diagrams, etc., at the *exact location* indicated by the author [because the text when set in type may not accommodate this]; but they will make every effort at least to position any special items as close as possible to the place specified by the author.)

19. References in the text to specific plates, figures, charts, diagrams, tables, or lists should use these words with initial capital letters and spelled out, except for the abbreviations Pl. (Pls.) and Fig. (Figs.). For such items appearing in *AUSS*, roman numerals are used only in connection with plates (e.g., "Pl. III"); arabic numbers are used for all the others (e.g., Fig. 2, Chart 5, etc.). For references to such items from other works, the designation that appears in the cited work itself should be used (e.g., "Pl. A").

20. The editors will endeavor to maintain a consistency of style for *AUSS* along the guidelines given by Turabian and those indicated herein. However, for certain types of articles, and even in certain instances within the more usual kind of article, their editorial policy may cause them to deviate in some respects. (E.g., in exceptional cases scientific articles in connection with archaeological reports may deviate somewhat to follow the preferred styles in the scientific fields concerned; but in any case, *consistency* of style is to be maintained in any given article.)

For individuals invited to prepare book reviews by the Book Review Editor, there is available from this Editor a list of special guidelines, including information as to the desired length of the review. This list of guidelines is usually sent along with the book to be reviewed.

(Note: Occasionally *AUSS* publishes materials in French or in German, and for such materials the foregoing guidelines are obviously not applicable in every respect; but the editors will seek to maintain a *consistency* of accepted style, and they request that authors do their utmost to present their materials in a standard fashion, and with consistency in style.)

ABBREVIATIONS FOR ANCIENT SOURCE MATERIALS

(Effective as of 1978)

The following lists of abbreviations (on pp. 255-258) were worked out and adopted recently by the editors of *JBL* and various other biblical and theological journals. They are reprinted here, with minor modification, from *JBL* 95 (1976): 335-338.

Abbreviations of the Names of Biblical Books (with the Apocrypha)

Gen	Nah	1-2-3-4 Kgdms	John
Exod	Hab	Add Esth	Acts
Lev	Zeph	Bar	Rom
Num	Hag	Bel	1-2 Cor
Deut	Zech	1-2 Esdr	Gal
Josh	Mal	4 Ezra	Eph
Judg	Ps (<i>pl.</i> : Pss)	Jdt	Phil
1-2 Sam	Job	Ep Jer	Col
1-2 Kgs	Prov	1-2-3-4 Macc	1-2 Thess
Isa	Ruth	Pr Azar	1-2 Tim
Jer	Cant	Pr Man	Titus
Ezek	Eccl (<i>or</i> Qoh)	Sir	Phlm
Hos	Lam	Sus	Heb
Joel	Esth	Tob	Jas
Amos	Dan	Wis	1-2 Pet
Obad	Ezra	Matt	1-2-3 John
Jonah	Neh	Mark	Jude
Mic	1-2 Chr	Luke	Rev

(It should be noted that the abbreviated forms are used *only* when specific chapter or chapter-and-verse references are given. Thus:

Parables of Jesus are recorded in Matt 13.
Parables of Jesus are recorded in Matthew.)

Abbreviations of the Names of Pseudepigraphical and Early Patristic Books

<i>Adam and Eve</i>	Books of Adam and Eve	<i>Gos. Naass.</i>	Gospel of the Naassenes
<i>2-3 Apoc. Bar.</i>	Syriac, Greek Apocalypse of Baruch	<i>Gos. Per.</i>	Gospel of Peter
<i>Apoc. Mos.</i>	Apocalypse of Moses	<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	Gospel of Thomas
<i>As. Mos.</i>	Assumption of Moses	<i>Prot. Jas.</i>	Protevangeliium of James
<i>1-2-3 Enoch</i>	Ethiopic, Slavonic, Hebrew Enoch	<i>Barn.</i>	Barnabas
<i>Ep. Arist.</i>	Epistle of Aristeas	<i>1-2 Clem.</i>	1-2 Clement
<i>Jub.</i>	Jubilees	<i>Did.</i>	Didache
<i>Mart. Isa.</i>	Martyrdom of Isaiah	<i>Diogn.</i>	Diognetus
<i>Odes. Sol.</i>	Odes of Solomon	<i>Herm. Man.</i>	Hermas, Mandate
<i>Pss. Sol.</i>	Psalms of Solomon	<i>Sim.</i>	Similitude
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	Sibylline Oracles	<i>Vis.</i>	Vision
<i>T. 12 Patr.</i>	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	<i>Ign. Eph.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to the Ephesians
<i>T. Levi</i>	Testament of Levi	<i>Magn.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to the Magnesians
<i>T. Benj.</i>	Testament of Benjamin, etc.	<i>Phld.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to the Philadelphians
<i>Acts Pil.</i>	Acts of Pilate	<i>Pol.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to Polycarp
<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	Apocalypse of Peter	<i>Rom.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to the Romans
<i>Gos. Eb.</i>	Gospel of the Ebionites	<i>Smyrn.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to the Smyrnaeans
<i>Gos. Eg.</i>	Gospel of the Egyptians		
<i>Gos. Heb.</i>	Gospel of the Hebrews		

<i>Trall.</i>	Ignatius, Letter to the Trallians	<i>Pol. Phil. Bib. Ant.</i>	Polycarp to the Philippians Ps.-Philo, Biblical Antiquities
<i>Mart. Pol.</i>	Martyrdom of Polycarp		

Abbreviations of Names of Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Texts

CD	Cairo (Genizah text of the Damascus (Document)		<i>Discipline</i>
Hev	Nahal Hever texts	IQSa	Appendix A (<i>Rule of the Congregation</i>) to IQS
Mas	Masada texts		
Mird	Khirbet Mird texts	IQSb	Appendix B (<i>Blessings</i>) to IQS
Mur	Wadi Murabba'at texts		
p	Peshet (commentary)	3Q15	Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3
Q	Qumran	4QFlor	<i>Florilegium</i> (or <i>Eschatological Midrashim</i>) from Qumran Cave 4
IQ, 2Q, 3Q, etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran, yielding written material; followed by abbreviation of biblical or apocryphal book	4QMess ar	Aramaic "Messianic" text from Qumran Cave 4
QL	Qumran literature	4QPrNab	Prayer of Nabonidus from Qumran Cave 4
IQapGen	<i>Genesis Apocryphon</i> of Qumran Cave 1	4QTestim	<i>Testimonia</i> text from Qumran Cave 4
IQH	<i>Hödäyöt</i> (<i>Thanksgiving Hymns</i>) from Qumran Cave 1	4QTLevi	<i>Testament of Levi</i> from Qumran Cave 4
IQIsa ^{a-b}	First or second copy of Isaiah from Qumran Cave 1	4QPhyl	Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4
IQpHab	<i>Peshet on Habakkuk</i> from Qumran Cave 1	11QMelch	<i>Melchizedek</i> text from Qumran Cave 11
IQM	<i>Milhämäh</i> (<i>War Scroll</i>)	11QtgJob	<i>Targum of Job</i> from Qumran Cave 11
IQS	<i>Serek hayyahad</i> (<i>Rule of the Community, Manual of</i>		

Abbreviations of Targumic Material

For the Qumran targums, the system for QL is to be used (thus: 4QtgLev, 4QtgJob, 11QtgJob, followed by column and line numbers). If it is necessary to specify the biblical passage, the following form should be used: 11QtgJob 38:3-4 (= Hebr. 42:10).

For other materials, Tg(s) is to be used, if the title is spelled out; thus: In *Tg. Onqelos* we find . . . ; or In *Tgs. Neofiti* and *Onqelos* the But abbreviated titles, as given below, are to be used when followed by chapter and verse numbers of a biblical book: *Tg. Onq. Gen* 1:3-4; *Tg. Neof. Exod* 12:1-2, 5-6.

<i>Tg. Onq.</i>	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>	<i>Tg. Neof.</i>	<i>Targum Neofiti I</i>
<i>Tg. Neb.</i>	<i>Targum of the Prophets</i>	<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
<i>Tg. Ket.</i>	<i>Targum of the Writings</i>	<i>Tg. Yer. I</i>	<i>Targum Yerusalmi I*</i>
<i>Frg. Tg.</i>	<i>Fragmentary Targum</i>	<i>Tg. Yer. II</i>	<i>Targum Yerusalmi II*</i>
<i>Sam. Tg.</i>	<i>Samaritan Targum</i>	<i>Yem. Tg.</i>	<i>Yemenite Targum</i>
<i>Tg. Isa</i>	<i>Targum of Isaiah</i>	<i>Tg. Esth I.</i>	<i>First or Second Targum of Esther</i>
<i>Pal. Tgs.</i>	<i>Palestinian Targums</i>		

*optional title

Abbreviations of Orders and Tractates in Mishnaic and Related Literature

To distinguish the same-named tractates in the Mishna, Tosepta, Babylonian Talmud, and Jerusalem Talmud, use (italicized) *m.*, *t.*, *b.*, or *y.* before the title of the tractate. Thus *m. Pe'ea* 8:2; *b. Šabb.* 31a; *y. Mak.* 2.31d; *t. Pe'a* 1.4 (Zuck. 18 [= page number of Zuckerman's edition of the Tosepta]).

² <i>Abot</i>	² <i>Abot</i>	<i>Nazir</i>	<i>Nazir</i>
^c <i>Arak.</i>	^c <i>Arakin</i>	<i>Ned.</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>
^c <i>Abod. Zar.</i>	^c <i>Aboda Zara</i>	<i>Neg.</i>	<i>Nega^c im</i>
<i>B. Bat.</i>	<i>Baba Batra</i>	<i>Nez.</i>	<i>Neziqin</i>
<i>Bek.</i>	<i>Bekorot</i>	<i>Nid.</i>	<i>Niddah</i>
<i>Ber.</i>	<i>Berakot</i>	<i>Ohol.</i>	<i>Oholot</i>
<i>Beša</i>	<i>Beša (= Yom Ṭob)</i>	^c <i>Or.</i>	^c <i>Orla</i>
<i>Bik.</i>	<i>Bikkurim</i>	<i>Para</i>	<i>Para</i>
<i>B. Meš.</i>	<i>Baba Meš^c a</i>	<i>Pe'a</i>	<i>Pe'a</i>
<i>B. Qam.</i>	<i>Baba Qamma</i>	<i>Pesah.</i>	<i>Pesahim</i>
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>Demai</i>	<i>Qinnim</i>	<i>Qinnim</i>
^c <i>Erub.</i>	^c <i>Eruvin</i>	<i>Qidd.</i>	<i>Qiddušin</i>
^c <i>Ed.</i>	^c <i>Eduyyot</i>	<i>Qad.</i>	<i>Qodašin</i>
<i>Giṭ.</i>	<i>Giṭṭin</i>	<i>Roš. Haš.</i>	<i>Roš Haššana</i>
<i>Hag.</i>	<i>Haḡiga</i>	<i>Sanh.</i>	<i>Sanhedrin</i>
<i>Hal.</i>	<i>Halla</i>	<i>Šabb.</i>	<i>Šabbat</i>
<i>Hor.</i>	<i>Horayot</i>	<i>Šeb.</i>	<i>Šebi^c it</i>
<i>Hul.</i>	<i>Hullin</i>	<i>Šebu.</i>	<i>Šebu^c ot</i>
<i>Kelim</i>	<i>Kelim</i>	<i>Šeqal.</i>	<i>Šeqalim</i>
<i>Ker.</i>	<i>Keritot</i>	<i>Sota</i>	<i>Sota</i>
<i>Ketub.</i>	<i>Ketubot</i>	<i>Sukk.</i>	<i>Sukka</i>
<i>Kil.</i>	<i>Kil'ayim</i>	<i>Ta^c an.</i>	<i>Ta^c anit</i>
<i>Ma^c aš.</i>	<i>Ma^c ašerot</i>	<i>Tamid</i>	<i>Tamid</i>
<i>Mak.</i>	<i>Makkot</i>	<i>Tem.</i>	<i>Temura</i>
<i>Makš.</i>	<i>Makširin (= Mašqin)</i>	<i>Ter.</i>	<i>Terumot</i>
<i>Meg.</i>	<i>Megilla</i>	<i>Tohar.</i>	<i>Toharot</i>
<i>Me^c il.</i>	<i>Me^c ila</i>	<i>Ṭ. Yom</i>	<i>Ṭebul Yom</i>
<i>Menah.</i>	<i>Menahot</i>	^c <i>Uq.</i>	^c <i>Uqšin</i>
<i>Mid.</i>	<i>Middot</i>	<i>Yad.</i>	<i>Yadayim</i>
<i>Miqw.</i>	<i>Miqwa^c ot</i>	<i>Yebam.</i>	<i>Yebamot</i>
<i>Mo^c ed</i>	<i>Mo^c ed</i>	<i>Yoma</i>	<i>Yoma (= Kippurim)</i>
<i>Mo^c ed Qar.</i>	<i>Mo^c ed Qaṭan</i>	<i>Zabim</i>	<i>Zabim</i>
<i>Ma^c as. Š.</i>	<i>Ma^c ašer Šeni</i>	<i>Zebah</i>	<i>Zebahim</i>
<i>Našim</i>	<i>Našim</i>	<i>Zer.</i>	<i>Zera^c im</i>

Abbreviations of Other Rabbinic Works

² <i>Abot R. Nat.</i>	² <i>Abot de Rabbi Nathan</i>	<i>Kalla</i>	<i>Kalla</i>
² <i>Ag. Ber.</i>	² <i>Aggadat Berešit</i>	<i>Mek.</i>	<i>Mekilta</i>
<i>Bab.</i>	<i>Babylonian</i>	<i>Midr.</i>	<i>Midraš</i> ; cited with usual abbreviation for biblical book; but <i>Midr. Qoh.</i> = <i>Midraš Qohelet</i>
<i>Bar.</i>	<i>Baraita</i>		<i>Palestinian</i>
<i>Der. Er. Rab.</i>	<i>Derek Ereš Rabha</i>		
<i>Der. Er. Zuṭ.</i>	<i>Derek Ereš Zuṭa</i>		
<i>Gem.</i>	<i>Gemara</i>	<i>Pal.</i>	

<i>Pesiq. R.</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>	<i>Sem.</i>	<i>Semahot</i>
<i>Pesiq. Rab Kah.</i>	<i>Pesiqta de Rab Kahana</i>	<i>Sipra</i>	<i>Sipra</i>
<i>Pirqe R. El.</i>	<i>Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer</i>	<i>Sipre</i>	<i>Sipre</i>
<i>Rab.</i>	<i>Rabbah</i> (following abbreviation for biblical book: <i>Gen. Rab.</i> [with periods] = <i>Genesis Rabbah</i>)	<i>Sop.</i>	<i>Soperim</i>
		<i>S. °Olam Rab.</i>	<i>Seder °Olam Rabbah</i>
		<i>Talm.</i>	<i>Talmua</i>
		<i>Yal.</i>	<i>Yalqu</i>

Abbreviations of Nag Hammadi Tractates

<i>Acts Pet. 12</i>	<i>Acts of Peter and the Twelve</i>	<i>Marsanes</i>	<i>Marsanes</i>
<i>Apost.</i>	<i>Apostles</i>	<i>Melch.</i>	<i>Melchizedek</i>
<i>Allogenes</i>	<i>Allogenes</i>	<i>Norea</i>	<i>Thought of Norea</i>
<i>Ap. Jas.</i>	<i>Apocryphon of James</i>	<i>On Bap. A</i>	<i>On Baptism A</i>
<i>Ap. John</i>	<i>Apocryphon of John</i>	<i>On Bap. B</i>	<i>On Baptism B</i>
<i>Apoc. Adam</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Adam</i>	<i>On Bap. C</i>	<i>On Baptism C</i>
<i>1 Apoc. Jas.</i>	<i>First Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>On Euch. A</i>	<i>On the Eucharist A</i>
<i>2 Apoc. Jas.</i>	<i>Second Apocalypse of James</i>	<i>On Euch. B</i>	<i>On the Eucharist B</i>
<i>Apoc. Paul</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>	<i>Orig. World</i>	<i>On the Origin of the World</i>
<i>Apoc. Pet.</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	<i>Paraph. Shem</i>	<i>Paraphrase of Shem</i>
<i>Asclepius</i>	<i>Asclepius 21-29</i>	<i>Pr. Paul</i>	<i>Prayer of the Apostle Paul</i>
<i>Auth. Teach.</i>	<i>Authoritative Teaching</i>	<i>Pr. Thanks.</i>	<i>Prayer of Thanksgiving</i>
<i>Dial. Sav.</i>	<i>Dialogue of the Savior</i>	<i>Sent. Sextus</i>	<i>Sentences of Sextus</i>
<i>Disc. 8-9</i>	<i>Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth</i>	<i>Soph. Jes. Chr.</i>	<i>Sophia of Jesus Christ</i>
<i>Ep. Pet. Phil.</i>	<i>Letter of Peter to Philip</i>	<i>Steles Seth</i>	<i>Three Steles of Seth</i>
<i>Eugnostos</i>	<i>Eugnostos the Blessed</i>	<i>Teach. Silv.</i>	<i>Teachings of Silvanus</i>
<i>Exeg. Soul</i>	<i>Exegesis on the Soul</i>	<i>Testim. Truth</i>	<i>Testimony of Truth</i>
<i>Gos. Eg.</i>	<i>Gospel of the Egyptians</i>	<i>Thom. Cont.</i>	<i>Book of Thomas the Contender</i>
<i>Gos. Phil.</i>	<i>Gospel of Philip</i>	<i>Thund.</i>	<i>Thunder, Perfect Mind</i>
<i>Gos. Thom.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>	<i>Treat. Res.</i>	<i>Treatise on Resurrection</i>
<i>Gos. Truth</i>	<i>Gospel of Truth</i>	<i>Treat. Seth</i>	<i>Second Treatise of the Great Seth</i>
<i>Great Pow.</i>	<i>Concept of our Great Power</i>	<i>Tri. Trac.</i>	<i>Tripartite Tractate</i>
<i>Hyp. Arch.</i>	<i>Hypostasis of the Archons</i>	<i>Trim. Prot.</i>	<i>Trimorphic Protennoia</i>
<i>Hypsiph.</i>	<i>Hypsiphron</i>	<i>Val. Exp.</i>	<i>A Valentinian Exposition</i>
<i>Interp. Know.</i>	<i>Interpretation of Knowledge</i>	<i>Zost.</i>	<i>Zostrianos</i>

STYLE SAMPLES

On the first page of the manuscript, the title of the article and the author's name, plus the name and location of the educational institution with which the author is affiliated, should be given. The first line should be about 3 inches from the top of the sheet, and there should be double spacing throughout, except that three spaces should be allowed between the last line of the title and the author's name, and four lines should be allowed before the beginning of the main text. Thus:

THE TWO AEONS AND THE MESSIAH IN PSEUDO-PHILO,
4 EZRA, AND 2 BARUCH

ARTHUR J. FERCH
Pacific Union College
Angwin, California

John Strugnell, in reviewing Pierre Bogaert's commentary on 2 Baruch, suggests that on the basis of this work, 4 Ezra, and Pseudo-Philo (Biblical

If the author's affiliation is other than with an educational institution, the place of residence should be given:

THE ACCESSION OF ARTAXERXES I

JULIA NEUFFER
Tampa, Florida

On the second and subsequent pages there should be a brief note of identification, typed three lines above the first line of text. Thus:

A. Ferch, Two Aeons--p. 7

resurrection of the dead would occur at the end of the age or world. This end would be hastened (19:13).²⁴ Then the sleeping dead shall be raised from the earth (19:12; 28:10).²⁵ Biblical Antiquities, as well as the two apocalypses

SAMPLE FOOTNOTES

John Doe, *Apocalyptic*--p. 15

FOOTNOTES

- ¹D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), p. 88.
- ²Leon Morris, Apocalyptic, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974), pp. 20, 25-26.
- ³Paul D. Hanson, "Zechariah 9 and the Recapitulation of an Ancient Ritual Pattern," JBL 92 (1973): 37.
- ⁴Russell, p. 105.
- ⁵George Eldon Ladd, "Apocalyptic, Apocalypse," Baker's Dictionary of Theology, ed. Everett F. Harrison (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1960), p. 53.
- ⁶Paul D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), pp. 16-17.
- ⁷Arthur J. Ferch, "The Two Aeons and the Messiah in Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch," AUSS 15 (1977): 135-136.
- ⁸Ladd, pp. 50-54. Cf. Morris, pp. 91-95.
- ⁹Hanson, "Zechariah 9," p. 49.
- ¹⁰Ferch, p. 137.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 136.
- ¹²Hanson, Dawn of Apocalyptic, p. 19.
- ¹³Morris, pp. 24-25.
- ¹⁴For Eng. trans. of the various apocalypses, see APOT, 2: 163-624.

Note: It should be observed that n.5 illustrates *AUSS* style for signed articles in dictionaries and encyclopedias (in contrast to the style in Turabian, p. 105). If an abbreviation is used (see the back cover), the name of the general editor, the imprint information, etc., are to be omitted.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֶ	=	a	ֵ, ִ (vocal shewa)	=	e	ֹ	=	ō
ָ	=	ā	ֵ, ִ, ֹ	=	é	ֶ	=	o
ִ	=	a	ֶ	=	i	ֹ	=	ó
ֵ	=	e	ֶ	=	î	ֶ	=	u
ֶ	=	ē	ֶ	=	o	ֶ	=	û

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

AASOR	<i>Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
AB	<i>Anchor Bible</i>	BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
AcOr	<i>Acta orientalia</i>	BZAW	<i>Beihette zur ZAW</i>
ACW	<i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>	BZNW	<i>Beihette zur ZNW</i>
ADAJ	<i>Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</i>	CAD	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
AER	<i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
AJO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>	CC	<i>Christian Century</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>	CH	<i>Church History</i>
AHW	<i>Von Soden, Akkad. Handwörterb.</i>	CHR	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
AJA	<i>Am. Journal of Archaeology</i>	CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
AJBA	<i>Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.</i>	CIJ	<i>Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum</i>
AJSL	<i>Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.</i>	CIL	<i>Corp. Inscript. Latinarum</i>
AJT	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>	CIS	<i>Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum</i>
ANEP	<i>Anc. Near East in Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CJT	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
ANESTP	<i>Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CQ	<i>Church Quarterly</i>
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CQR	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	CR	<i>Corpus Reformatorum</i>
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>	CT	<i>Christianity Today</i>
AOS	<i>American Oriental Series</i>	CTM	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
APOT	<i>Apocr. and Pseud. of OT, Charles, ed.</i>	CurTM	<i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgesch.</i>	DACL	<i>Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.</i>
ARM	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i>	DOTT	<i>Docs. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>	DTC	<i>Dict. de théol. cath.</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>	EKL	<i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	EnclIsl	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
AUM	<i>Andrews Univ. Monographs</i>	EnclJud	<i>Encyclopedia judaica (1971)</i>
AusBR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	ER	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies</i>	EvQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>	ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
BARev	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	FC	<i>Fathers of the Church</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
BCSR	<i>Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.</i>	HeyJ	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>	HibJ	<i>Hibbert Journal</i>
BibB	<i>Biblische Beiträge</i>	HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
BibOr	<i>Biblica et Orientalia</i>	HSM	<i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
BIES	<i>Bull. of Isr. Explor. Society</i>	HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin, John Rylands Library</i>	HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>	IB	<i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
BQR	<i>Baptist Quarterly Review</i>	ICC	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>	IDB	<i>Interpreter's Dict. of Bible</i>
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>	Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
		ITQ	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>

- JAAR** *Journal, Amer. Acad. of Rel.*
JAC *Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum*
JAOS *Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*
JAS *Journal of Asian Studies*
JB *Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.*
JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR *Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.*
JEOL *Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux*
JES *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH *Journal of Medieval History*
JMES *Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH *Journal of Modern History*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS *Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.*
JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR *Journal of Religion*
JRAS *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE *Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS *Journal of Religious Studies*
JRH *Journal of Religious History*
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
JRT *Journal of Religious Thought*
JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT *Journal for the Study of OT*
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR *Journ., Scient. Study of Religion*
JTC *Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS *Journal of Theol. Studies*
KJV *King James Version*
LCC *Library of Christian Classics*
LCL *Loeb Classical Library*
LQ *Lutheran Quarterly*
LTk *Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche*
LW *Lutheran World*
McCQ *McCormick Quarterly*
MQR *Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NAB *New American Bible*
NASB *New American Standard Bible*
NEB *New English Bible*
Neot *Neotestamentica*
NHS *Nag Hammadi Studies*
NIC *New International Commentary*
NKZ *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NouT *Novum Testamentum*
NPNF *Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers*
NRT *Nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA *New Testament Abstracts*
NTS *New Testament Studies*
NTTS *NT Tools and Studies*
ODCC *Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OIP *Oriental Institute Publications*
OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
Or *Orientalia*
OrChr *Oriens Christianus*
OTS *Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEFQS *Pal. Expl. Fund. Quart. Statem.*
PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG *Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.*
PJ *Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL *Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.*
PW *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl.*
QDAP *Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.*
RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.*
RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RArch *Revue archéologique*
RB *Revue biblique*
RechBib *Recherches bibliques*
RechSR *Recherches de science religieuse*
REg *Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS *Religious Studies*
RelSoc *Religion and Society*
RelSRev *Religious Studies Review*
RenQ *Renaissance Quarterly*
RevExp *Review and Expositor*
RevQ *Revue de Qumrân*
RevScRel *Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém *Revue sémitique*
RHE *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR *Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.*
RHR *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL *Religion in Life*
RLA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RPTK *Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche*
RR *Review of Religion*
RRR *Review of Religious Research*
RS *Religious Studies*
RSPT *Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RSV *Revised Standard Version*
RTP *Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SB *Sources bibliques*
SBLDS *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.*
SBLMS *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.*
SBLBSB *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study*
SBLTT *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.*
SBT *Studies in Biblical Theology*
SCJ *Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR *Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem *Semitica*
SJT *Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT *Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought*
SOR *Studia Orientalia*
SPB *Studia Postbiblica*
SSS *Semitic Studies Series*
ST *Studia Theologica*
TAPS *Transactions of Am. Philos. Society*
TD *Theology Digest*
TDNT *Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.*
TDOT *Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.*
TEH *Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl *Theologie und Glaube*
THAT *Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.*
TLZ *Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP *Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ *Theologische Quartalschrift*
Trad *Traditio*
TRev *Theologische Revue*
TRu *Theologische Rundschau*
TS *Theological Studies*
TT *Theologisk Tidsskrift*
TToday *Theology Today*
TU *Texte und Untersuchungen*
TZ *Theologische Zeitschrift*
UBSGNT *United Bible Societies Greek NT*
UF *Ugaritische Forschungen*
USQR *Union Seminary Quarterly Review*
VC *Vigiliae Christianae*
VT *Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup *Supplements*
WA *Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe*
WO *Die Welt des Oriens*
WTJ *Westminster Theol. Journal*
WZKM *Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.*
ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAS *Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache*
ZAW *Zeitsch. für die altes. Wiss.*
ZDMG *Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*
ZDPV *Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*
ZEE *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT *Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie*
ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT *Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie*
ZMR *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW *Zeitsch. für die neues. Wiss.*
ZRGG *Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.*
ZST *Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie*
ZTK *Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche*
ZWT *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*