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## THE GENEALOGIES OF GEN 5 AND 11 AND THEIR ALLEGED BABYLONIAN BACKGROUND

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With the discovery in the early 1870's of the Babylonian flood account, which was recognized to be closely related to the flood story in Genesis,<sup>1</sup> there was opened a new chapter of comparative studies relating the various aspects of the book of Genesis to materials uncovered from ancient Near Eastern civilizations. Attention was drawn to the report of the Babylonian priest Berossos concerning ten antediluvian kings who ruled for vast periods of time.<sup>2</sup> H. Gunkel, among others, considered this as a background for the ten antediluvian patriarchs of Gen 5. In the year 1901 he suggested agreement between Gen 5 and the report of Berossos in the following four major areas: (1) the time before the flood, (2) the number "ten," (3) the large numbers, and (4) the correspondence of names (Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 in the enumeration of Berossos).<sup>3</sup> At about the same time the well-known Assyriologist H. Zimmern concluded, "It can hardly be doubted that the Biblical tradition of Gen 5 (P) concerning the antediluvian patriarchs is basically identical with the Babylonian tradition about ten antediluvian primeval kings."<sup>4</sup> These views became dominant and in the course of time, upon the publication of the Sumerian King List, were applied to the genealogies of

<sup>1</sup> On Dec. 3, 1872, G. Smith read a paper to the Society of Biblical Archaeology on the Babylonian flood story which was printed in the *Transaction of the Society* in 1873.

<sup>2</sup> For the text, see C. Müller, ed., *Fragm. hist. graec.*, II, 499-500; P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1923), pp. 261-262.

<sup>3</sup> H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1901), pp. 121-123.

<sup>4</sup> H. Zimmern, *Urkönige und Uroffenbarung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902), p. 539.

both Gen 5 and 11.<sup>5</sup> E. A. Speiser's commentary, which is particularly noted for sensitivity in the relationship to ancient Near Eastern backgrounds, suggests that the biblical genealogies are dependent upon a Mesopotamian source.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. *New Ancient Near Eastern Data*

The year 1923 was the beginning of a new era as regards the alleged Babylonian background of Gen 5 and 11, because S. Langdon published in that year the first cuneiform text of what is now known as the Sumerian King List.<sup>7</sup> About a decade and a half later T. Jacobsen produced the standard publication, entitled *The Sumerian King List* (1939).<sup>8</sup> These cuneiform materials surprisingly supported much of the information known from Berossos but at the same time brought about significant corrections.

Since 1952 a steady stream of additional texts and fragments of the Sumerian King List has come to light and seen publication.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961), p. 69; R. A. Bowman, "Genealogy," *IDB* 2: 363. See also the assessment of M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies* (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), pp. 28-31.

<sup>6</sup> E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AB, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> S. Langdon, "The Chaldean Kings Before the Flood," *JAOS* 42 (1923): 251-259.

<sup>8</sup> T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Assyriological Studies 11 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). Recent translations are provided by A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, pp. 265-266; and most recently by H. Schmökel in *Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. W. Beyerlin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1975), pp. 113-114 (hereafter cited as *RTAT*).

<sup>9</sup> F. R. Kraus, "Zur Liste der älteren Könige von Babylonien," *ZA* 50 (1952): 29-60; M. B. Rowton, "The Date of the Sumerian King List," *JNES* 19 (1960): 156-162; J. J. A. van Dijk, "Die Tontafeln aus dem reš-Heiligtum," *Vorläufiger Bericht über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen* 18 (1962): 43-52; S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 328-331; J. J. Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings: A University of California Tablet," *JCS* 17 (1963): 39-51; W. W. Hallo, "Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension," *JCS* 17 (1963): 52-57; W. G. Lambert "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," *JTS* 16 (1965): 287-300, esp. 292-293; H. J. Nissen, "Eine neue Version der sumerischen Königsliste," *ZA* 57 (1965): 1-5; M. Civil, "Texts and Fragments," *JCS* 15 (1961):

The Sumerian King List is now available in more than one version, with significant differences in the sequence of cities and of kings and their lengths of reign. These facts have made it evident that a "canonical" form of the Sumerian King List was never in existence. Such texts as the genealogy of Hammurapi and the rulers of Lagaš,<sup>10</sup> the Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists,<sup>11</sup> and cuneiform chronicles throw new light on the respective literary genres<sup>12</sup> and the relationship of the biblical genealogies to their ancient Near Eastern analogues.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Comparison of Gen 5 and 11 with the Sumerian King List

The new set of cuneiform data relating to the Sumerian King List and the information given by Berossos provide new insights into the alleged Babylonian background of the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11. There remains a formal similarity between the

79-80; W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 25; W. W. Hallo, "Antediluvian Cities," *JCS* 23 (1970): 57-67.

<sup>10</sup> J. J. Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966): 95-118; E. Sollberger, "The Rulers of Lagaš," *JCS* 21 (1967): 279-291; W. G. Lambert, "Another Look at Hammurapi's Ancestors," *JCS* 22 (1968): 1-2.

<sup>11</sup> B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter,'" *JCS* 8 (1954): 31-45, 47-73, 106-133; I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES* 13 (1954): 209-230; R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften. Erster Teil*, 2d ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1964), pp. 9-xx; A. Poebel, *The Second Dynasty of Isin According to a New King-List Tablet*, Assyriological Studies 15 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); *ANET*, pp. 271-274, 564-566; A. K. Grayson, "Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists: Collations and Comments," *lišān mithurti. Festschrift für Wolfram Freiherr von Soden*, ed. M. Dietrich and W. Röllig (Kevelaer: Butzon and Berger, 1969), pp. 104-118; R. R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Old Testament: A Study of the Form and Function of the Old Testament Genealogies in their Near Eastern Context* (Ph.D. dissertation; Yale University, 1972), pp. 109-133.

<sup>12</sup> W. Röllig, "Zur Typologie und Entstehung der babylonischen und assyrischen Königslisten," *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, 1 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Berger, 1969): 265-277.

<sup>13</sup> A. Malamat, "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOs* 88 (1968): 163-173; T. C. Hartman, "Some Thoughts on the Sumerian King List and Genesis 5 and 11B," *JBL* 91 (1972): 25-32; R. R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," *JBL* 94 (1975): 169-189.

genealogies in Gen 5 and 11 and the Sumerian King List in terms of listings<sup>14</sup> divided by a flood. The listings of antediluvian and postdiluvian rulers in the major recension of the Sumerian King List are separated by but one sentence: "The Flood swept there-over [the earth]."<sup>15</sup> The genealogies in Gen 5 and 11 are also separated, but by extensive and various materials: (1) the marriage of the sons of God with the daughters of men (6:1-4), (2) an intricate story of the flood (6:5-9:7), (3) the universal covenant (9:8-17), (4) the Table of Nations (10:1-32), and (5) the story of the tower of Babel (11:1-9).

There are a number of significant areas where comparison may be made between the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 and the Sumerian King List from Old Babylonian times. It is helpful and revealing to develop these areas as follows:

1. *Semitic Names versus Sumerian Names.* The claim of the correspondence of the names between the listings by Berossos and Gen 5 could not be sustained with the discovery of cuneiform materials relating to the listing of Berossos. H. Zimmern himself acknowledged that "the beautiful combinations (with the names in Gen 5) . . . have come to a merciless end."<sup>16</sup> The names turned out to be Sumerian instead of Semitic. J. J. Finkelstein has recently noted, "Certainly, the earlier attempts to harmonize the Biblical and Mesopotamian names proved utterly futile."<sup>17</sup> The reason for this radical change from the early position of Gunkel and others rests in the fact that no less than six different cuneiform versions are now at hand for comparative purposes on the basis of which the Greek version of Berossos could be reassessed.

<sup>14</sup> Hartman, "Some Thoughts," p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 77. Cf. *ANET*, p. 265; *RTAT*, p. 114. Research into the origin of the Sumerian King List has led to the conclusion that the list of kings before the flood and the list of kings after the flood were originally separate.

<sup>16</sup> H. Zimmern, "Die altbabylonischen vor- (und nach-) sinitflutlichen Könige nach neueren Quellen," *ZDMG* 78 (1924): 19-35. Similarly also Langdon, "The Chaldean King List Before the Flood," p. 257.

<sup>17</sup> Finkelstein, "The Antediluvian Kings," p. 50, n. 41.

All of these versions agree on the Sumerian origin of the names and the distance from those in Gen 5 and 11.

2. *Longevity versus Reigns*. C. Westermann noted correctly that among the differences between Gen 5 (and 11) and the Sumerian King List is that the former provides the numbers in terms of "years of life" whereas the latter gives the numbers in terms of "years of reign."<sup>18</sup> The distinction between longevity and rulership is an important one. Each has its own independent functions in the context in which it appears.

3. *Line of Descent versus Succession of Kings*. Gen 5 follows the standard line of descent formula, "When PN<sub>1</sub> had lived x years, he became father of PN<sub>2</sub>. Then PN<sub>1</sub> lived y years after he became the father of PN<sub>2</sub> and he had other sons and daughters. So all the days of PN<sub>1</sub> were z years, and he died." Gen 11 employs the same line of descent formula with the exception of the last sentence. At times additional information is inserted in Gen 5 and 11. Both Gen 5 and 11 have "a descending type of genealogy"<sup>19</sup> in which the generations are traced in a supposedly unbroken line of descent from the first person mentioned to the last one. The Sumerian King List, on the other hand, lists kings and seeks to trace a succession of them in various cities. The flexible pattern employed is as follows: "In CN, RN<sub>1</sub> ruled x years, RN<sub>2</sub> ruled x years, RN<sub>3</sub> ruled x years, x king(s) ruled y years." One antediluvian section concludes: "There are x (5) cities, x (8) kings ruled x (241,200) years. Then the flood swept thereover." The succession of kings with their reigns differs radically from the line of descent genealogy in Gen 5 and 11, which is totally unconcerned and uninterested in kings, dynasties, and cities.

4. *Lengths of Life versus Lengths of Reign*. The relatively high figures of life-spans of Gen 5 which nevertheless do not ever

<sup>18</sup> C. Westermann, *Genesis* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), p. 472.

<sup>19</sup> T. C. Mitchell, "Genealogy," *New Bible Dictionary: Revised* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1965), p. 457.

exceed a single millennium “turn out to be exceptionally moderate by comparison”<sup>20</sup> with the Sumerian King List where the respective lengths of reigns of the kings run from 18,600 years for king Ubartutu (WB 444)<sup>21</sup> to 72,000 for kings Alalgar, [. . .] kidunnu, and Enmenduranna.<sup>22</sup> In many instances there are great divergencies regarding the lengths of reigns and the number of kings in the respective witnesses to the Old Babylonian tradition. The following comparison may be helpful:

WB 444		WB. 62		UCBC 9-1819		BEROSSOS	
Alulim	28,800	Alulim	67,200	Alulim	36,000?	Aloros	36,000
Alalgar	36,000	Alalgar	72,000	Alalgar	10,800	Alaparos	10,800
Enmenluanna	43,200	. . . kidunnu	72,000	Amneluanna	36,000	Amelōn	46,800
Enmengalanna	28,800	. . . alimma	21,600	Ensipazianna	43,200	Amenōn	43,200
Dumuzi	36,000	Dumuzi	28,800	Dumuzi	36,000	Megalaros	64,800
Ensipazianna	28,800	Enmenluanna	21,600	Enmeduranki	6,000	Daōnos	36,000
Enmeduranki	21,000	Ensipazianna	36,000	Ubartutu	?	Euedōrachos	64,800
Ubartutu	18,600	Enmenduranna	72,000	[Ziusudra:]	18,000+	Amempsinos	36,000
		Šuruppak	28,800			Otiartes	28,800
		Ziusudra	36,000			Xisuthros	64,800
<b>Total:</b>		<b>Total:</b>		<b>Total:</b>		<b>Total:</b>	
Kings — 8		Kings — 10		Kings — 7 [or 8]		Kings — 10	
Years — 241,200		Years — 456,000		Years — 186,000+		Years — 432,000	

One notices the striking differences in total years of reigns in some texts. The total years are exceeded by 200,000 in some recensions. Of course, these fabulous lengths of reigns are not trustworthy.<sup>23</sup> It has been thought that there has been use of some kind of scheme built on the Sumerian duodecimal system,<sup>24</sup> where all figures can be divided by 1 SAR = 3,600 (60 x 60) or through a sixth of it (600), or other systems.<sup>25</sup> In view of this, “It would seem fair to conclude that no significance at all is to be

<sup>20</sup> Speiser, *Genesis*, p. 42.

<sup>21</sup> *ANET*, p. 265.

<sup>22</sup> Finkelstein, “The Antediluvian Kings,” p. 49.

<sup>23</sup> R. D. Tindel, “Mesopotamian Chronology,” *IDB Sup* (1976), p. 161.

<sup>24</sup> See the attempt at unraveling the system by J. R. Garcia, C.M.F., “Las genealogías geneśiacas y la cronología,” *Estudios Biblicos* 8 (1949): 337-340; J. Meysing, “Contribution à l'étude des généalogies bibliques: Technique de la composition des chronologies babyloniennes du déluge,” *RechSR* 39 (1965): 209-229.

<sup>25</sup> *RTAT*, p. 113, n. 107.



attributed to the total number of years given for the entire antediluvian period in the different texts [of the Sumerian King List].”<sup>26</sup>

5. *Ten Antediluvian Ancestors versus Seven-to-Ten Kings.* As recently as 1965 the Assyriologist W. G. Lambert pointed to the number of “ten long-lived patriarchs from Adam to Noah” that span the time to the flood as a point of borrowing on the part of the Hebrews from Mesopotamia.<sup>27</sup> However, the major recension of the Sumerian King List (WB 444) contains only eight and not ten kings.<sup>28</sup> One text contains only seven kings (W) and another (UCBC 9-1819) either seven or eight,<sup>29</sup> whereas a bilingual fragment from Ashurbanipal’s library has but nine kings.<sup>30</sup> Berossos and only one ancient tablet (WB 62), i.e. only two texts (of which only one is a cuneiform document), give a total of ten antediluvian kings.<sup>31</sup> On the basis of the cuneiform data it can no longer be suggested that the Sumerian King List contained originally ten antediluvian kings after which the biblical genealogies were patterned. In addition, the supposedly unbroken line of descent in Gen 5 is in stark contrast to the concurrent or contemporaneous dynasties of the Sumerian King List.<sup>32</sup> We must also note that Gen 11 lists ten postdiluvians from Shem to Abraham whereas the Sumerian King List enumerates thirty-nine kings.

6. *Tracing of Ancestors versus Unification of the Land.* The basic ideology of Gen 5 and 11 appears to be to trace the ancestors in a supposedly unbroken line of descent (i.e. linear genealogy) from the first man (Adam) at creation to the last man (Noah)

<sup>26</sup> Finkelstein, “The Antediluvian Kings,” p. 51.

<sup>27</sup> Lambert, “The Babylonian Background of Genesis,” pp. 292-293.

<sup>28</sup> Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 77; *ANET*, p. 265; *RTAT*, p. 114.

<sup>29</sup> Finkelstein, “The Antediluvian Kings,” p. 45; Van Dijk, “Die Tontafeln,” pp. 44-45 and Pl. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Lambert, “The Babylonian Background of Genesis,” p. 292; *RTAT*, p. 113, n. 106.

<sup>31</sup> Finkelstein, “The Antediluvian Kings,” pp. 47-49.

<sup>32</sup> Tindel, “Mesopotamian Chronology,” p. 161; Finkelstein, “The Antediluvian Kings,” p. 51; Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 183-190, and Table 2 on p. 209.

before the flood (Gen 5) and from one son of the flood hero (Shem) to the first Hebrew patriarch (Abraham) (Gen 11). There is a radical difference between this and the basic ideology of the Sumerian King List. Various scholars have pointed out that the latter's ideology is built upon the principle of "a widely accepted political idea which cherished the concept of long-continued unification of the land."<sup>33</sup> W. W. Hallo has pointed out that the Sumerian King List is "a political tract, designed to perpetuate the perfectly transparent fiction that Sumer and Akkad had, since the Flood, been united under the rule of a single king, albeit that king might come at any given time from any one of eleven different cities."<sup>34</sup> There is not the slightest hint in either Gen 5 or 11 that it shares with the Sumerian King List a political ideology or ideal. The Mesopotamian texts have a purpose totally different from that of the supposed biblical counterparts.

7. *Genealogy versus King List.* Gen 5 and 11 are commonly recognized as belonging to the type of literature designated by the term "genealogy." A "genealogy" in the Bible consists of a list of names indicating the ancestors or descendants of a person or persons by tracing lineage through an ascending scale (individual to ancestor) or a descending one (ancestor to individual).<sup>35</sup> It has been noted correctly that the Sumerian King List is not a genealogy at all.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, "The decisive difference lies in the fact that both texts [Gen 5 and the Sumerian King List] belong to a different genre: Gen 5 is a genealogy, the Old Babylonian [Sumerian] King List is a presentation of the sequence of dynasties of a series of cities with the sequence of their kings and their spans of reigns."<sup>37</sup> It is an undisputed fact that none of the six currently known recensions of the Sumerian King List

<sup>33</sup> Hartman, "Sumerian King List and Genesis 5 and 11B," p. 27.

<sup>34</sup> W. W. Hallo, "Royal Hymns and Mesopotamian Unity," *JCS* 17 (1963): 112.

<sup>35</sup> See the definitions of "genealogy" in Bible dictionaries. Cf. Bowman, "Genealogy," p. 362; Mitchell, "Genealogy," p. 456; etc.

<sup>36</sup> Röllig, "Typologie," pp. 266-273.

<sup>37</sup> Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 472.

contains any genealogical notices at all for the antediluvian period, and in the postdiluvian period such notices are sporadic and limited to two generations only.<sup>38</sup> The Sumerian King List is a "political tract"<sup>39</sup> of the "king list" genre, but Gen 5 and 11 belong to the "genealogy" genre. Both of these genres are distinguished also in cuneiform literature.<sup>40</sup>

8. *History of Mankind versus History of a People.* The genealogy of Gen 5 has the repeated clause "and he had other sons and daughters."<sup>41</sup> This, along with other indicators, seeks to express the growth of mankind from generation to generation.<sup>42</sup> It also emphasizes the spread of mankind from Adam to Noah. Essentially the same emphasis is evident in the Table of Nations (Gen 10), which presents a remarkably accurate picture of the origin and interrelationship of the various races along the line of complementary criteria of classification.<sup>43</sup> The universal or worldwide outlook is a typical feature of the whole of Gen 1-11, as is customarily acknowledged.

The Sumerian King List, on the other hand, not only lacks this universal emphasis concerning the growth and spread of mankind, but it is in particular, and by design, geared as a political document<sup>44</sup> which emphasizes that the dynasty of Isin is the successor of all the previous dynasties. Its primary concern is with "kingship" in various cities. From the time that "kingship" was

<sup>38</sup> The brief genealogical notices (*ANET*, pp. 265-266) consist of a two-generation genealogy in the form of "RN<sub>1</sub>, son of RN<sub>2</sub>, ruled x years." In no instance is there a statement linking more than one ruler to the next in a simple "father-son" relationship. Cf. Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, pp. 92-101.

<sup>39</sup> Hallo, "Royal Hymns," p. 112.

<sup>40</sup> Röllig, "Typologie," pp. 266-273.

<sup>41</sup> Gen 5:4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 26, 30; 11:11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25.

<sup>42</sup> Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 472.

<sup>43</sup> Speiser, *Genesis*, p. 71, points out that it "stands out as a pioneering effort among the ethnographic attempts of the ancient world."

<sup>44</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, p. 101; cf. Kraus, "Liste der älteren Könige," pp. 46-49, 55-57; G. Buccellati, "The Enthronement of the King and the Capital City in Texts from Ancient Mesopotamia and Syria," *Studies Presented to A. L. Oppenheim* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 54; Hallo, "Beginning and End," p. 56; idem, "Antediluvian Cities," p. 66.

"lowered from heaven," it resided in various cities until it came to rest in Isin. The Sumerian King List is tendentious.<sup>45</sup> It seeks to prove that "kingship" belongs to Sumer and nowhere else.<sup>46</sup> In this sense the Sumerian King List is a local history which seeks to legitimize the primacy of the kingdom of Isin over rival kingdoms.

9. *Beginning with Creation versus Beginning with the Lowering of Kingship from Heaven.* The genealogy of Gen 5 makes a distinct point of tracing mankind from the point of the creation onward. This is particularly emphasized through the usage of the temporal clause, "When God created man" (5:1) and the identification of Adam as the father of Seth (5:3). After dealing first with the creation of man, the author of Gen 5 traces a continuous genealogical chain from Adam to Noah. The idea appears to be to emphasize the continuity of the line directly created by God, "in his image" (5:1), down to Noah, the "righteous" man (6:9) who survives the flood and through whom the human race is preserved for the world.

The Sumerian King List, to the contrary, knows nothing of a creation of man. It traces "kingship" from the time it descended from heaven. Its beginning reads: "When kingship was lowered from heaven, kingship was (first) in Eridu."<sup>47</sup> For the period after the flood had come, the narrative continues as follows: "After the Flood had swept over (the earth) (and) when kingship was lowered (again) from heaven, kingship was (first) in Kish."<sup>48</sup> Both of these sentences may actually be beginnings of separate entities<sup>49</sup> which were later joined into the presently

<sup>45</sup> Kraus, "Liste der älteren Könige," pp. 45-49.

<sup>46</sup> Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 140-141.

<sup>47</sup> *ANET*, p. 265; *RTAT*, p. 113.

<sup>48</sup> *ANET*, p. 265; cf. Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 77.

<sup>49</sup> It is presently debated whether the Old Babylonian version of the post-diluvian King List began originally with i.43: "In Kish, Ga[. . .] ur . . ." (so Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 64, 77) or with i.41: "When kingship was lowered (again) from heaven" (so Hallo, "Beginning and End," pp. 56-57) or with i.40: "After the flood had swept over (the earth) (and) when kingship was . . ." (so Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasis*, p. 25) on the basis of the

known Sumerian King List.<sup>50</sup> The lowering of "kingship" from heaven was not coincident with the initial creation in Mesopotamian tradition,<sup>51</sup> so that it can be concluded that the Sumerian King List, in contrast to Gen 5, was not intended to make a statement anywhere in terms of an absolute beginning of man. It merely traces kingship from the beginning of civilization.<sup>52</sup>

10. *Concluding with the Man Noah versus Concluding with the City of Šuruppak.* The genealogy of Gen 5 terminates with the man Noah (vss. 28-29, 32), who becomes the hero of the flood (Gen 6:5-9:7). As pointed out already, there is no mention of cities or of kingship. The Old Babylonian tradition of the antediluvian period was never fixed in "canonical" form,<sup>53</sup> because the sequence and number of kings and cities differ in the cuneiform texts. There is, however, a uniform consensus in all available cuneiform texts regarding the last antediluvian city, namely the city of Šuruppak,<sup>54</sup> in which kingship last resided before the flood. In contrast to the cuneiform texts, Berossos has the city of Larak as his third and last city.<sup>55</sup> Berossos also has Xisuthros

genealogy of the rulers of Lagaš (Sollberger, "The Rulers of Lagaš," pp. 280-290) which begins with what is i.40 in the Sumerian King List.

<sup>50</sup> Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 55-68; Kraus, "Liste der älteren Könige," pp. 31, 51; Rowton, "Date of the Sumerian King List," pp. 161-162; Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," pp. 44-45; Hallo, "Beginning and End," pp. 52-57; Nissen, "Eine neue Version," pp. 1-5; Hartman, "Sumerian King List and Gen 5 and 11B," p. 27.

<sup>51</sup> This is argued effectively on the basis of the Etana epic (*ANET*, p. 114) by Hartman, "Sumerian King List and Gen 5 and 11B," p. 27.

<sup>52</sup> Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," p. 299: "The Sumerian-Babylonian tradition is of a line of kings from the founding of civilization to the flood, not of a line of patriarchs . . . from creation onward."

<sup>53</sup> Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," pp. 45-49.

<sup>54</sup> Note the sequence and last city in the following texts:

WB 444 has Eridu, Bād-Tibira, Larak, Sippar, Šuruppak.  
 WB 62 has Eridu (?), Larsa, Bād-Tibira, Larak, Sippar, Šuruppak  
 UCBC 9-1819 has Eridu, Bād-Tibira, Sippar, Šuruppak  
 CT 46:5 has [Eridu?], Bād-Tibira, Sippar, Larak, Šuruppak  
 Ni 3195 has [Eridu], Larak, [Bād-Tibira], rest lost

<sup>55</sup> Berossos has the sequence Babylon, Bād-Tibira, and Larak. The absence of Sippar and Šuruppak from Berossos' account has been variously explained. See Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, pp. 74-75, nn. 24, 27, 31; Finkelstein, "Antediluvian Kings," pp. 46-47.

(Ziusudra) as the last king of Larak, whereas the flood hero Ziusudra of the Sumerian flood story<sup>56</sup> is the last antediluvian king of Šuruppak in only one complete cuneiform text (WB 62).<sup>57</sup> The other complete cuneiform text (WB 444) has Ubartutu as the last king of Šuruppak. Ubartutu never figures as a flood hero. In view of these divergences it is evident that the cuneiform consensus places emphasis on the last antediluvian city of Šuruppak but is ambiguous regarding the last antediluvian king—who may be the flood hero (so Ziusudra), or who may not be the flood hero (so Ubartutu).<sup>58</sup>

What counts in the various recensions of the Sumerian King List is the “kingship” that continues to reside in various cities down to Šuruppak; what counts in the genealogy of Gen 5 is the personal lineage which continues in a supposedly unbroken chain of antediluvian descendants from Adam down to Noah, the flood hero. It is once more apparent that the ideology, function, and purpose of the Hebrew and Sumerian documents are quite different. The end of the genealogy of Gen 5 is as different from that of the Sumerian King List as is the beginning of the former from that of the latter.

### 3. Conclusion

This comparison of the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 with the several newly discovered versions of the Sumerian King List appears to demonstrate that aside from the “superficial similarity”<sup>59</sup> of the sequence of listing—flood—listing, which is a later

<sup>56</sup> M. Civil, “The Sumerian Flood Story,” in Lambert and Millard, *Atrahasis*, pp. 138-145; *RTAT*, pp. 114-115; *ANET*, pp. 42-44.

<sup>57</sup> For discussions of this problem, see Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 76, n. 34; Finkelstein, “Antediluvian Kings,” pp. 47-49.

<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, two cuneiform texts (UCBC 9-1819 and Ni 3195) are broken at the crucial point and do not help to fill in information on the last king and last city. It is a striking fact that in WB 444 Ziusudra is deliberately omitted from the dynasty of Šuruppak, as is clear from the summary provided at the end of the antediluvian section of this tablet. See Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, p. 77; Finkelstein, “Antediluvian Kings,” p. 47.

<sup>59</sup> Hartman, “The Sumerian King List and Gen 5 and 11B,” p. 32.

construct in the Sumerian King List and which is in itself different in Gen 5-11, there is a complete lack of agreement and relationship. This is manifested through a comparison of names, longevity and reigns, line of descent and royal succession, number of antediluvians, chronographic information, ideology, genre, historical emphasis, and the beginning and end of the respective documents.

The rich current cuneiform data significantly facilitate the precision of the evaluation of the relationship between the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11 and the traditions of the Sumerian King List. On the basis of limited cuneiform data, A. Deimel wrote over five decades ago that "it may be better to admit honestly, that until now there is no evidence for any connection of any kind between the Babylonian and Biblical traditions regarding the antediluvian-forefathers."<sup>60</sup> Recent cuneiform finds have led to a reinvestigation of the ideology of the Hebrew and Sumerian traditions, causing T. C. Hartman to conclude that the Sumerian materials relating to the king list cannot have been a source for the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11.<sup>61</sup> My above investigation of additional aspects and essential details appears to show that the Hebrew genealogical picture of Gen 5 and 11 is totally devoid of any influence from the currently available data relating to the Sumerian King List.<sup>62</sup> It is not only evident that the structure,

<sup>60</sup> A. Deimel, "Die babylonische und biblische Überlieferung bezüglich der vorsintflutlichen Urväter," *Or* 17 (1925): 43.

<sup>61</sup> Hartman, "The Sumerian King List and Gen 5 and 11B," p. 32. W. F. Albright's suggestion (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [Garden City: Doubleday, 1968], p. 98) that "the variations in numbers and ages prove some sort of connexion—though not through written tradition" is in need of revision in view of the materials now available. Aside from the material published by Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, Albright was apparently aware of only the text W 20030 7 published by van Dijk (p. 98, n. 118).

<sup>62</sup> In view of this, the popular Babylonian influence on Gen 5 "in establishing a line of succession" and "a list of names with extraordinary numbers for the antediluvian period," as suggested still by Johnson (*The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, pp. 30-31), as well as with regard to "the ten antediluvian figures" and the "long life spans of these figures" as also mentioned by Wilson (*Genealogy and History*, p. 201), calls for revision.

purpose, and function of the Hebrew and Sumerian documents are different, but the new data of ancient Near Eastern literature<sup>63</sup> seem to indicate that they belong to different types of literature,<sup>64</sup> each of which has its own matrix and serves its own aims.

<sup>63</sup> *Supra*, nn. 10-11.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Röllig, "Typologie," pp. 265-277.



## 'EREB BŌQER OF DAN 8:14 RE-EXAMINED

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The expression 'ereb bōqer of Dan 8:14 is interpreted in the current literature as a reference to the morning and evening sacrifices offered daily in the Temple. The omission of 2300 such sacrifices would correspond to 1150 days, the interval of time during which the services in the Temple were suspended following the profanation of temple and altar by Antiochus Epiphanes. This interpretation has become practically normative, so that modern scholars seldom take time to examine it critically.

Thus, for instance, A. Bentzen states: "2300 'evenings-mornings,' namely 1150 days, this peculiar way of indicating the time being explained by the fact that the total number of tamîd-sacrifices omitted is given; since every morning and evening of every day a tamîd was offered, the omission of 2300 such sacrifices signifies 1150 days."<sup>1</sup> Bentzen adds the interesting observation that this interpretation dates back to Ephraem Syrus. The same explanation is repeated uncritically by most of the more recent commentators.<sup>2</sup>

Two observations should be made here. First, none of these modern commentators questions the correctness of the assumption that *tāmîd* means each of the daily sacrifices, the morning one and the evening one. Second, the reason proposed by some commentators for the strange fact that "evening" precedes "morning" in Dan 8:14 is not tenable in the light of biblical usage.

<sup>1</sup> A. Bentzen, *Daniel* (Tübingen, 1972), p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> J. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (Edinburgh, 1927), p. 343; Jean Steinmann, *Daniel* (Paris, 1950), p. 124; N. W. Porteous, *Das Danielbuch* (Göttingen, 1962), p. 104; O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Gütersloh, 1965), p. 127; M. Delcor, *Le livre de Daniel* (Paris, 1971), p. 177; André Lacocque, *Le livre de Daniel* (Paris, 1976), p. 49.

In an examination of the first assumption, namely that *tāmīd* may refer to each of the daily sacrifices taken separately, it deserves notice that the word *tāmīd* is not employed as a noun by itself except in the book of Daniel: 8:11, 12, 13; 11:31; 12:11. In the rest of the OT the word is often used as an adverb in the sense of "continually" or "daily," or as an adjective meaning "continual," "perpetual," "regular," etc. It is employed 26 times in a construct relation to qualify nouns such as "burnt offering," "meal offering," "fire," "show-bread," "feast," "allowance," and the like. Because *tāmīd* is used most often to qualify burnt offering or sacrifice, the word "sacrifice" has been supplied by different translators to complete the sense of the elliptical *tāmīd* in the five texts of Daniel. The LXX has simply translated *tāmīd* by *θυσία* in these passages. But since the word was used to qualify other aspects of the service of the Temple besides sacrifices, one might be entitled to supply the word "service" instead of "sacrifice" in the same texts. When the sanctuary was overthrown by the activity of the "little horn," not only the sacrifices ceased to be offered, but the totality of the services of the Temple ceased as well.

But even if the word "sacrifice" be supplied in the different texts of Daniel where the word *tāmīd* occurs, it should be observed that *tāmīd* is a technical term in the language of the ritual to designate the double burnt offering of the morning and the evening which should be offered daily. The legislation of Exod 29:38-42 is very precise. After presenting the detailed prescription for the daily offering of two lambs a year old without blemish, vs. 42 sums up the whole instruction by saying: "It shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations. . . ." The Hebrew text brings out the point even more clearly: עלה תמיד לדריכם. It is evident that the double offering of the morning and the evening formed one unit contained in the expression עלה תמיד.

The parallel text of Num 28:3-6 points to the same technical

use of the term: "two male lambs a year old without blemish, day by day, as a continual" offering (vs. 3), where the Hebrew text reads, עלה חמיר, probably to be corrected to עלה חמיר.<sup>3</sup> The preceding instruction is summed up as follows (vs. 6): "It is a continual burnt offering . . .," repeating the technical term *'ōlat tāmīd*. It is clear that in the language of the cult the morning and evening offerings constituted one "continual burnt offering."

In the remaining verses of Num 28 and in chap. 29 one may read a summary of all the sacrifices to be offered throughout the religious year: those of the Sabbath (28:9, 10); of the new moon (vss. 11-15); of the seven days of the feast of unleavened bread which followed the celebration of the passover on the 14th of Nisan (vss. 16-25); of the day of the first-fruits (vss. 26-31); of the first day of the seventh month (29:1-6); of the tenth day of the same month (vss. 7-11); and of the eight days of the feast of tabernacles (vss. 12-38). In all cases the special sacrifices were to be offered "besides the continual burnt offering" (28:9, 15, 23, 31; 29:6, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38), altogether fourteen times. Regardless of the number of sacrifices to be offered on festal occasions the *'ōlat tāmīd* could never be suspended. It is also clear from the context that by *'ōlat tāmīd* the double burnt offering of the morning and evening is meant, the only exception being found in Num 28:23: "You shall offer these besides the burnt offering of the morning which is for a continual burnt offering." A careful study of this last passage indicates that the MT is probably disturbed, and that the copyist after writing *'ōlat habbōqer*, tried to correct the mistake by adding *'ašer le'ōlat hattāmīd* of the regular formula. This lone exception does not invalidate the rule that in this long text, *'ōlat tāmīd* means technically the double burnt offering of the morning and evening.

Our contention that the *tāmīd* stands for the daily double burnt offering of the morning and evening seems at first sight to be contradicted by Ezek 46:14, 15: "Thus the lamb and the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. R. Kittel, *Biblia hebraica*, 3d ed.

meal offering and the oil shall be provided, morning by morning, for a continual burnt offering." This would be a major objection if it could be shown that Ezekiel's cultic ordinances found in chaps. 45 and 46 were meant to be detailed and exhaustive, rather than a simple outline of the essential features of the new order he envisaged.

John Skinner, G. A. Cooke and Georg Fohrer take the text to indicate that Ezekiel knew nothing of an evening burnt offering.<sup>4</sup> The standard argument is that in the pre-exilic period there was only a morning *'olah* and an evening *minhah*. This is supposed to be supported by the fact that King Ahaz commanded Uriah the priest, saying: "Upon the great altar burn the morning burnt offering, and the evening cereal offering . . ." (2 Kgs 16: 15).

On the other hand, there are scholars who have understood Ezekiel's cultic instructions as a mere outline of the temple service and not as a detailed prescription. Thus, Johannes Pedersen in commenting on Ezek 45:13-17 calls attention to the omission of two important items from the list of offerings to be made, and he offers the following explanation:

It is probably merely on account of the incompleteness of the plan that wine and cattle are not mentioned. This must also be the reason why no daily offering is referred to other than that of the prince: a lamb for a burnt-offering every morning with an offering of agricultural produce and oil. . . . We possess plenty of evidence that the daily afternoon sacrifice was, indeed, preserved in post-exilic times.<sup>5</sup>

Likewise, W. Zimmerli in his recent commentary expresses the opinion that the instruction of Ezek 46:13-15 is a summary rather than a complete blueprint for the sacrificial service:

In view of the fact that in the pre-exilic period the morning and evening offerings were already known, it is not probable that Ez. 46:15 means to reduce the full service. Probably its editor was obliged, by the revision of verses 13 and following and by

<sup>4</sup> John Skinner, *The Book of Ezekiel* (New York, 1905), pp. 472, 473; G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* (Edinburgh, 1936), p. 511; Georg Fohrer, *Ezekiel* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 3/4 (London, 1940): 352.

the combination of both offerings into one, to concentrate all in the morning *tāmid* and to describe only the morning *tāmid*.<sup>6</sup>

That Ezekiel's ritual prescriptions are no more than an outline is also evident from the reference to the celebration of the passover in 45:21. This statement cannot be taken as anything but the barest reference to a well-known ritual of long standing. Josiah is said to have celebrated the passover with all solemnity in the 18th year of his reign (2 Kgs 23:21-23).<sup>7</sup> It should be borne in mind that in most cases Ezekiel was not innovating, but standardizing ancient practices according to an ideal plan.

Moreover, it should be observed that the text of 2 Kgs 16:15 does not rule out the possibility that an evening burnt offering was offered as well. The text makes reference to "the king's burnt offering, and his cereal offering," as well as to "the burnt offering of all the people of the land, and their cereal offering, and their libation." From this it is evident that there was more to the daily service even in the days of Ahaz than "the morning burnt offering, and the evening cereal offering." The comments of the prophet Isaiah, a contemporary of Ahaz, on the ceremonialism of the day leave the distinct impression that the number of sacrifices offered in the temple in his time was enormous (Isa 1:11-13).<sup>8</sup> There was no lack of ceremonial zeal, but a crying absence of morality and rationality in the religion as then practiced.

No final opinion can be expressed on the validity of the argument based on 2 Kgs 16:15 before the term *minhāh* is clearly defined.

N. H. Snaith has expressed the opinion that in the course of time *minhāh* acquired the narrow sense of "gift of grain (cereal)," but that it could also have retained the original meaning of "tribute, gift." He argues that "because of this, it could be used in a wider sense, namely, that of the whole ceremony."<sup>9</sup> As an

<sup>6</sup> W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* (Neukirchen, 1969), p. 1175.

<sup>7</sup> For the ancient origin of the passover, see R. de Vaux, *Les sacrifices de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris, 1964), p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the remarks of Micah, a contemporary of Isaiah, in Mic 6:6-8.

<sup>9</sup> N. H. Snaith, "Sacrifices in the Old Testament," *VT* 7 (1957): 315.

example of this wider sense, Snaith refers to the *'ōlat hamminhāh* of 1 Kgs 18:29, 36, evidently offered in the evening, and to the *'ōlat hamminhāh* of 2 Kgs 3:20, obviously offered in the morning. He goes on to say that “the two ceremonies referred to are the Tamid, Ex. 29:38ff., Num. 28:3ff.”

It seems reasonable to suppose that the *minhāh* of 2 Kgs 3:20, offered in the morning, included the standard burnt offering. On the other hand, the *minhāh* alluded to in 2 Kgs 18:29, 36 certainly included, among other things, the burnt offering made that evening by Elijah himself on top of Mount Carmel. If this wider sense of *minhāh* is allowed in 2 Kgs 16:15, then there is no reason to rule out the possibility that an evening burnt offering might have been included in the total ceremony known as the *minhāh*.

We have assumed, and we believe correctly, that the term *tāmīd* of Dan 8 signifies the double sacrificial ceremony of the morning and the evening. The previous paragraphs have shown that this assumption is not invalidated by Ezek 46:15, nor by the often-quoted text of 2 Kgs 16:15.<sup>10</sup>

The evidence furnished by the texts of Exod 29 and Num 28 and 29, which are fundamental to any discussion of the meaning of *tāmīd*, should caution the impartial exegete from any hasty assumption that *hattāmīd* in Daniel did designate each sacrifice by itself, as if the sacrifices of the morning and evening were two independent units. The text of Ezra 3:3-5 is particularly significant in this discussion. After speaking of the restoration of the altar and the presentation of “burnt-offerings morning and evening,” vs. 5 sums up the daily burnt offering of the morning and the evening under the expression *'ōlat tāmīd*, evidently a singular.

Moreover, one should observe that the word *tāmīd* itself is not found in Dan 8:14. It is simply assumed on account of the

<sup>10</sup> As for the mention of *tāmīd* in Ezek 46:14, Zimmerli, p. 1168, explains it as an intrusion from vs. 15.

references to it in vss. 11-13. But the assumption that the formula ‘*ereb bōqer* is the equivalent to *hattāmīd* of the preceding verses ignores another fundamental fact of the language of the cult, namely that in the description of the daily sacrifices “morning” always precedes “evening.”

O. Plöger, for example, commenting on Dan 8:14, follows countless predecessors when he writes: “Since the sacrifice was offered in the evening and in the morning, this would signify an interval of 1150 days.”<sup>11</sup> But it should be observed that the language of the ritual always designates the morning sacrifice before the one of the evening, without exception. A survey of the OT produces the following illustrations: Exod 29:39; Lev 6:13; Num 28:4; 2 Kgs 16:15; 1 Chr 16:40; 23:30; 2 Chr 2:4; 13:11; 31:3; Ezra 3:3. “Burnt offerings morning and evening” becomes a stereotyped phrase which finds no exception in the biblical literature. It is also perpetuated in the post-biblical period, as e.g. in 1 Esdr 5:50: “. . . and they offered sacrifices according to the time, and burnt-offerings to the Lord both morning and evening.”<sup>12</sup>

The expression *mē’ereb ‘ad-bōqer* is used in Lev 24:3, but this is in reference to the time when the lamps should burn in the sanctuary. The reason for the sequence evening-morning in this particular instance is obvious. The lights should burn during the night and not during the day. Commenting on the daily ceremonies of the temple, J. B. Segal remarks that “the daily ritual of the temple followed the routine of every-day life, beginning in the morning and finishing in the evening.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Plöger, p. 127. However, Porteous, p. 104, is careful to observe the order morning-evening: “während dieses Zeitabschnittes wäre das *tamid*-Opfer 2300mal am Morgen oder Abend dargebracht worden.”

<sup>12</sup> *APOT*, I: 39. According to R. H. Charles, the date of Esdras would be “the late Greek age.” The expression *ὀλοκαυτώματα τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ πρῶινόν καὶ τὸ δευτερινόν* of 1 Esdr 5:49 in LXX contains no new technical terms, as Montgomery, p. 343, suggests, but simply repeats the terms already employed in Exod 29:39 LXX.

<sup>13</sup> J. B. Segal, “Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar,” *VT* 7 (1957): 254.

It is alleged by some scholars that the inverted order of the expression 'ereḫ bōqer of Dan 8:14 reflects the use of a new calendar adopted by the Israelites in their first contact with Babylonian civilization. According to R. de Vaux, e.g., the introduction of the Babylonian lunar calendar provoked a change in the old Israelite way of reckoning the day.<sup>14</sup> Whereas before the exile the usual order had been morning-evening, in the postexilic period the order evening-morning became the normal one. The present writer has shown in another study that de Vaux's argument based on the use of the formula "day and night" is untenable in the light of the evidence offered by the Babylonian literature.<sup>15</sup> It is generally recognized that in Mesopotamia the day was reckoned from evening to evening, which is usually the case where a lunar calendar is observed.<sup>16</sup> Consequently one would expect, if de Vaux were right, that in the Babylonian literature the expression "night and day" would be much more common than its inverse "day and night." But a methodical count in the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Sumerian prototype of the Deluge, Inana's Descent to the Nether World, and the Epic of Creation showed a preponderance of the formula "day and night" over "night and day" in the ratio of 4:1.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (New York, 1961), p. 181.

<sup>15</sup> S. J. Schwantes, "Did the Israelites Ever Reckon the Day from Morning to Morning?," *The Ministry*, July, 1977, pp. 36-39.

<sup>16</sup> See O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Harper Torchbook ed.; New York, 1962), p. 106; A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C. - A.D. 45* (Providence, R.I., 1956), p. 26; Jack Finegan, *Handbook of Bible Chronology* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), p. 8; E. J. Bickermann, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (London, 1968), pp. 13-14.

<sup>17</sup> For the formula "day and night," see Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet I, 2.24, 4.21, 5.19 (*ANET*, pp. 74-75); the Old Babylonian Version of Tablets II, 2.6 (*ANET*, p. 77) and X, 2.5, 8 (*ANET*, pp. 89-90); the Assyrian Version of Tablet XI, lines 126 and 199 (*ANET*, pp. 94-95); the Sumerian prototype of the Deluge, line 203 (*ANET*, p. 44); the Sumerian myth of Inana's descent to the Nether World, line 169 (*ANET*, p. 55); the Creation Epic, Tablet I, line 50 (*ANET*, p. 61). For the formula "night and day," see the Creation Epic, Tablet I, line 129, and Tablet III, lines 19 and 78 (*ANET*, pp. 62, 64-65).



It is obvious from this cursory survey of Babylonian literature that there is no correlation between the type of calendar used and the use of the formula "day and night" or its inverse. The universal preference for the formula "day and night" reflects, as Segal remarks, "the ordinary course of human behaviour. It is at dawn that man begins the active work of the day, and, for that reason, a phrase current in man's mouth is 'day and night.'"<sup>18</sup>

It is not surprising, then, that the formula "day and night" is much more commonly attested than "night and day" in the pre-exilic biblical literature, regardless of the type of calendar used. And for the same reason it continues to be more common in the post-exilic books as well. Thus Nehemiah continues to pray "day and night" (Neh 1:6). In his time a guard is set as protection against the enemy "day and night" (Neh 4:9). The Siracide, writing early in the 2d century B.C., still says from "morning to evening" (Sir 18:26). Judas Maccabaeus ordered the people to call upon the Lord "day and night" (2 Macc 13:10). Judith is reported as serving the God of heaven "day and night" (Jdt 11:17). The stereotyped formula continues to be used right down to the beginning of the Christian era, as shown by the literature of Qumran.<sup>19</sup>

The language of the NT points in the same direction, namely that the use of the stereotyped expression "day and night," or its inverse, bears no relation to the way of reckoning the day. Thus in the NT the formula *nuktos kai hēmeras* is used eight times (Acts 20:31; Rom 13:12; 2 Cor 11:25; 1 Thess 2:9; 3:10; 2 Thess 3:8; 1 Tim 5:5; 2 Tim 1:3), whereas the inverse *hēmeras kai nuktos* is used ten times (Matt 4:2; 12:40; Luke 18:7; Acts 9:24; 26:7; Rev 5:8; 7:15; 12:10; 14:11; 20:10). Also, in many passages of the Talmud the expression "day and night" is employed, as pointed out by C. H. Borenstein.<sup>20</sup> And

<sup>18</sup> Segal, p. 254.

<sup>19</sup> 1 QM 14:13; see J. van der Ploeg, "La règle de la guerre: Traduction et notes," *VT* 5 (1955): 389, 415.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by S. Zeitlin, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day," *JQR* 36 (1945-

there seems to be little correlation between language and calendrical or astronomical sophistication even in our times.

The evidence pointed out above shows that the expression *'ereḥ bōqer* of Dan 8:14 could not be derived from the language of the cult, where the order morning-evening is the standard one at all times. There is no evidence whatsoever that the cultic formula for the "morning and evening" sacrifices was changed during the captivity or in the subsequent period. This being the case, the provenance of the expression *'ereḥ bōqer* must be sought elsewhere than in the language of the cult. It is inadmissible that a writer as familiar with the cultic jargon as the author of the book of Daniel would commit so gross an error.

It is the contention of the present writer that the unusual expression *ereḥ bōqer* must be sought in the lapidary language of Gen 1. There the standard expression וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר is used for each day of the creation narrative (Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31). R. de Vaux is right in calling attention to the fact that in Gen 1 *'ereḥ* marks the end of the creative acts accomplished during the day, and *bōqer* the end of the night of rest.<sup>21</sup> It seems reasonable that in describing the days of creation the accent is placed on the creative activity which takes place during the light part of the day, rather than on the night of rest.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that this manner of designating a complete day is found nowhere in the OT except in Dan 8:14, 26. The standard practice is to designate the 24-hour day by the formula "day and night," or, much less frequently,

46): 410. It should be noted that Zeitlin favors the hypothesis that the Israelites reckoned the day from morning to morning in pre-exilic times.

<sup>21</sup> De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, p. 181. De Vaux uses the order עֶרֶב . . . בֹּקֶר as an argument in favor of the hypothesis that in pre-exilic times the day was reckoned from morning to morning. G. von Rad, *Genesis* (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 51, draws the same conclusion: "The day here appears to be reckoned from morning to morning, in strange contrast to its reckoning in the cultic law." It should be said, though, that Gen 1 was not written with the purpose of recognizing or establishing any particular calendar or method of reckoning the day. For a different view, see E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), p. 5.

by its inverse “night and day.” It follows that if the author of the book of Daniel borrowed the phrase ‘*ereḥ bōqer* from Gen 1, as the evidence seems to substantiate, then its meaning points not to half days, as has often been assumed uncritically, but to full days.

K. Marti claims that the expression ‘*ereḥ bōqer* of Dan 8:14 is to be understood according to the parallel expression of Dan 8:26, where the existence of the conjunction *we* between the two nouns indicates that ‘*ereḥ bōqer* of 8:14 should not be taken as a unit of 24 hours.<sup>22</sup> Marti’s conclusion is open to question, since the very fact that ‘*ereḥ bōqer*, with or without *we*, stands in the singular is evidence that the expression represents a unit of time, namely one full day. Thus the LXX and Theodotion have understood it by adding *hēmerai* to the text. Elsewhere in the book of Daniel the days, weeks, or years counted are always in the plural and precede the numeral. Thus in the Hebrew portion of the book we find, *šānīm* 3 (1:5); *yāmīm* 10 (1:12, 14); *šābū‘īm* 70, 7, 62 (9:24, 25, 26); *yāmīm* 1290 (12:11); *yāmīm* 1335 (12:12). In contrast, the formula ‘*ereḥ bōqer* stands in the singular, like French *après-midi*, which is also invariable.

The very fact that the expression ‘*ereḥ bōqer* stands exceptionally in the singular in contrast to all other enumerations in the book, favors the view that it represents a unit of time. If one also recognizes that the expression ‘*ereḥ bōqer* could not have been borrowed from the language of the cult, but was most likely modeled after the phraseology of Gen 1, then the conclusion that it stands for one full day is practically unavoidable.

<sup>22</sup> K. Marti, *Das Buch Daniel* (Tübingen, 1901), p. 60.



## SURVIVAL AND TIME

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Over the past few years, rising interest in the phenomenon of death, as well as in parapsychology and the occult, has made it intellectually respectable once again to deal seriously with the issue of life-after-death. One aspect of the larger debate which warrants careful exploration is the relationship between survival and time within the context of Christian theology. But a discussion on survival will not prove worthwhile if it is conducted, as too many such discussions are, loosely and informally, without sufficient attention to detail. Both logical and linguistic considerations are very important. And since talk about life-after-death takes many different forms, it is crucial that we distinguish among them.

### 1. *Views of Survival*

We will begin by clarifying various views of survival which are held (rightly or wrongly, singly or in combination) by professed Christians. The most prominent of such views may be classified under three categories, as follows:

- A. Personal
  - 1. Immortality of the soul
  - 2. Resurrection of the dead
- B. Impersonal
  - 1. Biological
  - 2. Influence
  - 3. Memory
  - 4. Process
- C. Existential

In the first category, immortality and resurrection have in common the fact that they are concerned with personal survival, i.e., the continuation after bodily death of the person (or, at least, the essential part of the person), the subject of experiences.

These two views<sup>1</sup> can be differentiated as follows: Immortality (deriving from Greek antecedents) involves a dualistic human nature whose incorporeal soul/mind is "freed" or "escapes" from its corporeal/physical body at death. Resurrection (a Hebrew heritage) maintains a monistic human nature whose mind-body ceases to exist at death and is later "recreated" (though not necessarily out of the same "stuff"). In the former case, the soul's survival is, so to speak, "automatic" (Christians, however, insist that it is still ordained by God) because while soul and body interact or influence each other, they remain two separate and separable substances. Thus death is conceived as analogous to passing through a door from one room into another. In resurrection, on the other hand, a person's survival is neither automatic nor guaranteed. Death (as non-existence) is the natural end of life, and only a special divine act enables life to begin once more, since God must make over again the same individual (in an appropriate sense of "same"). Both immortality and resurrection stress that at least something of us survives death: our personalities and characters continue, and we are able to have further experiences of some sort.

The four views of survival which I have called "impersonal" are alike in not depicting a person as continuing to have experiences of any kind after death. What those who hold such views have in mind is something else: First, in terms of biological "immortality," what survives is our genetic material (via sperm or ovum) passed on to our offspring. We "live on in our children" (and other descendants). Second, we also "survive" by means of our influence. Whether this influence turns out to be large or small, we do affect other people and indeed the world itself: our lives make some difference! Third, we likewise "live on" in the memories of a few fellow human beings. Now, these three positions are frequently interwoven, as one might expect. And

<sup>1</sup>I have attempted an exposition of these two positions along with an analysis of their strengths and weaknesses in my article "Immortality and Resurrection: A Reappraisal," *Religion in Life*, 43 (Autumn 1974): 312-324.

they seem to have an advantage over their counterparts in that we know that they actually occur. Yet the type of survival which they envision is significantly limited vis-a-vis most other options. They are limited in impact and duration as well as by the fact that it is not we ourselves who survive.

The fourth view in my second category, the process view,<sup>2</sup> is similarly impersonal, though rather more permanent. The concept is that although we do not survive death as experiencing subjects, we do survive in God. "Within the process framework immortality means that my experiences, intentions, feelings, joy, sorrows, goals, and decisions, because they have also been experienced fully by a related and perfect God, are retained as they were forever in the memory of God."<sup>3</sup> Our lives, then, along with the values in them, are preserved intact forever. And they will possibly be used by God in his ongoing creative relationship with the world.

The existential view, given as my third major classification, appears in many forms,<sup>4</sup> but its basic points are fairly standard. This view does not deal with life-after-death in terms of that period of time following our demise; rather it focuses exclusively on the here-and-now. Its advocates insist that eschatological language (in fact, all theological language) is a language of self-understanding and commitment. In other words, for an individual to assert his or her belief in resurrection, immortality, or survival of death is roughly equivalent to asserting his or her openness to life, to confidence and security, and to decision for authentic existence. Perhaps it is not too great an oversimplification to say that the existential understanding is primarily one of personal psychology.

<sup>2</sup> The best summary and evaluation of this position which I know is to be found in Tyron Inbody, "Process Theology and Personal Survival," *Illif Review*, 31 (Spring 1974) : 31-42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> There are philosophers in this camp like Heidegger, as well as theologians such as Tillich (whose approach is more ontological) and Bultmann (whose approach is more anthropological).

## 2. "Eternal Life," "Survival," and "Time"

Given the foregoing background information, we can now turn to the question of survival's connection with the concept of time. But the views as presented here do not appear to have suggested anything very problematical or philosophically interesting about that particular issue.<sup>5</sup> The underlying problem surrounding survival and time can, in my opinion, be best illustrated perhaps by reference to the notion of eternal life.

### *Use of the Term "Eternal Life"*

The Christian idea of eternal life has a long and distinguished history going back to the Bible.<sup>6</sup> Those who hold it are usually trying to emphasize two points (minimally). First is the presumption that meaningful and self-fulfilling survival does not come either automatically or inevitably as our "right"; i.e., that survival is neither a logical necessity nor a "law of nature." Adherents of eternal life insist that survival depends, instead, entirely upon the will of God. Second is the assumption that life-after-death involves something besides the mere continuance of one's human character and personality for a time after bodily death. This "something more" is the conviction that what really counts is the quality of life rather than its quantity; or, to put this in Christian perspective, eternal life has more to do with our entering into a special relationship with God (available anytime) than with the mere extension of our life through time. Insofar as these two points are concerned, eternal life is compatible with each of the survival views already discussed.

### *Nontemporal Survival*

There is, however, a further point that is not advanced by every exponent of eternal life, but which is truly divisive. This

<sup>5</sup> I must admit to being perplexed about some of the details and implications of those positions, along with great apprehension over whether the views may be confused or inconsistent.

<sup>6</sup> We find it in all the gospels—infrequently outside of John, however—and in most of the other NT writings as well.



additional aspect revolves around an attempt to preclude eternal life from continuing on into the hereafter, and springs from the supposition that eternal life lies (in some sense) beyond the limits of time.

Nicholas Berdyaev, e.g., has written: "Eternal life is not a future life but life in the present, life in the depths of an instant of time"<sup>7</sup> and, more specifically, "There can be no eternity in time."<sup>8</sup> And George W. Forell, in a popular textbook, echoes the same sentiment:

While the faith in the resurrection has always been a basic part of the Protestant Faith, the state between the death of a person and his resurrection has been widely and inconclusively debated by theologians. *The fundamental problem in all these discussions is the assumption that time is not only a category of the human mind but also a reality in God. The problem disappears, however, if one is prepared to take seriously the scriptural evidence that in God there is no time. . . .*

In line with the biblical witness it appears to be more accurate to assert that death means confrontation with the living God. Thus man is confronted by eternity at the moment of his death and no longer subject to the limitations of human time.<sup>9</sup>

Eternal life is thereby conceived to be nontemporal.

Now, whatever one may think about this sort of language with respect to God (and we will deal with that topic shortly)—i.e., that the concept of time does not apply to Him—one should be cognizant of the fact that this nontemporal view requires abandonment of the traditional Christian understanding of survival; namely, it means giving up the concept that the surviving individual will continue to have experiences. I confess to having great difficulty in grasping the idea of nontemporal survival; and while I can see ways of interpreting it, these seem hardly satisfactory.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Destiny of Man*, 4th ed. (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1954), pp. 261-262.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252. Author's italics deleted.

<sup>9</sup> George W. Forell, *The Protestant Faith* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), pp. 247-248. Emphasis added.

For instance, one way of interpreting the remarks about non-temporal survival is simply to say that they reflect a basic confusion and inconsistency. Why? We may consider for a moment the oddity of combining Berdyaev's statement quoted earlier ("There can be no eternity in time") with the following comment, also by Berdyaev: "In eternity, in the spiritual world, there goes on a struggle for personality, for the realization of God's idea. Our natural earthly life is but a moment in the process which takes place in the spiritual world."<sup>10</sup> But unless I am very much mistaken, if events (even spiritual ones) occur in succession (as indicated in the last quotation), then they can be ordered in a temporal sequence (in opposition to the first quotation). And if for some reason they cannot be so ordered, then they cannot constitute either a "process" or a "struggle." It might well be that such a spiritual time-series would not coincide with our own, but to claim (as the nontemporalists appear to) that changes occur, though not in time, is just misleading.<sup>11</sup>

Another possible way of interpreting the suggestion about non-temporal eternal life is to hold that it is not the sort of thing which can take place in time, just as a day of the week is not the sort of thing which can have weight. This may initially sound promising, but I fear that it is not, for we would be making eternal life into something which cannot, by its very nature, be linked with our ordinary concept of a person. Why? Because the only things that can reasonably be called "eternal" in this sense are abstractions—abstractions which are not now, never have been, and never will be in time. Persons, however, obviously are and have been in time; and if they are able to survive death at all, it is hard to imagine how they could possibly be removed from time.

<sup>10</sup> Berdyaev, p. 258.

<sup>11</sup> Change, therefore, implies time. Whether time implies change is, fortunately, a question which has no bearing on our immediate problem.

*Dynamic versus Static*

The language of nontemporal survival makes sense if we understand that it is associated with something such as the existential position (and restricted to that). But if we attempt to move beyond this limited perspective, we will be forced to choose between a static view of survival "beyond" time and a dynamic view of survival "in" time. I am convinced that we cannot have both.

If we opt for a dynamic—i.e., temporal—interpretation of survival (or eternal life), then it is entirely compatible with the notion of personal survival as continuing experiences, process, change, and struggle. If, on the other hand, we accept a static—i.e., nontemporal—interpretation of survival (or eternal life), then it will turn out to be either incompatible with the concept of personal survival (in the previously mentioned sense) or else internally inconsistent.

The situation is simply this: Those who believe in or advocate personal survival must reject the nontemporal (static) interpretation, and conversely, those who accept the nontemporal (static) interpretation must relinquish any hope of personal survival. Experiences after death can occur only if they are in some sense "in" time.

*God and Time*

Although the problem of God and time is not necessarily identical with the problem of human beings and time, it may be worthwhile to inquire as to why people have wanted to say that in God there is no time. Perhaps along the way we shall discover some hint as to the motives of those who seek to remove us from time as well.

For one thing, we certainly want to hold that God is not circumscribed by our human temporal limitations. He is "everlasting" in a sense and on a level different from what we experience in this world: He has no beginning and no ending. His

existence is independent and necessary, in contrast to the dependent and contingent nature of everything else. The Scriptures are indicative on this:

Before the mountains were brought forth,  
or ever thou hast formed the earth and the world,  
from everlasting to everlasting thou art God.

• • • • •

For a thousand years in thy sight  
are but as yesterday when it is past,  
or as a watch in the night.<sup>12</sup>

God is “timeless” both in comparison with all else (creator versus creation) and in terms of a vast difference in God’s subjective or psychological apprehension of time from our own.

For another thing, and closely related to the first, is the long-standing belief that God created time, and hence cannot really be “in” time. Gen 1 tells how God created the heavens and the earth, sun and stars, light and darkness—in effect, all those features by which people have determined the flow of time. Certainly in this sense God is “beyond” time, though this does not touch every temporal concept.

A third motive for wanting to separate God from time is the close relationship which exists generally between time and change, and, more particularly, between time and the twin processes of growth and decay. Many Christians, I believe, are fearful that placing God in time would inevitably make Him subject to corruption. Why? Because if one regards God as already perfect, it may be difficult to conceive how He could possibly change without becoming less perfect. This same fear appears to be behind various attempts at denying that God has any real involvement with the world, as well as at denying that He responds or reacts to what happens in the world; for to allow such experiences might seem tantamount to God’s changing according to changes in the world (thereby relinquishing absolute

<sup>12</sup> Ps 90:2, 4. Cf. 2 Pet 3:8.

perfection and possibly losing complete control of his own creation).<sup>13</sup>

Of these three motivations for removing God from time, only the last raises a legitimate philosophical issue (since the others are actually making points which are not controversial, though they are doing so by stretching language further than its ordinary applications). This last claim—that relatedness and even change would make God somehow imperfect and “powerless”—is both false and without biblical foundation. Unless one adopts the mathematical model of perfection, i.e., that to be perfect a quality must be extended without limit (to infinity), there is no justification for supposing that either relatedness or change are equivalent to imperfection.<sup>14</sup> Besides, the language of the OT and NT supports the view that God is perfect (in whatever sense that term had meaning for those people), and yet He experiences, responds, and changes. The “timeless” nature of God never breaks loose from its temporal origins in the Bible. And to the degree that this discussion bears on the question of personal survival, much the same can be said.

### 3. *Conclusion*

As we have noted, there is a rather wide variety of survival concepts—running from the traditional immortality and resurrection through process and social to existential. We have also seen that time becomes a genuine problem only when there is an attempt to join personal survival (thought of as continuing experiences) with nontemporality, an effort often cast in the language of eternal life. Our examination of this problem has shown quite clearly, however, that one cannot literally have personal survival of death coupled with real nontemporality.

<sup>13</sup> The similarity of such reasoning to that of the ancient Greeks and the ancient Gnostics is, of course, apparent.

<sup>14</sup> The influence of Greek philosophy on later Christian thought is no doubt responsible for the introduction of this mathematical model of perfection.

Paul Tillich, despite his existentialist leanings, was able to perceive the need for keeping personal survival closely tied to time. First, Tillich argued that the language of life-after-death demands self-conscious individualization.<sup>15</sup> Second, he contended that the language of life-after-death requires time and change:

Self-consciousness . . . depends on temporal changes both of the perceiving subject and of the perceived object in the process of self-consciousness. . . . Without time and change in time, subject and object would merge into each other; the same would perceive the same indefinitely. It would be similar to a state of stupor.<sup>16</sup>

Truly it is worth the effort to understand how survival and time fit together, and how they do not.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963): 413-414.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

## BRIEF NOTES

### IDENTIFICATION OF SCRIVENER'S COLLATED MANUSCRIPTS

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Those who work with Scrivener's collations published in *A Full and Exact Collation of About Twenty Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels* (London, 1853) and *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis* (Cambridge, 1859) find it somewhat inconvenient to identify the manuscripts according to Gregory numbers (Scrivener indicates them by letter). Once one knows where to obtain the necessary information, it is not difficult to identify the manuscripts, but the task is still inconvenient. Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste der Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, *Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung* (Berlin, 1963), is of great assistance, but it is not possible to identify all the manuscripts through this list alone. While it correlates the sigla of Tischendorf to Gregory, von Soden to Gregory, and Gregory to von Soden, and although the index of libraries is helpful, nevertheless one must go elsewhere for some of Scrivener's manuscripts. Aland's list must be supplemented by the first volume of Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 4th ed., edited by Edward Miller (London, 1894). For the Apocalypse, use must be made of the list found in the second volume of H. C. Hoskier's *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (London, 1929). These last three works will henceforth be indicated simply by the last name of each author.

The two lists below have been provided to facilitate identification of the manuscripts indicated by letter and collated by Scrivener in the first two works mentioned above. With the identification, Scrivener's description of the manuscript according to location is given, as is also documentation regarding the source for making the identification.

### 1. Manuscripts Collated in Scrivener's *A Full and Exact Collation*

a. Lambeth 1175 = Greg. 470. (*Note:* Manuscripts described in this way by Scrivener are relatively simple to identify. One need only go to Aland's index of libraries arranged according to place. Thus, Lambeth Palace is located under London and since the Gregory number is placed beside the library number, one needs only to locate the latter under this heading to make the identification. A more cumbersome way would be to look in the Index of Scrivener's *A Plain Introduction*, where a similar arrangement by place is provided, and then check the manuscript number in the appropriate section. Thus in this instance, the information will be found in Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 509. Scrivener gives the Gregory number, which is accurate for the Gospels; but for the other sections of the Bible the numbers are not correct, since he uses the old Gregory numbers.)

- b. Lambeth 1176 = Greg. 471. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 510.
- c. Lambeth 1177 = Greg. 472. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 511.
- d. Lambeth 1178 = Greg. 473. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 512.
- e. Lambeth 1179 = Greg. 474. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 513.
- f. Lambeth 1192 = Greg. 475. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 515.
- g. Lambeth 528 = Greg. 71. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 203, no. 71.
- h. Arundel 524 = Greg. 476. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 256, no. 566.
- j. Cotton, Titus C. XV = Greg. 022. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 139.
- k. British Museum, Additional MS 11300 = Greg. 478. Aland, p. 407, and Scrivener, p. 257, no. 575.
- l. Codex Wordsworth = Greg. 479. Scrivener, p. 253, no. 542. According to Aland, p. 393, this manuscript is now at Selly Oak Colleges Library in Birmingham.
- m. Butler 2. British Museum Additional MS 11837 = Greg. 201. Aland, p. 407, and Scrivener, pp. 218-219, no. 201.
- n. Burney 18 = Greg. 480. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 256, no. 568.
- o. Burney 19 = Greg. 481. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 257, no. 569.
- p. Burney 20 = Greg. 482. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 257, no. 570.
- q. Codex Theodori = Greg. 483. Scrivener, p. 253, no. 543. According to Aland, p. 430, this manuscript is now at the Chapin Library, Williams' College, Williamstown, Mass.
- r. Burney 21 = Greg. 484. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 257, no. 571.
- s. Burney 23 = Greg. 485. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 257, no. 572.
- t. Lambeth 1350 = Greg. 486. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 250, no. 517.
- u. C. 4 of Todd = Greg. 487. Aland, p. 409, under Lambeth Palace, and Scrivener, pp. 249-250, no. 516.
- v. Lambeth 1180 = Greg. 488. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, p. 249, no. 514.
- x. Arundel, 547 = Greg. lec 183. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, p. 345, no. 257.
- y. Burney 22 = Greg. lec 184. Aland, p. 408, and Scrivener, pp. 345-346, no. 259.



## 2. Manuscripts Collated in Scrivener's *An Exact Transcript of the Codex Augiensis*

### *Manuscripts of the Gospels*

- i. Trin. Coll. Cantab. B.X. 17 = Greg. 477. Aland, p. 394, and Scrivener, p. 248, no. 508.
- v. Cantab. Mm. 69 = Greg. 440. Aland, p. 394.
- w. Trin. Coll. Cantab. B.X. 16 = Greg. 489. Aland, p. 394, and Scrivener, p. 248, no. 507.
- L. Codex Leicestrensis = Greg. 69. Aland, p. 404, and Scrivener, p. 202, no. 69.
- H. Harleian 5598 = Greg. lec. 150. Aland, p. 409, and Scrivener, pp. 336-337, no. 150.
- P. Parham Evangelistarium Unciale, No. 18 = Greg. lec 181. Scrivener, pp. 343-344, no. 234. According to Aland, p. 408, this manuscript is now British Museum Additions 39602.
- P<sub>2</sub>. Parham Evangelistarium Unciale, No. 1 = Greg. lec 182. Scrivener, p. 343, no. 233. According to Aland, p. 408, this manuscript is now British Museum Additions 39583.
- z. Christi Coll. Cantab. F. 1, 8 = Greg. lec 185. Scrivener, p. 342, no. 222. According to Aland, p. 394, this manuscript is designated DD. 1.6.

### *Manuscripts of the Acts and Catholics and Pauline Epistles*

- a. Lambeth 1182 = Greg. 206. Aland, p. 409. The Gregory numbers given in Scrivener no longer match the present Gregory numbers since a new system is now in use.
- b. Lambeth 1183 = Greg. 216. Aland, p. 409.
- c. Lambeth 1184 = Greg. 1522. Aland, p. 409.
- d. Lambeth 1185 = Greg. 642. Aland, p. 409.
- e. Lambeth of the Acts of the Apostles = Greg. 1518. Scrivener, p. 298, no. 186, thinks this must have been Lambeth 1181. The identification is based on this assumption. Aland, p. 409.
- f. Lambeth 1186 = Greg. 1955. Aland, p. 409.
- g. Codex Theodori = Greg. 483. Same as q of previous list.
- h. Codex Wordsworth = Greg. 479. Same as l of previous list.
- i. Codex Butler 2. British Museum Additional MS 11837 = Greg. 201. Same as m of previous list.
- j. Burney 48 = Greg. 643. Aland, p. 408.
- k. Trin. Coll. Cantab. B. X. 16 = Greg. 489. Same as w of Gospels (above).
- l. Christi Coll. Cantab. F. i. 13 = Greg. 319. Aland, p. 394. According to Aland, this is designated as DD. 1.9.
- m. Codex Leicestrensis = Greg. 69. Same as L of Gospels (above).
- n. Emmanuel Coll. Cantab. i.4.35 = Greg. 356. Aland, p. 394.
- o. Cantab. Mm. 6.9 = Greg. 440. Same as v of Gospels (above).
- p. British Mus. Additional MS 20003 = Greg. 81. Aland, p. 408.

*Manuscripts of the Apocalypse*

- a. Lambeth 1186 = Greg. 1955. Same as e above.
- b. Butler 2, Add. MS 11837 = Greg. 201. Same as m in previous list and h above.
- c. Harleian 5678 = Greg. 2016. Aland, p. 409.
- d. Harleian 5778 = Greg. 110. Aland, p. 409.
- e. Harleian 5613 = Greg. 385. Aland, p. 409.
- f. Codex Leicestrensis = Greg. 69. Same as L of Gospels and m of Acts and Catholics above.
- g. Parham no. 17 = Greg. 2040. Scrivener, p. 324, no. 95; compare with Hoskier, p. 15. It is possible to identify all of Scrivener's manuscripts of the Apocalypse by first checking his index to obtain his number for that manuscript and then checking that number in Hoskier, who has five columns giving the number of the manuscript according to Hoskier, Scrivener, Gregory Old, Gregory New, and von Soden respectively. However, except for this manuscript and for h and m, it would be faster to go to Aland's index of places and libraries.
- h. Parham, no. 2 = Greg. 2041. Scrivener, p. 324, no. 96; compare with Hoskier, p. 15.
  - j. British Museum, Add. MS 17469 = Greg. 498. Aland, p. 407.
  - k. Liber Canonicus 34, Bodleian at Oxford = Greg. 522. Aland, p. 407.
    - l. Harleian 5537 = Greg. 104. Aland, p. 409.
- m. Codex Mediomontanus 1461 = Greg. 172. Scrivener, p. 324, no. 87; compare with Hoskier, p. 14. See also Aland, p. 344.
- n. Barocc. 48, Bodleian = Greg. 2015. Aland, p. 415. Compare Scrivener, p. 328, no. 28 and Hoskier, p. 12.

Incidentally, Codex Augiensis is described by Scrivener as B.17.1 of the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Thus, according to Aland, p. 394, this is Greg. 010.

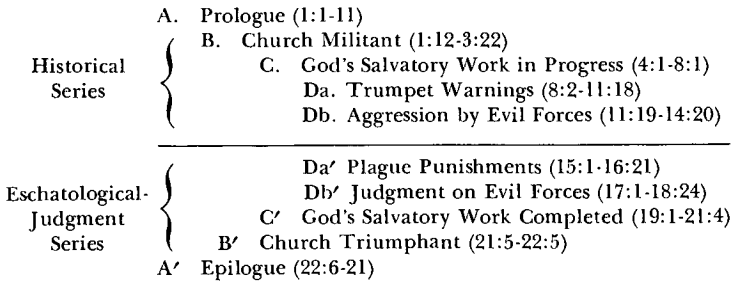
# CHIASTIC STRUCTURE AND SOME MOTIFS IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

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The present brief discussion takes note of two types of literary analysis of the book of Revelation which have appeared in recent literature, and it deals with those types in relationship to a broad chiasmic pattern for the Revelation that I have elaborated in earlier publications.<sup>1</sup> The two types are (1) analysis which discovers a major division of the book at the turn between chaps. 11 and 12, and (2) the concentric-symmetry model (the A-B-A' pattern).

My chiasmic-structure analysis finds the main division of the book at the turn between chaps. 14 and 15. This dividing point derives from a consideration of common themes that are counterparts in an historical setting (in the first main part of the book up through chap. 14) and an eschatological-judgment setting (chap. 15 onward). Although the reader must be referred elsewhere<sup>2</sup> for details concerning this structure, a very brief description will be provided in the concluding section of this article. Also, it will be useful here to indicate the pattern by means of a diagram that can serve as a point of reference for the discussion that follows:

Diagram 1. Chiasmic Structure  
in the Book of Revelation



<sup>1</sup> See esp. my *Interpreting the Book of Revelation* (Worthington, Ohio, 1976), pp. 43-52 (published earlier in *The Open Gates of Heaven* [Ann Arbor, Mich., 1970], pp. 41-48).

<sup>2</sup> See n. 1, above.

### 1. *The Concept of a Major Dividing Point at the Turn Between Chaps. 11 and 12*

The concept of a major dividing point in the book of Revelation at the turn between chaps. 11 and 12 has been set forth recently by J. Massyngberde Ford within the framework of a compilation theory that assumes chaps. 4-11 to represent a revelation to John the Baptist and chaps. 12-22 as deriving from a disciple of John the Baptist and written probably "between A.D. 60 and 70."<sup>3</sup> Other scholars maintaining this sort of division of the book have not necessarily revived the old compilation theory, however, and have set forth an internal literary pattern as substantiation for the dividing point. Paul S. Minear, in indicating that many exegetes "treat all the material from Ch. 12 to the end of the book as a single unit," states further:

They observe that in chapters 12 and 13 are identified, in descending order, the line of command in Satan's army: first the commander-in-chief, then the sea-beast, the earth-beast or false prophet, Babylon, and finally, all the beast-worshippers. The series of pictures showing their defeat, however, is given in reverse order. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Apparently Minear himself adopts this major dividing point (moved ahead one verse, so as to include 11:19 with the second division), but for practical purposes of analysis he subdivides the material into smaller units or "arches."<sup>5</sup> H. B. Swete, E. B. Allo, and André Feuillet are among other scholars who find a major dividing point in the Revelation at the turn between chaps. 11 and 12.<sup>6</sup>

It should immediately be noted that whatever division the text may have at 11:19 or 12:1 because of the introduction of the *dramatis personae* of Satan's army, a more fundamental dividing point regarding these entities occurs at the end of chap. 14. Actually, the sequence in descending order reaches to that point. Then, from chap. 15 onward the sequence is repeated in reverse order. The situation is sketched in Diagram 2.

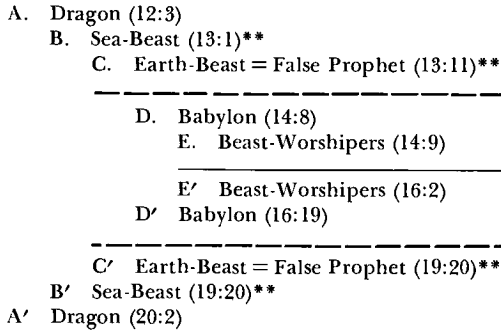
<sup>3</sup> *Revelation*, AB 38 (1975): 50-54.

<sup>4</sup> *I Saw a New Earth* (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (New York, 1906); E. B. Allo, *St. Jean, l'Apocalypse*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1933); André Feuillet, *L'Apocalypse. État de la question* (Paris, 1963), pp. 29-30.

Diagram 2. The Evil Hierarchy Introduced and Judged\*  
(only the first verse of multi-verse references is given)



*Notes to Diagram 2:*

\* It must be recognized that the sequences are at the level of formal literary portrayal and do not necessarily represent either any lock-step chronology or entities that are entirely discrete or independent. In the first sequence, the text makes clear the overlap in activities among the *personae*; and the judgmental scenes appear to be somewhat recapitulational in nature too (cf., e.g., 17:8 with 20:7-10). Also, in harmony with the method of symbolic usage in the Revelation, it seems likely that in a sense the motif of a duo of Babylon and beast-worshippers recapitulates the motif of the anti-divine trinity of dragon, beast, and false prophet. Dotted lines have been inserted in the diagram to suggest this possibility.

\*\* The sea-beast and earth-beast (false prophet) work so closely together that they might be considered a unit. I have separated them because they are introduced separately in chap. 13; but in 19:20 they are treated together (they are taken together and thrown into the lake of fire together).

A further significant consideration in the matter is the fact that the evil hierarchy, when first introduced, appears as part of a broader section up to 14:20. That broader section, 8:2-14:20, is a large doublet that embraces both the trumpets septet and the afore-mentioned *dramatis personae*; but in another sense it is also a unit in presenting an "Egypt-Babylon" motif. Moreover, it is paralleled chiastically by a similar large doublet in 15:1-18:24 that also carries the unifying "Egypt-Babylon" motif. In the first doublet, the trumpets that are reminiscent of the plagues on ancient Egypt merge into and give way to a Babylon theme, the crucial transitional element being the introduction of the "great river Euphrates" under the sixth trumpet in 9:14. In similar fashion, the bowls of wrath, once more reminiscent of the plagues on ancient Egypt, merge into and give way to a Babylon motif,

the crucial transitional element again being the introduction of the "great river Euphrates"—under the sixth bowl in 16:12.<sup>7</sup>

It is important to notice that the introduction of the evil hierarchy in chaps. 12-14 appears as an integral subsection within the first exposition of this Egypt-Babylon theme. Then the sequence of defeat to the members of the hierarchy begins as the Egypt-Babylon motif is utilized the second time—in the broad judgmental doublet of the bowls of wrath and of the judgment on the harlot and the beast.<sup>8</sup> It is evident that on the basis of the double set of references to both (1) the *dramatis personae* of the hierarchy of evil and (2) the Egypt-Babylon motif, the major dividing point in the book of Revelation is at the turn between chaps. 14 and 15, rather than at the turn between chaps. 11 and 12.

## 2. The Concentric-Symmetry Model

The recent work of Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza on composition and structure in the book of Revelation is indeed insightful and thought-provoking.<sup>9</sup> Fiorenza brings to bear on the subject a variety of pertinent considerations, alludes to several types of structural elements which she feels are evident in the literary pattern of the book, and in the latter connection makes use of the actantial model. The present brief discussion can focus on only one aspect of her illuminating treatment—her utilization of the concentric-symmetry pattern.

<sup>7</sup> In the bowls septet, however, the immediate introduction of Babylon is more transparent than in the trumpets septet. This is by virtue of the mention of the very name "Babylon" under the seventh bowl, shortly after the introduction of the "great river Euphrates." Specific mention of the name Babylon is omitted in the trumpet sequence at the similar place, and is in fact delayed until 14:8. Was this omission intentional so as to have the name "Babylon" introduced *only after* the prior formal introduction of the triad of dragon and two beasts, thus maintaining at the formal literary level a chiasmic structure relating to the *dramatis personae* of Satan's army? Such an assumption is supported by a consideration also of the fact that in the blending of several images in Rev 11:8, "the great city" (elsewhere called "Babylon"; cf. 14:8, 16:19, 18:2, and 18:21) is not so designated here but is rather referred to as the city "which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified."

<sup>8</sup> It extends beyond this section, of course; but this fact does not affect the dividing point at the turn between chaps. 14 and 15.

<sup>9</sup> Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Composition and Structure in the Book of Revelation," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 344-366.

As Fiorenza has pointed out, this pattern has background counterparts in Greek drama, in Roman narrative poetry, and in Roman art; but antecedents are not lacking in Hebrew literature.<sup>10</sup> The possibility of this type of pattern in the book of Revelation should not be dismissed, and can be set alongside the chiastic one that I have suggested.

In applying the pattern, Fiorenza considers Rev 10:1-15:4 as forming the centerpiece in the concentric structure. My own outline, as sketched above, in Diagram 1, could also rather easily be revised into a concentric-symmetry one; but in this case I would find the centerpiece at 15:2-4, the Song of Moses and the Lamb.

Diagram 3 indicates both the pattern given by Fiorenza and the one that I would propose as a possible variation to a strictly chiastic pattern.

Diagram 3. Possible Alternatives for a Concentric-Symmetry Pattern in the Book of Revelation

FIORENZA'S CONCENTRIC-SYMMETRY SUGGESTION (see Fiorenza, p. 364)	CONCENTRIC-SYMMETRY ALTERNATIVE TO STRAND'S OUTLINE OF CHIASTIC STRUCTURE IN DIAGRAM 1
A. 1:1-8	A. 1:1-11
B. 1:9-3:22	B. 1:12-3:22
C. 4:1-9:21; 11:15-19	C. 4:1-8:1
D. 10:1-15:4	Da. 8:2-11:18
C' 15:1, 5-19:10	Db. 11:19-14:20
B' 19:11-22:9	E. 15:2-4 (Song of Moses and the Lamb)
A' 22:10-22:21	Da' 15:1, 5-16:21
	Db' 17:1-18:24
	C' 19:1-21:4
	B' 21:5-22:5
	A' 22:6-21

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 365-366. For examples from Hebrew background, she refers to the work of R. Pesch on Jonah and to that of A. Vanhoye regarding the NT Epistle to the Hebrews. It may be added that the ancient Near East yields further pertinent examples. See, e.g., the brief but interesting discussion of Cyrus Gordon, *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (Ventnor, N.J., 1953), pp. 72-73, where mention is made of an "ABA" pattern in the Code of Hammurabi and the Book of Job (prose prologue and epilogue, with center section in poetry) and in the book of Daniel (beginning and end in Hebrew with center section in Aramaic). On a basis of content, Dan 9 reflects also somewhat of a concentric-symmetry pattern, a matter which will be dealt with by Jacques Doukhan in a forthcoming article in *AUSS*.

Fiorenza has correctly recognized that the material in the Revelation is theologically-thematically conceived and that the book gives evidence of "unitary composition."<sup>11</sup> Her basis, however, for concluding that 10:1-15:4 is the center of the book by being "the prophetic interpretation of the political and religious situation of the community"<sup>12</sup> is not clear. If indeed this particular aspect of the book's message could be determined to lie at the center (and by what criteria is such to be determined?), how can we arrive at the next conclusion—that 10:1-15:4 provides the basic portrayal indicated? Are not, e.g., the messages to the seven churches a more clear and more explicit "prophetic interpretation of the political and religious situation of the community"? And in any event, why limit the section itself to 10:1-15:4, when on literary grounds there is an Egypt-Babylon unit which embraces this section (at least to 14:20) but which actually *begins earlier*, at 8:2? (See my discussion on pp. 403-404.)

The theological-thematic basis for the chiasmic pattern that I have outlined in Diagram 1 has already surfaced somewhat in my discussion above and will be substantiated further in the concluding section of this article. The arguments for it would also serve to substantiate the concentric-symmetry variation I have presented in Diagram 3. However, at present I must still favor the chiasmic pattern over the concentric-symmetry one, inasmuch as 15:2-4 fits the former pattern better than the latter. The angels with the bowls are introduced in 15:1 *before* the Song of Moses and the Lamb, thus tying this song to the bowls septet. There appears to be no textual basis for altering the arrangement; and in fact, the placing of vss. 1 and 5 in immediate sequence yields a somewhat clumsy reading, which is not the case if the text is allowed to remain as it presently stands. Also, the fact should be noted that this literary structure of a "victorious vision" after the first mention of angels with the bowls is parallel to that in chap. 8, where a similar type of "interruption" comes in vss. 2-5, following the first mention of angels with the trumpets. The similarity of literary pattern in these parallel presentations suggests that the Song of Moses and the Lamb has the same

<sup>11</sup> Fiorenza, p. 350.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.



relationship to the bowls vision as the temple scene in 8:2-5 has to the trumpets vision.<sup>13</sup>

### 3. *Conclusion: The Theological-Thematic Arrangement of the Apocalypse*

My basic division of the Revelation into two major parts at the turn between chaps. 14 and 15 is built on a literary analysis of thematic counterparts, supported by consideration of the two-fold theme of the book itself as enunciated in both the prologue and epilogue.

As for the counterparts, the section on the 7 Churches relates to the New Jerusalem-New Earth section as "promise and fulfillment," with promises to the overcomer in the first section finding their eschatological-reward counterpart in the second section (there are also a number of other thematic parallels).<sup>14</sup> The Throne-Room/7-Seals section in 4:1-8:1 has numerous parallels with the section from 19:1-21:4 (these include the basic setting of the throne, 24 elders, 4 living creatures, and anthems of praise; references to God's "judging and avenging" the blood of the martyrs; depiction of a conquering rider on a white horse and of the scenes with earth's kings, great men, etc., in distress or disaster; mention of white clothing, and of the wiping away of tears; etc.). Finally, the double section of trumpets and dragon-plus-beasts in 8:2-14:20 finds clear and obvious counterparts in the double section on plagues and beast/Babylon in 15:1-18:24. (The underlying unity in each of these "double sections" has been noted above as being connected with the Egypt-Babylon motif.)

The sections of the book up to the end of chap. 14, it should be observed, deal with conditions in historical setting—the church still defective and in need of warning, an outcry of how long until God will judge and avenge the martyrs, trumpet warnings, and evil powers in aggression against Christ and his followers (each sequence, however, *leading up to* the time of eschatological judgment). The sections from chap. 15 onward deal with con-

<sup>13</sup> See my *Interpreting*, p. 48, for an outline of a recurring literary pattern that includes a "victorious vision."

<sup>14</sup> For information on these and other counterparts to be mentioned below, see my *Interpreting*, pp. 45-47.

ditions in an eschatological-judgment setting—the church rewarded, the acclamation that God has judged and avenged the martyrs, plague punishments on beast-worshippers, and the evil powers judged by God (with only the explanatory and appeal items in these sections having reference to the “historical era”).

This twofold division bears what I consider an intentional relationship to the twice-enunciated twofold theme of the book of Revelation: Christ’s return and the presence of the Alpha and Omega (1:7-8; 22:12-13). The references to Christ’s coming to give rewards look ahead to eschatological judgment, and thus find their basic exposition in the second major division of the book. The Alpha-Omega references give assurance of the divine presence even in an historical age which treats Christ’s followers ill, and thus these references relate primarily to the lines of thought developed in the first major division of the book.

## BOOK REVIEWS

Baker, D. L. *Two Testaments, One Bible: A Study of Some Modern Solutions to the Theological Problem of the Relationship Between the Old and New Testaments*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1977. 554 pp. Paperback, \$7.95.

This is a photomechanically reproduced typescript of a slightly revised Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Sheffield in 1975. Its purpose is very well stated in the subtitle. Since the NT records the story of Jesus Christ and the birth of the Christian church, does this church then need an OT? If so, why? What is the relationship between the Testaments which constitute the Bible of the church? Is the NT to be considered as of greater authority than the OT? Or is the OT the real Bible for the Christian so that the NT is overshadowed by, and of lesser importance than, the former? How is the apparent tension between the Testaments to be resolved? These and other basic questions receive careful attention.

The opening chapter (pp. 19-93) provides a concise survey of the problem, with particular emphasis on the NT's view of the OT and the development of the problem from the Apostolic Fathers and Marcion through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and on to our own century. The current issues of "progressive revelation" and neo-Marcionism receive special attention, and are shown to lead to a devaluation or virtual rejection of the OT, claiming that the OT is imperfect and inferior to the later superior stage, i.e. the NT.

The second part of Baker's study (pp. 95-154) takes up the solutions of theologians such as A. A. van Ruler and K. H. Miskotte who share the conviction that the OT is the essential Bible and the NT but its interpretative glossary or its Christian sequel, respectively. But to group together with the former the positions of J. Barr and H. Wheeler Robinson seems to reflect the same lack of discrimination and perception that is manifested in the section on "Sectarian Impatience." All attempts to view the OT superior to the NT are found to be wanting.

Next are treated several NT solutions (pp. 155-206). These view the OT as a non-Christian presupposition (R. Bultmann) or as a mere witness to the promise of Christ (F. Baumgärtel). The positions of E. Hirsch and F. Hesse are also briefly reviewed, compared and criticized. Baker points out that the NT solutions are faulty because they lead to an inadequate appreciation of the OT's contribution to the interrelationship between the Testaments. No mention is made of J. A. T. Robinson and P. van Buren whose positions are related to those who offer NT solutions. Surprisingly, A. H. J. Gunneweg's incisive critique of F. Baumgärtel is passed over in silence.

The fourth part of this study is not only the longest (pp. 207-359) but in every respect the most significant. Four "biblical" solutions are considered. The christological approach to the OT by W. Vischer is discussed in detail. The arguments in favor of a christological approach by E. Jacob, G. A. F.

Knight, and others are briefly (too briefly!) mentioned. Nevertheless the frequently misunderstood christological solution is rehabilitated. The second "biblical" solution affirmed by Baker is typology. This is clearly distinguished from allegory, symbolism, exegesis, prophecy, or a system. On the positive side typology is said to be historical and implies a real correspondence. "The basis of typology is God's consistent activity in the history of his chosen people" (p. 267). The third and fourth solutions are salvation history (G. von Rad and followers) and the tension between continuity and discontinuity (particularly T. C. Vriezen, H. H. Rowley, and C. H. Dodd), respectively. Although some fundamental weaknesses in von Rad's concept of salvation history are recognized, Baker feels that von Rad has made a contribution possibly greater than that of any other modern scholar.

But Baker's virtual identification of tradition history with salvation history in the work of von Rad must be challenged. Von Rad's traditio-historical method analyzes the growth of the OT from the earliest beginnings to the final form in which the canonized books are preserved. The resulting reconstruction of the history of tradition is a hypothetical picture of the development of "tradition before scripture" (J. Barr's phrase) and as such cannot be used to explain the theological relationship between the Testaments. By the time of Christ, the OT had already been fixed and canonized as Scripture for some time (see S. Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture* [Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1976]), so that the use and interpretation of the OT by NT Christians cannot be taken to be another stage in the traditio-historical process. Hence the combination of tradition history with salvation history as a "biblical" solution for the equality of the Testaments must be called into question. This stricture does not mean that there is no agreement on a reciprocal relationship between the Testaments.

An appendix surveys the current debate about the center of the OT (pp. 377-386) and suggests that "there is indeed a unity in the Old Testament but it cannot be expressed by a single concept" (p. 386). This reviewer agrees with the first part of this sentence but has argued elsewhere that the center of the OT is God himself ("The Problem of the Center in the OT Theology Debate," *ZAW* 86 [1974]: 65-82). Baker leaves the impression, however, that he has not discerned the difference between the center of the OT as such and the function of a center as the key category for the structure of an OT theology.

On the whole this monograph is a highly informative investigation. Its main fault is that too many key issues are touched on without providing needed in-depth treatments. But in the end this may provide a welcome stimulation for others to carry on where Baker left off.

The volume is graced with useful indexes of authors, subjects, and biblical references. A very rich bibliography, which encompasses no fewer than 135 pages with about 1800 entries, will prove to be a treasure house for further research.

Edington, Andrew. *The Word Made Fresh*. 3 vols. Atlanta: John Knox, 1975. Paperback, \$13.95.

The translator is a layman, not a professionally trained biblical scholar, and his work is not a translation but rather a paraphrase. It is much freer than Taylor's Living Bible and reminds one at times of Jordan's Cotton Patch Version. It is also an abbreviated version, since a good part of the Bible has been omitted and what is included is often condensed. The language is quite colloquial and pungent. Accuracy is not its virtue, but it provides interesting reading and is down to earth. As I read, I found myself smiling at times and at other times bursting into laughter. Needless to say, one would not read this paraphrase for doctrinal or scholarly purposes.

Chapters are indicated but no verses (it would be impossible to do this because Edington condenses so much). As to be expected, the type is laid out as a regular book in paragraphs. Some of the footnotes are hilarious. Usually they give the biblical name for the name used in the text, which is a modernization such as Tom, Dick, and Harry for Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

Some of the features of this paraphrase may be listed and illustrated as follows:

1. *Colloquialisms*. Gen 9:24-26: "When Noah learned of this, he chewed out his younger son"; Gen 19:19: "Lot bucked at this injunction"; Gen 19:32: "when he was too stoned to know what was happening"; Gen 25:39: "Esau came in . . . pooped out."

2. *Modernization of names of people and places*. Judg 1: Scarlotti for Kirjathsepher, Raquel for Achsah, sheriff of Cade County for Othniel, Rotarians for Jebusites; Judg 3: evil king of New Orleans for Eglon, Mac the Knife for Ehud; Judg 4: Jesse James for Sisera, Carrie for Deborah, General Maybe for Barak, Mac East for Jael.

3. *Anachronisms*. Gen 26: "Esau had married two Hippie girls"; Judg 3: "and he concealed it [the dagger] carefully by sticking it to his thigh with scotch tape"; Judg 4: "took a huge hammer and a railroad spike and nailed Jesse's head to the ground"; Judg 6: The angel's reply to Gideon is, "Bring an uncooked TV dinner and place it on the rock before me," and after this was done, fire came out and "cooked the TV dinner as if by laser beam"; Judg 7: Gideon's attack is called planning "the first Halloween"; Dan 1: The food given to Daniel and his companions is described as "caviar and cherry jubilee," and the person in charge is called "the Dean of Student Life"; Dan 2: the king rewards Daniel with "a new Mastercharge card"; Matt 26: "Then Slick, the high priest, started shredding Kleenex."

4. *Remarks in footnotes*. Matt 26: His comment on the passage where the soldiers spit on Jesus is, "If I had been God, this is about where I'd knocked some heads flying." Matt 27: After Judas returns to the elders and priests confessing his wrong in betraying Jesus, they answer, "Tough stuff, man, but you can't unscramble these eggs." His comment is "It can't even be done today. There is no un-mix master." Acts 8: After Philip goes to Atlanta (Samaria), men are healed and there is great rejoicing. His comment is "Better even than the Falcons winning." Acts 9: Commenting on the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (J. Con), he says, "Sounds like immersion, Presbyterians. Sorry about that." Heb 7: Where the "order of Levi" is mentioned, he comments, "Nothing to do with pants." Dan 3: Regarding the

observance of the three Hebrews not bowing down, he comments, "I've always been puzzled by the ability of people with their heads bowed to see those that aren't." Dan 4: Regarding Nebuchadnezzar's becoming insane and eating grass, he comments, "A bad situation in an election year."

I now present a few complete passages so that the reader will be able to get a flavor of the version:

Gen 25: "'If I don't eat I'll die; so what's the price?' asked Esau. 'Your right to the ranch,' said Jacob. Whereupon Esau sold his rights to the ranch for a square meal."

Judg 7: "The next day as the terrified gangsters fled helter-skelter, the self-deferred draftees began to come out of the neighboring villages and they joined in the chase and in the slaughter. The Dalton boys themselves, the two leaders, had their heads removed and brought to Gideon's trophy room."

Judg 12: "At each crossing place, the representatives of Big Jake would say to every man that came to cross, 'What number follows thirteen?' Those who said 'fourteen' were allowed to cross but those who said 'foteen' were killed, for their accent betrayed their home country."

Mal 1: "'What do you do wrong? I'm glad you asked! For one thing, you bring gifts to the church, leftovers to the family night supper, and stale bread for the communion table. How does that grab you?"

'What's more, you pay your church pledge with blind animals, or sick doves, and you claim more deductions than you give. You wouldn't try to cheat the IRS, would you? Why then do you try to cheat God?'"

Matt 7: "'There is no point in your wasting good teaching and true inspiration on insensitive and antagonist [*sic*] people. It would be like insisting on putting a pearl necklace on a pig.'"

Matt 18: "It would be better to be one legged than always kicking old ladies in the shin."

John 6: "'Moses gave you regular sandwich type bread. The bread of God comes from heaven. It is the true bread, and it provides a true life, and is the real heart beat of the world,' said Jesus."

The translator must be a very interesting individual, full of wisdom and original insights, uninhibited and practical. His version is not accurate or scholarly (it is sometimes even wild), but it is always enjoyable and helps to move us out from the ruts of too-familiar Bible passages.

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SAKAE KUBO

Gamble, Harry, Jr. *The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans: A Study in Textual and Literary Criticism*. Studies and Documents, 42. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977. 151 pp. Paperback, \$12.00.

This publication marks the beginning of the series, Studies and Documents, under a new editor and publisher. If this first volume indicates the level of quality we can expect for future ones, we can be assured of a first-class series. This volume applies textual and literary critical methodology to the solution of the problem concerning the integrity of the Letter to the Romans. It represents a revision of a dissertation presented to the Graduate School of Yale University.

In chap. 1, the author sets forth in full all the textual evidence supporting the fourteen-, fifteen-, and sixteen-chapter forms which have been claimed as the original form of the Letter to the Romans. In chap. 2, he first shows that the fourteen-chapter form could not have been original since the subject matter of chap. 14 concludes only with 15:13 and the letter would also not have an epistolary conclusion. Having disposed of the fourteen-chapter form as a viable option, he then sets forth the arguments for the fifteen-chapter form. These are that Rom 16 has a large number of greetings, the persons greeted are met with elsewhere, and the admonition in 16:17-20 is unsuitable to a church which Paul had not visited. Because of the persons named in the greetings, proponents of this view consider Ephesus as the destination of Rom 16. Two forms of this view have been put forth. The first form, set forth by Manson, maintains that Rom 1-15 was sent to Rome but Rom 1-16 to Ephesus. Both were written by Paul. The second form regards Rom 16 as only a part of a larger letter sent to Ephesus (the rest being lost) and that only later was Rom 1-15 joined to 16 by a redactor. After examining the evidence for this non-Roman hypothesis of Rom 16, the author concludes that evidence found in Rom 16 is more favorable for a Roman rather than an Ephesian destination.

In chap. 3, the author examines in detail the Pauline epistolary conclusions. This literary critical part of his study shows that the epistolary conclusions of Rom 16 correspond with the characteristics of conclusions found in his other letters. Either Rom 16 formed the concluding fragment of the lost letter to Ephesus and the Roman conclusion itself was excised or lost, or it is the fitting conclusion to the Roman letter. The former is highly unlikely. No reason for the excision of the original conclusion to Romans can be set forth, and the likelihood of the coincident occurrence of the Roman letter losing its conclusion and the Ephesian letter losing its body is highly improbable. Thus the letter form and style of Rom 16 favor the view that this chapter was an original part of Paul's letter to the Romans.

In chap. 4, the author traces the history of the shorter forms of the letter. By careful scrutiny of all the evidence, he rejects the traditional view that the fourteen-chapter form was due to Marcion. He shows that it originated from a tendency to generalize the letter in order to make it applicable to all churches. This led to the omission of 1:7, 15, and of other personal matters in the conclusion. He also shows that the same reason led to the fifteen-chapter form. This chapter shows the skill of the author in critically analyzing a problem, finding weaknesses in arguments, and marshalling his evidence for his position. Too often theories are set forth whose evidence or logic does not compel one to accept the conclusion.

Thus the author concludes that the integrity of Romans is maintained. Only the doxology (16:25-27), which was created to form a suitable conclusion to the short form of the letter, is not original. The author also indicates that his study may contribute to the solution of the problem concerning the purpose of the letter by maintaining the non-generalizing character of the letter. He adds some caution concerning too-hasty attempts at partitioning letters. He calls for a more rigorous method that would be less reliant upon purely literary evidence without a close examination of how the writer in fact operates. A more holistic and comprehensive approach would preserve

us from one-sided theories that fail to satisfy the complete evidence.

He adds two short appendices which show implications of his study for other areas—the influence of early liturgies and the literary problems of Philippians.

The volume is a model for research. It is well-reasoned and written with clarity. The author's words are well-chosen and free from verbosity. His study of epistolary conclusions and its application to the integrity of Romans and his analysis and rejection of the Marcion hypothesis for the fourteenth-chapter form stand out as real contributions in this area of study. While he seemed to have touched all bases, one question still remained in the mind of this reviewer. While the generalizing view may be valid for the origin of the fourteen-chapter theory, it is still not clear how this could be possible since the subject at the end of Rom 14 continues on to Rom 15:13.

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SAKAE KUBO

Hayes, J. H., and Miller, J. M., eds. *Israelite and Judaean History*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1977. 736 pp. \$25.00.

The eleven chapters in this book begin with an essay on historiography and then discuss in chronological order all the periods of biblical history from the patriarchs down to the fate of Judaism following the revolt of A.D. 66-74. Thus the last two chapters cover what could be classified as the historical background of the NT. Only the chapters on OT history are reviewed below.

The reader should realize that books currently written on this subject generally represent one or the other of two viewpoints: the historical-archaeological positivist approach represented by the American scholars W. F. Albright, G. E. Wright, and John Bright, or the form and literary critical negativist (sometimes nihilist) viewpoint of the German scholars A. Alt, M. Noth, and M. Weippert. Although this book is a composite consisting of contributions from a dozen scholars, the viewpoint from which these contributions were written is consistently that of the German school of writing on OT history. In evaluating the following review the reader should take into account the fact that the reviewer writes from the other historical point of view.

A considerable amount of useful information has been collected in the first chapter on historiography, but some of it is inaccurate and elsewhere it wanders wide of the point. The important survey of the 19th and 20th centuries is extremely brief and could have been expanded with profit at the expense of some of the preceding material. Conservative historians of the modern period are dismissed with the statement, "In the following chapters, practically no attention will be given to this view since it does not assume that one has to reconstruct the history of Israel; one has only to support and elucidate the adequate history which the Bible already provides" (p. 66). Curiously, when the authors of the next four chapters get through with Israel in the second millennium B.C., there is no history left here to reconstruct either.



In the first half of chap. 2 W. G. Dever, whose name was misspelled Denver in the Table of Contents, provides a very useful survey of Middle Bronze (MB) and Late Bronze (LB) archaeology as a background for the patriarchal period. As far as results are concerned, Dever does not find a place for the patriarchs in the MB or LB periods of Palestinian archaeology and suggests that we might find some information illuminating their circumstances in the Mari texts which refer to the activities of the pastoralists in the area. In the second half of this chapter W. M. Clark surveys the literary critical and tradition history views of the patriarchal narratives. His results are negative too. Clark prefers one of the fictional interpretations.

The major discussant of Joseph and Moses in the second chapter of this book is T. L. Thompson. In 1974 Thompson published a book entitled *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (BZAW 133) in which he did not find any historicity to the patriarchal narratives. He comes to the same result concerning the narratives of Joseph and Moses. In one section of this chapter Dorothy Irvin discusses the literary motifs in these narratives. Some of her parallels from the ancient Near East are very interesting, but to reduce Joseph and Moses to mere literary motifs is a *reductio ad absurdum*.

Miller starts his discussion of the Israelite occupation of Canaan in chap. 3 by stressing, as Alt and Noth have done, the tension between Josh 1-11 (the conquest under Joshua) and Judg 1 (the story of the incomplete conquest). He then reviews the archaeological evidence from the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages that might be relevant in elucidating the history of the Israelite occupation of Canaan, but he does not find much here that is relevant. From these negative results he reviews the five different theories about how that occupation took place. He discards most, and ends up with a kind of modified Alt-Noth approach: "It was rather a matter of the pan-Israelite consciousness gradually emerging in Palestine among tribal groups which had their own individual origins and still were only loosely associated with each other at the time of the establishment of the monarchy" (p. 280).

A. D. H. Hayes's chapter on Judges begins with a literary critical analysis of the book and then continues on to a discussion of the Alt-Noth hypothesis of the presence of an amphictyony in Israel during this period. After reviewing current criticisms of this hypothesis, Hayes rejects it. This is the only clearcut departure from a view of the Alt-Noth school found in this book up to this point. G. von Rad's view of Holy War during the period of the Judges is modified. The first oppression and judgeship are considered unhistorical, but the second is accepted as reflecting an historical event. The prose and poetic accounts of the third episode are set in contrast, and even the old poem in Judg 5 is not considered to be a unity. Hayes admits that Jael killed Sisera, but the nature of the rest of these events is considered to be obscure, although it is admitted that there probably was a battle of some kind or other.

Much of the account of Gideon versus the Midianites is rejected, although Hayes believes that there probably was an historical kernel to it. He seems to accept the correlation of the archaeological evidence from Shechem with the Abimelech episode, but he refers to it in only one sentence. Most of the narrative describing Jephthah and the Ammonites is rejected,

though some kind of battle probably was fought between them. The chapters in Judges on Samson are never discussed, and the Benjaminite War receives the attention of only one page, with the account considered to be badly garbled.

To summarize this book thus far, it can be said of biblical history in the second millennium (i. e., from Abraham through the Judges) that this work represents a clearcut presentation of historical writing in the finest traditions of the Alt-Noth school. One wonders sometimes why scholars in this school even bother to write the history of this period, since there was none. A refutation of the views described above cannot be presented here because it would require a volume of almost equal length to do so.

Views on the history of the monarchy and its aftermath are not so widely divergent, so we will only spot-check a few points from this period. In spite of the fact that no direct Canaanite prototype for Solomon's temple has been excavated (the prototype really was the Tabernacle), and in spite of the fact that there was a vast functional difference between Canaanite and Israelite use of temples (Canaanites worshipped inside, Israelites worshipped outside), J. A. Soggin sees much Canaanite influence upon Solomon's temple (p. 368). In chap. 8, B. Oded rejects the theory that Sennacherib conducted two campaigns against Hezekiah (p. 451). For the alternative view on this problem, see S. H. Horn's discussion in *AUSS* 4 (1966): 1-28.

In some respects the discussion of the Ezra-Nehemiah problem is one of the more interesting in this volume. According to the theory widely held among critical scholars, Nehemiah preceded Ezra. In his presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature in 1974, Frank Cross rejected that view and returned to the traditional order of Ezra-Nehemiah, dating Ezra's mission in 458/7. This was done largely on the basis of applying the principle of papponymy to the names of the high priests referred to in Ezra and Nehemiah. Cross elucidated this principle from the use of personal names in the 4th-century Samaritan papyri from the Wadi Daliyeh, which were entrusted to him for publication (*JBL* 94 [1975]: 4-18). In adhering to the classical critical order of Nehemiah-Ezra, G. Widengren has presented the first criticism that I have seen in print of Cross's views (pp. 503-509), hence scholarly discussion on the order of Ezra and Nehemiah continues.

Esther is dismissed with the sentence, "The book of Esther purports to be a narrative about events which took place at the Persian court during the days of king Ahasuerus (Xerxes), but it is primarily a piece of propaganda on behalf of the feast of Purim and without much historical value" (p. 496). For a discussion of Esther from the opposite point of view see my study, "Esther and History," *AUSS* 14 (1976): 227-246.

This volume contains an extensive collection of useful information on the subjects treated, but the reader should clearly understand the viewpoint from which that information has been incorporated into its history of the biblical period. Also, in general the format of the book is attractive, printing errors appear to be infrequent, and each section of each chapter provides the reader with a fairly extensive and quite up-to-date bibliography on the subject treated.

*Human Sexuality: New Directions in American Catholic Thought.* A Study Commissioned by the Catholic Theological Society of America. New York: Paulist, 1977. 322 pp. \$8.50.

This volume is the fruit of a study by the Committee on the Study of Human Sexuality which was commissioned by the Catholic Theological Society of America. The Board of the Society voted to "receive" and arrange for its publication, but by this action it implied neither the approval nor disapproval by the Society or its Board of Directors. The procedure is intended as a service to the Society's members and other interested persons.

The report is well planned and executed. The first section deals with "The Bible and Human Sexuality," the second with "Christian Tradition and Human Sexuality," the third with "The Empirical Sciences and Human Sexuality," the fourth with "Toward a Theology of Human Sexuality," and the last with "Pastoral Guidelines for Human Sexuality." All the parts of the study contribute to the last section. As the committee says, "It is this moral and pastoral perspective that has determined the principal focus of our work" (p. 240).

While the conclusions of the report are not radical in comparison with what writers in general say today, they must surely be considered such with reference to the Catholic context. While individual Catholic writers have deviated in various ways from the normative Catholic position, this is the first time that a Committee of such an important society has deviated in so wide-ranging a manner from the official position. The report differs from the official position not only regarding contraception, but also concerning sterilization, artificial insemination, child-free marriage, masturbation, and homosexuality. The basic criterion used to evaluate how a Catholic should relate to these is whether they foster creative growth toward integration. The focus is on the personal and interpersonal values rather than on the act itself.

While various views on each issue are presented objectively and answers are not simply "yes" or "no" but always based on the criterion mentioned above, what is significant is that the report does not find the more liberal position regarding these issues incompatible with the criterion. Thus, the report allows the responsible use of artificial contraception, sterilization, and artificial insemination (including by donor). It expresses caution in the use of the intrauterine device and morning-after pill because of questions concerning their relation to abortion. A child-free marriage can be responsible, and common law marriage especially for the elderly can be creative and integrative. While rejecting the extreme views that homosexual acts are intrinsically evil or that they are essentially good and natural, the report allows for the position that while such are wrong they may be the lesser of two evils. This would be the case where fidelity to one partner obtains in a mature homosexual relationship and when sexual acts are judged in terms of relational values. Regarding masturbation, the report concludes, "To condemn every act of masturbation harshly as mortal sin or to dismiss it lightly as of no moral consequence fails to do justice to the symptomatic nature of masturbation capable of many meanings" (p. 228). The underlying cause of such activity should be determined, since masturbation may only be a symptom, as in the case of compensatory or pathological masturbation. Masturbation for medical reasons, such as in obtaining semen for fertility

testing or for diagnosing certain venereal infections, is allowed as well as its use "to obtain reasonable relief from excessive sexual tension or to preserve fidelity" (p. 227). The report is sympathetic to adolescent masturbation but urges support and direction in fostering growth and interrelationship with others.

Perhaps what is most significant in this report is the approach or the criterion on which it bases its evaluation of the different sexual activities. The official Catholic position begins with natural law and fixed rules and laws emphasizing the act, whereas this report begins with personal values and interpersonal relationships. This leads to a radical difference in results. The former's position is predictably negative in regard to such possibilities as in-vitro fertilization, but the latter is more open. This openness is such a dominant feature of the report that even when it disapproves it does not condemn.

Another difference of approach is the weight that this report gives to the findings of the empirical sciences which the official Catholic position neglects. These two factors, the criterion and the regard for findings of the empirical sciences, are the cause for the significant differences in the two positions.

The conservatives in the church will be disconcerted with the openness and the advanced positions taken in this book. While the report was not approved by the Society, the fact that it arranged for its publication would surely bring it into contention with the hierarchy. It is an important theological society, and while the committee is careful in stating that they see their "efforts as contributing not to dissent but rather development of Church teaching" (p. 240), their involvement with the report will surely be considered as dissent by the hierarchy.

Unfortunately, the report does not deal with other aspects of human sexuality, such as divorce, abortion, or genetic engineering.

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SAKAE KUBO

Keel, Othmar, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 84/85. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977. 410 pp. 257 figs. 5 pls. DM 134.—

The greatest value of this book does not lie in the number of new ideas advocated, but in the full presentation of all pertinent material which sheds light on the subjects under discussion. The author not only takes into account the views and findings of previous commentators on these subjects but has collected a tremendous amount of comparative material from the ancient Near East to support his views. The 257 line drawings, of which two thirds were made by the author's wife Hildi Leu, enhance the value of the book, since it allows the reader to check the author's reasonings, arguments, and claims without having to engage in a time-consuming search for publications where pictures of certain discussed objects or monuments may be found. Authors dealing with biblical subjects can learn on this point from Keel, who together with his publisher deserves our gratitude.

The book is concerned with four subject matters of which the first one,

dealt with in the first and shortest chapter of the book, is not mentioned in the book's title: The cherubim of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:23-28) and of Yahweh's throne (e.g., Ps 99:1). On the basis of numerous parallels in ancient Near Eastern art the author shows that the cherubim must have been winged quadrupeds. Thrones appear as representations on many ivories, seals, and sculptures, on which gods or kings sit on winged, sphinx-like creatures, but never on human-shaped beings. His views are in agreement with those of W. F. Albright, R. de Vaux, and others who have expressed themselves in recent years on this subject.

The second chapter is devoted to Isaiah's vision of Yahweh's glory, as recorded in Isa 6, but is especially interested in the nature of the seraphim. These six-winged, angelic beings, which were seen by the prophet as standing or hovering above Yahweh, have customarily been considered to be winged, human-shaped beings. Keel, however, agreeing with R. K. Joines's recent studies, sees in them winged, cobra-like creatures. He bases his argument on the fact that in every other biblical passage where the word *šaraph*, plural *šeraphim*, occurs, including two passages in Isaiah (14:29 and 30:6), it is rendered "serpent." The ancients in their imagery were familiar with winged serpents. This is attested by representations of such creatures on many monuments and numerous seals throughout the ancient Near East. The author also points out that the seraphim of Isaiah's vision are neither standing underneath Yahweh as the cherubim do, nor on the same level next to him, but rather above the enthroned Lord. Keel refers in this connection to the many Egyptian shrines or places where the lintels of the windows-of-appearance or the friezes above the thrones are decorated with rows of cobras which were there to protect the king or god. In some cases the protecting cobras are shown as winged creatures, although such serpents had either two or four wings, but never six wings as in Isaiah's vision.

The third chapter deals with Ezekiel's visions of God's glory in chaps. 1 and 10 and the angelic beings described there. While most commentators have recognized that the prophet uses the imagery of composite creatures with which the people of his time were familiar, exact parallels to the beings seen by the prophet have been difficult to find. Keel faces the same problem. Multi-headed, winged creatures are depicted at various places, but not beings in which every one of the four heads was different like those Ezekiel describes. Furthermore, there are no close parallels to such beings attached to wheels, although some Near-Eastern deities are shown in ancient works of art as being moved on wheeled carts.

The vision of Zech 4 is discussed in Keel's last chapter. In this vision the prophet saw a lampstand which served as the base of seven seven-spouted lamps standing between two olive trees. Such lampstands, usually about five feet (ca. 1.5 m.) high, are known from Egyptian and Assyrian reliefs, and one such stand, though much smaller, was found in excavations at Gezer. Also seven-spouted lamps are well known from the excavations of several ancient sites in Palestine. However, it seems that the author did not find close parallels to the whole picture of Zechariah's vision, since he directs the reader to certain pictorial representations of standards which carry the crescent of the moon at their top while they are flanked on both sides by trees or tree branches. The author believes that Zechariah was influenced

by this imagery, and substituted light-giving lamps on a lampstand for the light-giving lunar crescent on a standard. This reviewer finds Keel's interpretation unsatisfactory and difficult to accept.

The reader of this book in which a tremendous amount of comparative material is collected may occasionally disagree with the interpretations presented, but he cannot avoid being challenged and stimulated. Every student of the Bible will profit from reading it and will gain insights about the imagery of the ancient world which in turn will help him to understand the contemporary imagery of the Bible writers that sometimes seems strange and alien to us 20th-century people.

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SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Paxton, Geoffrey J. *The Shaking of Adventism*. Wilmington, Del.: Zenith, 1977. 172 pp. \$6.95.

While the author, an Anglican clergyman, regards the Seventh-day Adventist Church as a genuinely Christian body and rejects the charge that it is a mere sect, he raises questions concerning the claim that the Adventist movement is a perpetuation, extension, and final completion of the sixteenth-century Reformation. He argues that the heart of Reformation faith was the doctrine of justification which Luther, Calvin, and other Reformers defined as God's forensic act of pronouncing the believer righteous on the basis of Christ's merits. Any concept of justification as *making righteous* is relegated by Paxton to the category of medieval and Tridentine Roman Catholicism. Here is the basis of his major critique of Seventh-day Adventism. He feels that to a greater or lesser extent most Adventist authors, with the exception of a few contemporaries, have regressed to Roman Catholicism either by defining justification as the act by which God makes righteous, or by incorporating sanctification into the *sola fide* doctrine, regarding it as a vital aspect of God's saving work for man. "For the Reformers, Christ alone meant Jesus Christ the God-man, and not Christ's indwelling the believer by the Holy Spirit" (p. 42).

It should be pointed out that although Ellen G. White and other Adventist authors have depicted Adventism as an extension of the Reformation, they have consistently maintained the doctrine of *Sola Scriptura*. Scripture, not Reformation theology, is stated to be the sole authoritative source of their faith. Insofar as the Reformers are regarded as Scripturally sound, their teachings are accepted; otherwise they are rejected. Paxton's critique would have been far more pertinent if it had stemmed from an exegetical study resulting in evaluation of Adventist biblical exegesis. Never once does he attempt to exegete any Bible passage, even though he invokes Paul's authority for his theology of justification.

Not only has Paxton failed to apprehend that the Scriptures, not the Reformers, are the ultimate authority for Adventists; he has also failed to grasp a true understanding of the Reformers' view of justification. In ignoring the inner work of the Holy Spirit as an integral part of God's justifying act, Paxton overlooks a major Reformation motif. Luther con-

tradicted Paxton's thesis in *The Disputation Concerning Justification* (1536) by asserting that "this movement of justification is the work of God in us, to which our propositions refer" (Luther's Works, Am. ed., 34: 177; hereinafter cited LW). In the same work he explained his teaching that God's righteousness is outside of us. "To be outside of us means not to be out of our powers. Righteousness is our possession, to be sure, since it was given to us out of mercy. Nevertheless, it is foreign to us, because we have not merited it" (LW, 34: 178). Luther insisted that the righteousness of Christ is "in us but is entirely outside of us in Christ and yet becomes our very own, as though we ourselves had achieved and earned it" (LW, 24: 347; cf. 26: 26, 130, 151). This righteousness is bestowed by the Holy Spirit (LW, 27: 172, 238, 332; 13:5; WA 39/1: 435, 483, 383, 388). It is both complete and partial; complete since it is participation in Christ's righteousness, partial since man in his human nature remains a sinful being (LW, 32: 227-228, 232).

Despite his opposition to Osiander, John Calvin taught as did Luther on this issue, Paxton notwithstanding. Calvin rejected the Scholastic notion of a *habitus* created in the soul of man by the Holy Spirit (*Institutes*, iii.11.5). Nevertheless, he understood justification (imputation) as involving a "mystical union" with Christ, by which he meant "the residence of Christ in our hearts" (*ibid.* iii. 11.10). "Hence we do not view him as at a distance and without us, but as we have put him on, and been ingrafted into his body, he designs to make us one with himself, and, therefore, we glory in having a fellowship of righteousness with him" (*ibid.*; cf. iii. 1.1, 3; iv. 17.10; i. 1.1; *Comm. on John 17:21*). Paxton seems unable to distinguish between righteousness bestowed by the presence of the Holy Spirit in the life and the Scholastic and Tridentine doctrine of essential righteousness. It is the former view, thoroughly germane to Reformation theology, which many Adventist authors (including Ellen G. White) have consistently maintained.

There is a veritable plethora of recent scholarly literature, not discussed by Paxton, which soundly contradicts his interpretation of the Reformation from either an exegetical or an historical point of view. After a lifetime of study, Paul Althaus in his *Theology of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia, 1966), p. 231, is able to outline Luther's concept of justification as definitely as this: "Christ is the righteousness of men and to this extent this righteousness is outside of us. But Christ is my righteousness only if I appropriate him and make him my own. Only the Christ who is appropriated in faith, that is, the Christ who lives in my heart through faith is my righteousness. Christ is not only the 'object' of faith but is himself present in faith. Through faith Christ is present with and in a man." Althaus discovers both a forensic and an experiential element in justification as defined by the early and the later Luther (*ibid.*, pp. 226, 235). Hence, he contradicts Paxton's distinction between Luther's early and later works dealing with justification (Paxton, p. 37). According to Althaus, Luther argued that in justification a man becomes "righteous in himself" because "God's Holy Spirit is poured into the heart" (pp. 234-235). Significantly, Paxton incorporates Althaus's book into his bibliography but nowhere discusses his interpretation of Luther. Many other Luther specialists agree with Althaus. (See Robin Leaver, *Luther on Justification* [St. Louis, 1975], p. 62; Heinrich Bornkamm,

*Luther's World of Thought* [St. Louis, 1958], p. 170; Regin Prenter, *Spiritus Creator* [Copenhagen, 1976]; Gordon Rupp, *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms, 1521* [London, 1951], pp. 35, 40-41; Rupp, *The Righteousness of God, Luther Studies* [London, 1953], pp. 171-184; Franz Hilderbrandt, *From Luther to Wesley* [London, 1951], pp. 19-24; Jared Wicks, *Man Yearning for Grace* [Wiesbaden, 1969], pp. 104-108.)

Earl F. Gossett, *The Doctrine of Justification in the Theology of John Calvin, Albrecht Ritschl, and Reinhold Niebuhr* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1961), pp. 70-89, convincingly demonstrates that which Paxton denies regarding Calvin's understanding of justification as involving *unio mystica*. Walter E. Stuermann, *Critical Study of Calvin's Concept of Faith* (Tulsa, 1952), pp. 184-196, interprets Calvin's concept of justification very much as Gossett does. So also do Wilhelm Niesel, *The Theology of Calvin* (Philadelphia, 1956), pp. 122-138, and François Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought* (New York, 1950, 1963), pp. 233-263. One could have expected that a thesis such as Paxton's, purporting to criticize Adventist theology on the basis of Reformation teaching, would at least have taken adequate cognizance of well-known works dealing with the thought of Luther and Calvin.

From the exegetical point of view, the whole tenor of Gottlob Schrenk's discussion of *dikaïos* and *dikaïosunē theou* in TDNT, 2: 182-225 (see esp. pp. 205-206), provides very competent validation of the contention that Rom 1:17 and other passages in which Paul uses these words have reference not merely to a divine forensic declaration, but also to a subjective work of the Spirit of God as part of the act by which the believer is justified. Schrenk represents justification as involving an impartation of righteousness to the believer. (For corroboration see Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* [New York, 1968], pp. 213-220, and Günther Bornkamm, *Paul* [New York, 1969, 1971], pp. 136-141). Significantly, H. W. Heidland in his article on *logizomai* (TDNT, vol. 4) recognizes in the Pauline use of the term the allotment of righteousness to the believer (p. 291) so that "he becomes a new creature through God's *logizesthai*. Hence Gal 3:2-6 can equate justification with the receiving of the Spirit and quote Gen 15:6 in support of justification" (p. 292).

Finally, Paxton would do well to heed Gordon Rupp's warning that, not only is Luther "the least typical of Protestants," but also he is incomprehensible to those "who pick out" from his works "elements of Protestant or Catholic orthodoxy and dismiss the rest as muddle" (*The Righteousness of God*, pp. 84, 256). Such a partisan approach to the Reformation is hardly a valid basis for criticizing the theology of Seventh-day Adventism.

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Reist, Benjamin A. *Theology in Red, White, and Black*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975. 203 pp. \$7.50.

Reist's sensitivity to the times has led him to put forth this *Theology in Red, White, and Black*. The movements for black and red liberation and



power, the rewriting of histories as the reds and blacks experienced them rather than as seen by the white man, and the articulation by competent spokesmen of their religious individuality and values come together to make this book an appropriate one for this time. These things have forced the whites to recognize the value of their religions and to reassess them. The building blocks for this theology of theologies are the writings of Ritschl, Barth, Tillich, and Herzog among white Protestant scholars; Vincent Harding, James Cone, and Gayraud Wilmore among the blacks; and the books *Black Elk Speaks* by John G. Neihardt, the *Book of the Hopi* by Frank Waters, Charles Eastman's *The Soul of the Indian*, and the writings of Vine Deloria, Jr., among the reds.

Reist outlines four steps that can lead to such a theology: mutual intelligibility, mutual interdependence, sensitivity to varying rates of relatability, and mutual openness to change. Mutual intelligibility leads to mutual understanding, but it can be achieved only by disciplined openness. We arrive at mutual intelligibility when we recognize the historical individuality of each part of the triangle as well as the parts that make each angle. Integration as usually understood fails to do this, since it is the assimilation of blacks and reds into the white world. Even the blacks should not consider the reds as a sub-category of blacks. What is needed is an integration that recognizes the integrity of each historical individuality. In this new theology, "conversion" also is a bad word. These two words, integration and conversion, "share a common fallacious assumption, the assumption that ultimacy will best be served only if all are alike. The discipline of mutual intelligibility arises from precisely the opposite conviction, that ultimacy is recognizable only when differences are understood and cherished" (p. 63).

Mutual intelligibility must move beyond itself to mutual interdependence. Basic to this is the acceptance of the "Thou" of the other to the "I" of oneself. It not only shatters the oppressed/oppressor relationship but also upsets the one-way movement of ideas into a two-way movement of reciprocal exchange. There is no superior who imposes his values on others, but all are equals who receive from each other. "White theology" has been equated with North Atlantic theology, but "the problem is to recognize that one cannot become white without recognizing one's dependence on the rest of the mosaic that is humanity for one's own self-understanding" (p. 34).

The most difficult chapter to comprehend is that dealing with sensitivity to varying rates of relatability. Perhaps "types" would have been a better word than "rates." What the author has in mind is illustrated in the fact that while whites and blacks have a common biblical foundation, this is not true with the red men, whose religion is of a mystical hue centered on the land.

Mutual intelligibility and interdependence must lead also to mutual openness to change. The encounter of black folk religion and Indian religion with Christianity leads to change both of Christianity and the religions encountered. The process must move from a dialogue to a multilogue in which all sides of the triangle contribute.

Reist's analyses of the various theologians he incorporates into his theology are very helpful. His book is provocative and one that must be taken into consideration in any treatment of American theology or of the

relationship among religions. While in the main his treatment of the topic has been clear, portions of his discussion could be more lucid (and some parts did not appear pertinent). The last two chapters, dealing with "Sensitivity to Varying Rates of Relatability" and "Mutual Openness to Change," were not as clear as the others.

Moreover, it was not clear how he would deal with the question of whether Indians should have both a red Christianity and a red folk religion. The same question applies also to the blacks and to any other ethnic group. Is there no historical individuality for red or black religion as such? Does shared conversion ever lead to conversion to Christianity or only to an improved red religion?

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SAKAE KUBO

Routley, Erik. *Exploring the Psalms*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975. 172 pp. Paperback, \$3.25.

Though not intended for scholars, this book puts the results of sound scholarship to work for the layman. On scholarly points the author is usually "safe," having consulted the commentaries of Weiser (1962), Oesterley (1955), and Briggs (1907), but it was his own experience as Lecturer in Church History, Director of Music, and Chaplain to students at Mansfield College, Oxford, and pastor of churches in England and Scotland, that qualified him "to introduce a reader to the psalms as a basis for his devotions and as a door through which he will come to a special kind of understanding of the Old Testament and of our Lord's teaching" (p. 9). The book begins with a thirty-three-page essay, "The Leading Thoughts of the Psalmists," which gives the background of the psalms in OT history (questions of authorship and dating are dealt with only in a general way, assigning most psalms to four "great historic moments" in Israel's history: the exodus, the combined reigns of David and Solomon, and the crises of 722 and 586 B.C.), delineates the main themes dealt with by the psalmists (e.g., God, creation, mankind, covenant, history, worship, life), and stresses the present (Christian) application of these themes. More satisfying and valuable are the following thirteen chapters which form the heart of the book. These chapters (which were originally published in *Crossroads* where they were associated with the thirteen Sundays from Palm Sunday to Trinity III) consist of brief expositions of selected psalms and their salient points gathered around the themes of suffering, victory, covenant, praise, pilgrimage, royalty, nature, care, the city, faith, life's stress, wisdom, and character. Out of the Psalter's 150 psalms, 95 (not 93 as stated on p. 10) are dealt with in this manner, though passing references are made to 17 more. Though most of the familiar and more important psalms are discussed, among those omitted altogether are Psalms 18, 45, 89, and 92. The volume concludes with a practical five-page epilogue, "On Using the Psalms in Worship," and an index of psalms studied.

Routley handles well such problems as sacrifice (pp. 32, 33), imprecation (pp. 49, 68, 69, 144), NT Messianic usage (pp. 51, 112), conceptual borrowing (p. 103), and textual criticism when it takes away a traditional reading (pp. 95, 102). He makes understandable such Hebrew concepts as *Sheol* (pp. 34, 35), the relationship of history to life ("History underpins faith,

faith moves into life, and life in Christ teaches love," p. 55), praise ("... it is not the cheers of a brainwashed, hero-addicted crowd. It is the expression of the joy of a person who knows what redemption is," pp. 76, 77), atonement ("The primitive way was to throw earth over the blood. God's way is to throw love over the sin," p. 77), nature (pp. 101, 102, 108), and wisdom ("... the man who neither thinks so 'spiritually' as to be unrealistic nor is so committed to worldly values as to ignore the rebuke that faith offers to those values," p. 146). Particularly good are his treatments of Pss 22 (and its relationship to both Job and Jesus), 50, 113-118 (the "Hallel"), and 120-134 (the "Songs of Ascent"). Many original insights are offered. Though the Psalter has often been compared to a modern hymnal, Routley's comparison is fresh. His suggestion that the last verse of Pss 41, 72, 89, and 106 probably means no more "than that particular psalm stood at the end of the collection from which it came" (p. 15) is interesting.

On the scholarly level, one might argue with such notions as "*selah*" being a pause for an instrumental interlude (p. 16), dating *any* psalm (or, indeed, even their superscriptions—given the LXX's difficulty in translating them) as late as the Maccabean Age (pp. 26, 75), or the negative view on Davidic authorship ("it is conceivable that one or two of them were," p. 26). From the standpoint of faith and history, one could argue with a view that explains *all* of the exodus events naturalistically (p. 23) or considers Solomon's visit from the Queen of Sheba to be a "symbolic tale" (p. 24). While not wanting to deny the "advanced light" of the NT, some would still not speak of "the difference between what Christianity accepts and what it rejects in the thought of the psalms and indeed of the Old Testament" (p. 28).

Naturally, there cannot be unanimity on matters of interpretation. For instance, this reviewer sees the phenomenon present in the Phoenician votive stelae which combines an acknowledgement of thanks with a thank offering as closer to the background of Ps 116:13 than "the cup of bitterness" of an ordeal (p. 57), and the ancient Near Eastern conception of the council of the gods as a better background to Ps 82 than idolatry (p. 130). The author misses the point of "Lift up your heads, O ye gates" (p. 110) by ignoring the Ugaritic and Canaanite parallels. This reviewer doubts that theoretical atheism can be found in Hebrew thought (p. 147) or that "disembodied spirits" (p. 150) is a Hebrew concept.

A few mistakes may be noted: There were four kings after Josiah, not two (p. 91); the Kadesh of Ps 29 is Syrian Kadesh, not the Sinai Kadesh (p. 104); Jerusalem's artificial aqueduct is *not* referred to in John 5:2 (p. 121). Furthermore, it is confusing to speak of Herod's temple as "the third" (p. 105) when common usage refers to it as the second. On p. 33 the author writes of "seven subsections" of songs about the life of faith, yet appears to discuss in the succeeding pages only four. No typographical errors were noted.

In a book whose approach is as general and schematic as this one is, one could always quarrel with omissions, emphases, etc., but that would be unfair to its strengths. Its conception and execution are good and in comparison to similar books on the market, and in spite of the minor problems noted above, it is to be recommended highly for devotional study—both private and in groups.

Tracy, David. *Blessed Rage for Order: The New Pluralism in Theology*. New York: Seabury, 1975. 271 pp. \$12.95.

The basic purpose of this work is to formulate "a revisionist model for contemporary fundamental Christian theology." As an exercise in theological method, its objective is not actually to do theology, but to formulate a model for doing theology, that is, to establish appropriate theological criteria and outline a procedure by which theology should be done. The book consists of two parts, one primarily descriptive and the other constructive. In the first, Tracy delineates the basic feature of the revisionist model, showing how it differs from other models currently employed for theological reflection. And in the second, he argues for the validity of this model by formulating three of its constitutive elements and adumbrating the theology of *praxis* which it suggests.

According to Tracy, the principal feature of the revisionist model is the attempt to correlate critically the results of reflecting upon two major theological sources, the Christian tradition and common human experience and language. Unlike the orthodox, liberal, neo-orthodox, and radical models, each of which fails in its own way to take adequate account of one or the other of these sources, the revisionist model endeavors to apply appropriate modes of reflection to both and allow the results to be mutually informative.

To demonstrate the validity of the revisionist model, Tracy formulates extensive arguments for three principal theses: (1) The religious interpretation of our common human experience and language is meaningful and true; (2) the theistic interpretation of religion is meaningful and true; (3) the christological interpretation of theistic religion is meaningful and true.

In his analysis of religion, Tracy describes the concept of "limit" as pointing to the religious dimension of common human experience, and explores the phenomena of limit-questions in science, morality, and "everyday" experience. Then he reviews the application of linguistic analysis to religious language in general, and that of the NT in particular, to show that its principal effect is to confront one with the possibility of a new and authentic mode of existence.

In his discussion of theism, Tracy argues that the only mode of reflection adequate to adjudicate the cognitive claim of religious language is explicitly metaphysical, or transcendental, in character. Then he appeals to the dipolar concept of God formulated by process philosophy as the most helpful means of thematizing the ultimate dimension of reality indicated by religious language.

Finally, in his discussion of Christology, Tracy analyzes two "facts," the fact of evil and the fact of the Christ-event. The specific function of christological language, as he interprets it, lies in its transformative character. The Gospel decisively re-presents, that is, expresses and confronts the hearer with, authentic human existence as a possible mode of being in the world.

Although the basic objective of Tracy's work is to explain the revisionist model for theology, in effect it does more than simply illustrate one theological method. For one thing, his proposal provides the major elements of a full-fledged philosophical theology, with its carefully formulated arguments for religion and theism substantiating the fundamental presuppositions of

Christian faith. Another of its notable features is the enormous range of material which it encompasses. Quite apart from its constructive merits, the work is valuable as a review of what has happened of general theological significance over the past few decades along several important lines of reflection. Linguistic analysis, process philosophy, transcendental Thomism, existential phenomenology, to name a few, are carefully and succinctly summarized. No mere survey, however, the work incorporates the principal insights of these widely diverse resources into a single cohesive, though intricate, theological proposal. It should be emphasized that Tracy regards only the revisionist model he formulates as satisfactory to the criteria incumbent upon contemporary theology. So, the pluralism in theology which he applauds is not a diversity of theological models, or several acceptable ways of doing theology, but the multiplicity of resources available for fulfilling *the* theological task as he conceives it.

The nature and thrust of Tracy's work logically give rise to two questions. One is whether the diverse positions to which he appeals really fit together as neatly as he makes them into a coherent theological proposal. It has been observed that some of the principal resources he employs have been strongly represented among his colleagues at the University of Chicago Divinity School, such as, Schubert M. Ogden and Paul Ricoeur. However, Tracy does not merely appropriate the viewpoints to which he is indebted. He is not only frequently critical of their formulation (cf. pp. 190-191), but he modifies them so as to make them thoroughly his own. Another question is whether the revisionist model he formulates is really the only way of meeting the basic theological criteria of appropriateness to the Christian tradition and adequacy to common human experience. The strength of Tracy's proposal is certainly its sensitivity to modern man's demand for intelligibility in theology. But some observers may find his analysis of the Christian tradition much less satisfactory than that of human experience, insisting that his analysis of common human experience predetermines what he will allow the Gospel to say.

This work is Tracy's most significant theological product to date, and it ranks as one of the most important contributions to American theology in the 1970s. Within months of its publication it had attracted widespread scholarly attention and become a reference point for theological discussion. The topic considered and the viewpoint presented, therefore, must be reckoned with. Whether or not one finds his revisionist model for theology persuasive, Tracy's discussion certainly emphasizes the fact that the question of method is central to the task of theology today. No contemporary theological proposal can hope for a hearing which does not explicitly reflect upon the possibility of, and the criteria necessarily incumbent upon, the enterprise of Christian theology.

Despite its richness and complexity, two things make the book rather difficult reading. One is its style. Tracy, like his mentor, Bernard Lonergan, is a theologian's theologian—challenging to the expert and discouraging to the uninitiated. His concern is not to reach a particular audience, but to formulate an argument as carefully as possible. Consequently, he makes his points with an economy of discussion and very tight reasoning, which conspire to demand the reader's unflagging attention. The placing of foot-

notes at the end of each chapter, rather than at the bottom of the pages, also makes reading difficult. The chapters contain from 53 to 111 footnotes, covering from 7 to 13 pages. And since they are filled with substantive comments, not merely references, the reader is forced continually to flip back and forth between text and notes, a practice which definitely hampers one's efforts to follow the discussion.

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Young, Norman. *Creator, Creation and Faith*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976. 219 pp. \$8.50.

The author is interested primarily in developing the meaning of creation, i.e., what it means in relationship to the way we live now. He wants to draw out its implications in terms of everyday living. His first section, chaps. 2-4 (chap. 1 is an introduction), discusses the interrelated biblical themes of creation, fall, and new creation. While adopting the position that belief in God as creator of Israel arose before God as creator of heaven and earth, he nevertheless thinks that both are inextricably related. Furthermore, he maintains that the concept that "God is redeemer because he is creator" is primary, while the concept that "he is effective redeemer because, since creator, he is powerful enough to redeem, is secondary" (pp. 40-41). The fall is due to man's dependence on his own wisdom and affects individuals, society, and nature. The new creation must involve all three, and understanding of it must come from the implications drawn from the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. But exactly what these are remain disputed.

In the second section (chaps. 5-8) Young describes how four recent theologians have approached the themes of creation, fall, and new creation. Barth's view is characterized as transcendentalist because it emphasizes the "infinite qualitative distinction" between God and man. His uncompromising biblical and Christocentric orientation left little room for understanding God through nature and human wisdom. Thus Barth's position shifts theological attention away from the non-human creation as well as human understanding and institutions. Tillich's ontological approach emphasizes continuity rather than discontinuity, since his method is that of correlation. The author's principal criticism of Tillich is his making of non-being and finitude a necessary part of human existence. This would imply a pessimistic view of the possibility of a new creation in human history. The author criticizes Bultmann's existentialist theology because he insisted that "the doctrine of creation is about human existence in the present *rather than* about the beginning of the world" (p. 143). To put human existence at the beginning would place it within the framework of nature and would indicate the indissoluble relationship between man and the rest of the created order. This would prevent man from exploiting nature, since he would recognize his responsibility and accountability toward it in the context of Genesis. Moltmann's eschatological theology is criticized because while he takes the results (the liberation of the poor, oppressed, alienated, and godless) obtained

by the crucified Christ, he does not follow the method by which it was obtained—suffering, non-resistant love.

The last section (chap. 9) deals with the implications of the various theologies discussed from the standpoint of the relationship the Christians should have towards the world. The first standpoint is that of alienation or disengagement from the world. While Christians should consider themselves alien with respect to the world as it is, nevertheless, the main weakness with this approach is that it fails to recognize its own sinfulness and the fact that the Creator-God is not its own special possession. The coalition approach is the other extreme. It tends to identify itself with the world, its thought, and its movements without being critical enough, without recognizing seriously the doctrine of the fall. The approach of innovation accepts Rauschenbusch's statement that "ascetic Christianity called the world evil and left it. Humanity is waiting for a revolutionary Christianity that will call the world evil and change it" (cited on p. 181). Jesus Christ serves as the model of one who recognized the evil in the world but lived within it and overcame it. He was the new creation in this sense, and we need to realize it in our lives. This view sees the world as God's good creation, which when perverted can be renewed through the power of Jesus Christ. This is the view that the author espouses. The revolutionary approach is similar to the first view in that it fails to acknowledge its own sinfulness and fallenness. It fails also to follow the method of Jesus Christ by way of his non-resistant suffering love.

The book does not seem to be correlated adequately. The four views of the theologians do not serve sufficiently as points of departure for the conclusion. Actually, chaps. 5-8 could have been omitted and nothing would have been missed in terms of the author's discussion in the conclusion. The conclusion is also not sufficiently tied in with the themes of creation, fall, and re-creation, although these are mentioned. It seems that the author had two different objects in view: one, to evaluate and analyze contemporary theological views on these themes; and the other, to show what relationship Christians should have to the world. Also, while much is made of the ecological in the earlier chapters, this aspect is omitted in the conclusion.

Another serious weakness in the conclusion is the failure to elaborate on the meaning and implication of the new creation or transformation. Is it only the hope that Christians would follow Jesus Christ; or is it a reality that will take place, and to what extent? Young criticizes the other three views for not taking seriously enough the doctrine of the fall, but where does he himself seriously take it into consideration in his own view? Ultimately, are not all this-worldly attempts to bring about transformation of the world (if this is what is in his mind) blind to the fallenness of men?

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# TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

## CONSONANTS

א = k	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ך = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = c	שׁ = ś
ג = g	ו = w	ל = l	פ = p	שׂ = š
ד = g	ז = z	מ = m	צ = ç	ת = t
ה = d	ח = ħ	נ = n	ק = q	

## MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	וֵ, י (vocal shewa) = e	· = ō
ֿ = ā	ֶ, ִ = ē	ִ = o
ִ = a	ִ = i	ִ = ō
ֶ = e	ִ = î	ִ = u
ֶ = ē	ֶ = o	ִ = ū

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

## ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<b>AASOR</b> <i>Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	<b>BTB</b> <i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<b>AB</b> <i>Anchor Bible</i>	<b>BZ</b> <i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<b>AcOr</b> <i>Acta orientalia</i>	<b>BZAW</b> <i>Beihefte zur ZAW</i>
<b>ACW</b> <i>Ancient Christian Writers</i>	<b>BZNW</b> <i>Beihefte zur ZNW</i>
<b>ADAJ</b> <i>Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</i>	<b>CAD</b> <i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
<b>AER</b> <i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	<b>CBQ</b> <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<b>AJO</b> <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>	<b>CC</b> <i>Christian Century</i>
<b>AHR</b> <i>American Historical Review</i>	<b>CH</b> <i>Church History</i>
<b>AHW</b> <i>Von Soden, Akkad. Handwörterb.</i>	<b>CHR</b> <i>Catholic Historical Review</i>
<b>AJA</b> <i>Am. Journal of Archaeology</i>	<b>CIG</b> <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<b>AJBA</b> <i>Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.</i>	<b>CIJ</b> <i>Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum</i>
<b>AJSL</b> <i>Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.</i>	<b>CIL</b> <i>Corp. Inscript. Latinarum</i>
<b>AJT</b> <i>American Journal of Theology</i>	<b>CIS</b> <i>Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum</i>
<b>ANEP</b> <i>Anc. Near East in Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	<b>CJT</b> <i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
<b>ANESTP</b> <i>Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	<b>CQ</b> <i>Church Quarterly</i>
<b>ANET</b> <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Pritchard, ed.</i>	<b>CQR</b> <i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<b>ANF</b> <i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	<b>CR</b> <i>Corpus Reformatorum</i>
<b>AnOr</b> <i>Analecta Orientalia</i>	<b>CT</b> <i>Christianity Today</i>
<b>AOS</b> <i>American Oriental Series</i>	<b>CTM</b> <i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
<b>APOT</b> <i>Apoer. and Pseud. of OT, Charles, ed.</i>	<b>CurTM</b> <i>Currents in Theol. and Mission</i>
<b>ARG</b> <i>Archiv für Reformationsgesch.</i>	<b>DACL</b> <i>Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de lit.</i>
<b>ARM</b> <i>Archives royales de Mari</i>	<b>DOTT</b> <i>Docs. from OT Times, Thomas, ed.</i>
<b>ArOr</b> <i>Archiv Orientalni</i>	<b>DTC</b> <i>Dict. de théol. cath.</i>
<b>ARW</b> <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>	<b>EKL</b> <i>Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon</i>
<b>ATR</b> <i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	<b>EncIsl</b> <i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i>
<b>AUM</b> <i>Andrews Univ. Monographs</i>	<b>EncJud</b> <i>Encyclopedia judaica (1971)</i>
<b>AusBR</b> <i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	<b>ER</b> <i>Ecumenical Review</i>
<b>AUSS</b> <i>Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies</i>	<b>EvQ</b> <i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<b>BA</b> <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	<b>EvT</b> <i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<b>BAR</b> <i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>	<b>ExpTim</b> <i>Expository Times</i>
<b>BARB</b> <i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>	<b>FC</b> <i>Fathers of the Church</i>
<b>BASOR</b> <i>Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	<b>GRBS</b> <i>Greek, Roman, and Byz. Studies</i>
<b>BCSR</b> <i>Bull. of Council on Study of Rel.</i>	<b>HeyJ</b> <i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<b>Bib</b> <i>Biblica</i>	<b>HibJ</b> <i>Hibbert Journal</i>
<b>BibB</b> <i>Bibliche Beiträge</i>	<b>HR</b> <i>History of Religions</i>
<b>BibOr</b> <i>Biblica et Orientalia</i>	<b>HSM</b> <i>Harvard Semitic Monographs</i>
<b>BIES</b> <i>Bull. of Isr. Explor. Society</i>	<b>HTR</b> <i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<b>BJRL</b> <i>Bulletin, John Rylands Library</i>	<b>HTS</b> <i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
<b>BK</b> <i>Bibel und Kirche</i>	<b>HUCA</b> <i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<b>BO</b> <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>	<b>IB</b> <i>Interpreter's Bible</i>
<b>BQR</b> <i>Baptist Quarterly Review</i>	<b>ICC</b> <i>International Critical Commentary</i>
<b>BR</b> <i>Biblical Research</i>	<b>IDB</b> <i>Interpreter's Dict. of Bible</i>
<b>BSac</b> <i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>	<b>IEJ</b> <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<b>BT</b> <i>The Bible Translator</i>	<b>Int</b> <i>Interpretation</i>
	<b>ITQ</b> <i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>

- JAAR** *Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.*  
**JAC** *Jahrb. für Ant. und Christumtum*  
**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 Rumanian Studies*  
**JRT** *Journal of Religious Thought*  
**JSJ** *Journal for the Study of Judaism*  
**JNOT** *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*  
**ITK** *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*  
*NovT* *Nouum 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-Encyl.*  
**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 Qumrdn*  
**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.*  
**SBLBSBS** *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*  
**SO** *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*  
**TGf** *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** *Teologisk 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** *VT, Supplements*  
**WA** *Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe*  
**WO** *Die Welt des Orients*  
**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 attes. 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 neutes. Wiss.*  
**ZRG** *Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.*  
**ZST** *Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie*  
**ZTK** *Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche*  
**ZWT** *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*