

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

SEMINARY STUDIES

VOLUME XVIII

AUTUMN 1980

NUMBER 2

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

ISSN 0003-2980

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

The Journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary
of Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan

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The opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in the Spring and Autumn of each year. The annual subscription rate is \$6.00 (1973-1980). There will be a price increase in 1981 (see p. 206, at the end of this issue). Payments are to be made to Andrews University Seminary Studies, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, USA.

Subscribers should give full name and postal address when paying their subscriptions and should send notice of change of address at least five weeks before it is to take effect; the old as well as the new address must be given.

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted, or listed in: *Book Reviews of the Month*; *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus*; *International Bibliography of the History of Religions*; *Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete*; *New Testament Abstracts*; *Old Testament Abstracts*; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *Orient-Press*; *Recently Published Articles* (publication of the American Historical Association); *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (formerly *Index to Religious Periodical Literature*); *Religious and Theological Abstracts*; *Seventh-day Adventist Periodical Index*; *Subject Index to Periodical Literature—Mosher Library*; *Theologische Zeitschrift*; *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.

THE CALENDARS OF EBLA PART I. THE OLD CALENDAR

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Among the very first texts from the royal archive of ancient Ebla that Giovanni Pettinato of the University of Rome has published are several which provide us with information about the calendars that were used there. Two calendars are involved because the names of the months of the year were revised at the end of the dynasty that is now known from the Eblaite texts which date from the late third millennium B.C. From the reign of Igriš-Halam to that of Ebrium the calendar referred to by Pettinato as the Old Calendar was used.¹ The New Calendar was then adopted during the reign of Ibbi-Sipiš, and it apparently continued in use until the end of his reign as the last king of the Eblaite dynasty of the Sargonic period in the second half of the third millennium B.C.² Thus the following outline represents the way in which these calendars may be related to the rulers in the king-list of Ebla that Pettinato has compiled.³

Igriš-Halam	Old Calendar
Irkab-Damu	Old Calendar
Ar-Ennum	Old Calendar
Ebrium	Old Calendar
Ibbi-Sipiš	New Calendar

Although they have been published in separate articles, the format of Pettinato's presentation of the Old and New Calendars of Ebla is essentially the same and proceeds quite logically. First comes a detailed treatment of a few of the texts that are most directly relevant to a study of these two calendars. In this detailed treatment they are presented in transliteration, translation, philological commentary, summary tables, and photographic plates. In the case of the Old Calendar, three texts are presented in this way.

¹G. Pettinato, "Il calendario Semitico del 3. millennio ricostruito sulla base dei testi di Ebla," *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977): 257-285.

²G. Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbi-Sipiš sulla base di TM 75.G.427," *AfO* 25 (1976): 1-36.

³G. Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *BA* 39 (1976): 47. It is to be noted that Pettinato has revised the order of the kings of Ebla to that which is outlined here (Idem, "Gli archivi reali di Tell Mardikh-Ebla," *Rivista Biblica Italiana* 25 [1977]: 235).

The first of these itemizes month-by-month the number of sacrificial animals offered over a period of seven months (TM 75.G.1629). The second text serves the same function for a period of twelve months (TM 75.G.1630). The third text lists the quantities of animals distributed as foodstuffs to different personnel and covers a period of ten months (TM 75.G.2096). Only one text is presented in this much detail as a basis for the New Calendar, but its length is extraordinary (TM 75.G.427). It covers the distribution of provisions over seven years in a total of twenty-nine vertical columns of text on both sides of the tablet. Due to its length (the tablet measures 23.5 x 22 cm.), seventeen journal pages were required just to publish the transliteration and translation of the text.⁴

In the second section of his studies on these calendars, Pettinato has dealt with the names of the months of the calendars in alphabetical order. Here he lists the unpublished texts in which each of the month names has been identified thus far, the variants in the way in which they were written, and a brief comment presenting his current understanding of the etymology of the names of the months. Etymologies have been suggested for about two-thirds of the month names, while the rest have been left blank. More than half of the etymologies suggested appear to be correct, while alternate proposals for the others are offered below.

In the third section of his studies, Pettinato lists the unpublished texts in which several month names occur. In conjunction with basic calendrical texts which he has published in full, these connected occurrences of several month names aid in establishing the order of the names of the months in their respective calendars. In his presentation of the New Calendar Pettinato has listed twenty-five such texts, and their entries run from two months to twenty-nine months. The text which lists twenty-nine months has been presented in a full transliteration (TM 75.G.522). Thus far, eighteen texts with multiple references to months have been identified with which to establish their order in the Old Calendar, but they do not cover that many months since the longest lists only nine.

In the fourth section of his studies, Pettinato takes up a discussion of three technical aspects of the Eblaite calendars: their use of the intercalary month, the calendrical relationship of the months of the New Calendar to those of the Old, and the problem of the time of year in which these calendars began. Since the other ancient calendars of Western Asia were all lunar

⁴G. Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbi-Sipiš sulla base di TM 75.G.427," *AfO* 25 (1976): 2-23, with intervening plates.

in nature, it is only to be expected that the calendars of Ebla would be lunar in nature also. Twelve months of the lunar year fell approximately ten days short of the solar year, and consequently it was necessary to add a thirteenth or intercalary month about every third lunar year to keep it in line with the solar year.

The evidence for the intercalary month at Ebla is quite explicit in both of these calendars. In some of the texts which list the months of the Old Calendar, or those of the New Calendar, there are instances in which a particular month name is repeated. In the Old Calendar the name of this month was *ig-za*, while in the New Calendar it was ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅. There are six indications that these months served, on occasion, as the intercalary month in their respective calendars:

1. In some texts these names occur only once in the order of the months listed. By way of contrast with the following conditions, these occasions should represent the years in which no intercalary month was added.

2. In other instances these names occur twice in the order of the months listed. These occasions should represent the years in which an intercalary month was added.

3. In still other instances these names occur twice in the order of the months listed and the second occurrence is followed in both calendars by the sign MĪN, which designates it as the second or doubled month by that name.⁵ These occasions should represent the years in which an intercalary month was added and was designated as such.

4. The basic New Calendar text that covers seven years lists an extra ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅ for three of those years. Three intercalations in seven years is a reasonable average according to later data.⁶ The distribution of this extra month through this period indicates that the Eblaites intercalated their extra month on an *ad hoc* basis. Operating from a similar basis, a non-Eblaitic instance is even known in which three intercalary months were added within two years.⁷ The more sophisticated type of intercalation based upon mathematical calculations did not come into use until late in the first millennium B.C.

5. The frequency with which these month names occur together with MĪN in various texts supports interpreting them as intercalary. Thus far

⁵R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, 5th ed. (Paris, 1976), p. 211.

⁶R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (Providence, R.I., 1956), p. 6.

⁷D. O. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniers* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 28.

Pettinato has identified thirty texts in which the *ig-za* of the Old Calendar occurs, but he has only found three texts in which *ig-za MĪN* appears. In texts which mention months of the New Calendar, Pettinato has found twenty-five occurrences of ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅, but only four occurrences of ŠE-GUR₁₀-KU₅ MĪN. A ratio approximating 3:1 is not expected here because the Eblaite scribes labeled the intercalary month with MĪN only irregularly.

6. When the Old Calendar is lined up with the New Calendar, it is evident that the same month of the year was used for intercalation.

It is not difficult to align these two calendars, because four out of twelve month names which came into regular use with the New Calendar had already appeared as variant month names in Old-Calendar texts. It seems safe to assume that these names were used for the same months of the year in texts that were written up according to either calendar. These calendars can be related quite easily, therefore, because these month names occur in texts which mention several other month names in order. The reverse is also true in that one month name from the Old Calendar survived and appeared occasionally as a variant month name in the New Calendar. With so strong a bi-directional cross-linkage established between these two lists of month names, there does not appear to be much question about how they should be related to each other, calendrically speaking.

In order to determine with what month of the year these calendars began Pettinato turned to his major exemplar of the New Calendar. From the periodic references to numbered years in that text it is evident that five out of seven of those years were counted as beginning with the month of *beli*. Then the times in the year in which the various months occurred have been determined from the meanings of their names. The associations Pettinato has worked out in this way appear to be correct and they locate the month of *beli*, with which the New Calendar began in the fall (around September). We lack such specific textual evidence for the time of year with which the Old Calendar began. At present, it can only be assumed that it began at the same time of year as the New Calendar did. The agreement in meaning of some of the parallel month names and the similar location for the intercalary month currently suggest that the Old Calendar also began in the fall.

With a summary up to this point, Pettinato concluded his study of the New Calendar. Two further points are presented in his study of the Old Calendar. After juxtaposing the names of the months in the New Calendar and the Old Calendar, he goes on to discuss the problem of why the names of the months were changed from one calendar to the other. From the fact

that some of the months of the New Calendar were named for the feasts of some of the gods, he notes that the New Calendar took on a more distinctly religious appearance. By way of contrast, the month names in the Old Calendar might indicate that it was oriented more towards agriculture and administration. This distinction appears to be significant, and the observations on the interpretation of the Eblaite calendars at the end of this study build upon it.

In the final section of his studies on the calendars, Pettinato demonstrates how widespread a knowledge of the Old Calendar existed in the Middle Euphrates River Valley and southern and eastern Mesopotamia. Month names from this calendar have shown up in texts recovered from sites such as Abu Šalābīkh (2), Mari (4), Gasur (4), Eshnunna (1), Diyala sites (4), Adab (2), and Lagash (4). Discounting multiple references, a total of eight out of twelve of the month names of this calendar have shown up in these eastern sources. Thus this calendar need not have been adopted at Ebla first. It could have had another, or even a multicentric, origin.

From the survey of Pettinato's studies of the Eblaite calendars we turn to an examination of the calendars themselves. In the treatment below, the months are first presented in Pettinato's transliteration, arranged according to his correlation with the months of our calendar. Then follows my own translation of the month names, a correlation once again with months of the "Julian" (Julian-Gregorian) calendar, and philological notes on the meanings of the months names. In giving the correlations of the months, I have indicated "Sept./Oct." instead of "September," etc., as more accurately representing the Eblaite lunar months. Finally, this study of the Eblaite calendars concludes with their overall interpretation and relationship to each other. (For Pettinato's transliteration and my translation, see the lists on p. 132; the interpretational section begins immediately below.)

1. *The Old Calendar: Translational Notes*

I. ITU *ḥa-li-tù*—Month of Whirling (Winds). As M. Dahood pointed out to Pettinato,⁸ this month name occurs also in Ugaritic texts as *ḥlt*.⁹ It is the texts from Ebla, however, that suggest its semantic origin. In reading *ḥalitu* for the name of this month, Pettinato has followed a minority reading of his texts. His list of variants shows that this month name was written *ḥa-li* in fifteen texts, *ḥa-li-ì* in eleven texts, and *ḥa-li-tù* in only

⁸Personal communication.

⁹C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, AnOr 38 (Rome, 1965), p. 397.

TRANSLITERATION

OLD CALENDAR ¹	JULIAN CALENDAR	NEW CALENDAR ²
I. <i>ḥa-li-tù</i>	September	I. ITU <i>be-li</i>
II. ITU <i>i-ri-sá</i>	October	II. ITU (NIDBA _x -) ^d AŠ-TÁ-BI ₅
III. ITU <i>ga-šúm</i>	November	III. ITU Ì-TÚM
IV. ITU Ì-NUN	December	IV. ITU (NIDBA _x) ^d à-da
V. ITU <i>ša-lul</i>	January	V. ITU <i>ì-la-mu/er-me</i>
VI. ITU <i>i-ba₄-sa</i>	February	VI. ITU <i>ḥur-mu/ḥu-lu-mu</i>
VII. ITU MAX ^{ganatenû} -SAG	March	VII. ITU È
VIII. ITU MAX ^{ganatenû} -GUDU ₄	April	VIII. ITU KUR ₆
IX. ITU <i>i-šf</i>	May	IX. ITU ^d a-dam-ma-um
X. ITU <i>ig-za</i>	June	X. ITU ŠE-GUR ₁₀ -KU ₅
Xb. ITU <i>ig-za-MÏN</i>	Intercalary	Xb. ITU ŠE-GUR ₁₀ -KU ₅ -MÏN
XI. <i>ša-à-tum</i>	July	XI. ITU ^d AMA-ra
XII. ITU <i>qì-lí</i>	August	XII. ITU (NIDBA _x -) ^d kà-mi-iš

TRANSLATION

OLD CALENDAR	JULIAN CALENDAR	NEW CALENDAR
Month of Whirling (Winds)	Sept./Oct.	Month of the Lord (Dagan)
Month of Plowing or Seeding	Oct./Nov.	Month of the Sacrifice to the god Ashtabi
Month of Rain	Nov./Dec.	Month in which he/it has come
Month of Clouds	Dec./Jan.	Month of the Sacrifice to the god Hadad
Month of Shadows	Jan./Feb.	Month of Hidden (Sun)
Month of Drying	Feb./March	Month of Lighting
Unidentified	March/April	Month of Coming Forth
Unidentified	April/May	Month of Provisioning
Month of Man	May/June	Month of the god Adama
Month of Cutting	June/July	Month of Harvesting
Month of Cutting, II	Intercalary	Month of Harvesting, II
Month of Sheep (?)	July/Aug.	Month of the goddess Asherah (?)
Month of Heat	Aug./Sept.	Month of the Sacrifice to the god Chemosh

¹G. Pettinato, "Il calendario Semitico del 3. millennio ricostruito sulla base dei testi di Ebla," *Oriens Antiquus* 16 (1977): 257-285.

²G. Pettinato, "Il Calendario di Ebla al Tempo del Re Ibbi-Sipiš sulla base di TM 75.G.427," *AFO* 25 (1976): 1-36.

three texts. The preponderance of the reading *ḥa-li* suggests this month name probably came from a weak verb to which a *-t* was added as a verbal or nominal ending. Hebrew supplies us with the root *ḥwl*, which fits the philological requirements of this name and the climatological requirements of this month very well. *Ḥwl* means "to go or turn around, dance, whirl." In Jer 23:19 and 30:23 it is used to describe a whirlwind, and it also occurs in a *hiphil* form in Ps 29:8, where it describes what happens when a storm from the Mediterranean strikes the plain around Kadesh on the Orontes in Syria. The sirocco winds blow in the spring or fall when the seasons change from winter to summer or vice versa. These winds can cast enough particulate matter into the air to cause a dusty haze. The occurrence of this month early in the fall fits that situation well.

II. ITU *i-ri-sá*—Month of Plowing or Seeding. Semitic cognates with which to elucidate the meaning of this month name are readily available. Pettinato has cited *erištu* as the "season of seeding" in Akkadian. The root *ḥrš* also deserves consideration. It is the customary word for plowing in biblical Hebrew and it is common to the other Semitic languages.¹⁰ The *ḥ*- of this common Semitic root does not occur in this Eblaite month name, so consequently one would have to take it as represented more weakly than usual by the initial *i*. Pettinato has suggested a similar shift between these two sounds and letters in the Eblaite personal name of E-DA-ŠU, which he interprets as coming from the common Semitic root *ḥdš*, "to become new."¹¹

It is necessary to posit a phonological shift in the sibilants from *s* to *š* here also in the case of either the Hebrew or Akkadian cognate. This shift is illustrated by the name of the king Ibbi-Sipiš, the second element of which stands for the sun god. This was Hebrew Shemesh and Akkadian Shamash, consonantal *šmš*, in which the initial sibilant was represented by *š* in contrast to the *s* at Ebla. The activities of plowing and sowing were closely related, since one plows the soil to prepare it for the seed. It is not necessary, therefore, to make a sharp distinction between these two activities here.

III. ITU *ga-šúm*—Month of Rain. Pettinato did not suggest any etymology for this month name. It can be related quite directly to Hebrew *gešem*, "rain, showers." This fits well with the occurrence of this month in

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 399.

¹¹ G. Pettinato, "Testi cuneiformi del 3. millennio in paleo-cananeo rinvenuti nella campagna 1974 a Tell Mardikh = Ebla," *Or* 44 (1975): 372.

the fall when the rains come to Syro-Palestine. M. Pope has noted that this word always designates heavy rain,¹² which means that the start of the rains should be located in the preceding month when they were needed to soften up the soil for plowing and sowing.

IV. ITU *ì-nun*—Month of Clouds. Pettinato's suggestion of "fine oil" for this month name seems unlikely. It relates better to the Hebrew word '*anan* or "clouds." This word is used in the OT more commonly for the cloud of glory which surrounded Yahweh, but it is also used at least a dozen times of natural clouds. It occurs four times in Gen 9:13-16, e.g., where it refers to the clouds in which God set the rainbow as a sign of the covenant with Noah after the flood. Using the Sumerian sign system the Eblaite scribes could not represent the Semitic letter '*ayin* with which the Hebrew word '*anan* begins. We may take it as reflected in the *i-* with which this month name begins. The early winter when this month occurred naturally was a time of the clouds that came with the rainy season. *ì-nun* or '*anan* appears to have survived in the month name of *kanun*, which also fell in December, in the Syrian calendar of the later first millennium B.C.¹³

V. ITU *ša-lul*—Month of Shadows. This is Pettinato's translation of this month name, and he cites Akkadian and common Semitic cognates for this meaning of *šll*. It occurs half a dozen times in Hebrew with this meaning, usually as a noun, rarely as a verb. The middle of winter, when this month occurred, naturally was the time of the shortest days and the greatest darkness or shadows during the year.

VI. ITU *i-ba₄-sa*—Month of Drying. Pettinato did not suggest any etymology of his own for this month name. It can be related quite directly to Hebrew *yabeš*, "to dry up," on the basis of a shift in sibilants and the initial *i* standing for the *yod* of later West Semitic writing systems. In Gen 8:7,¹⁴ this word is used, for instance, to refer to the drying up of the waters off the earth after the flood. Coming at the end of winter as this month did, it was a time when the rains slackened and the fields dried out.

VII. ITU MAX*ganatenû*-SAG. The semantic relations and significance cannot be determined at the present time.

VIII. ITU MAX*ganatenû*-GUDU₄. The semantic relations and significance cannot be determined at the present time.

¹²M. Pope, *Song of Songs*, AB 7C (Garden City, N.Y., 1977), p. 394.

¹³J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology* (Princeton, N.J., 1964), p. 62.

IX. ITU *i-si*—Month of Man. Pettinato did not suggest any etymology for this month name, but a colleague of his suggested that it might be related to the common Semitic word for fire. One might conclude that the Eblaites called the month of May/June the month of “fire” because the summer heat came on then. However, other words for “heat” would appear to have been more appropriate for such a use, and the summer months that followed were hotter than this one, so the etymology is not entirely satisfactory. Comparing this month name with the parallel month name in the New Calendar suggests an alternative etymology.

In my discussion of the New Calendar (to appear in the next issue of *AUSS*), I suggest that the name of its ninth month, Adammaum, derived originally from *'adam*, the generic term used for man some 500 times in the OT. There is another generic term for man in Hebrew, however, and that is *'iš*, which occurs over 2,000 times in the OT. Since the names of these two parallel months are both used as generic terms for man in Hebrew, their essential equivalence is suggested here. This equation gives the name “Month of Man” to the ninth month in the Old Calendar.

Man had various tasks to perform at different times in the agricultural year, but his most intense activity came at harvest time. The names of the succeeding month in both the Old and New calendars refer directly to the process of cutting or reaping, so this month name should refer to man as participating in the commencement of that harvest. The calendrical relations established here indicate that in the vicinity of Ebla the grain harvest was reaped in the months of May and June, in contrast to Palestine farther south, where the grains were harvested earlier, in April and May.

X. ITU *ig-za*—Month of Cutting;

Xb. ITU *ig-za-MĪN*—Month of Cutting, II. Citing the Hebrew root *gzh*, “to cut,” Pettinato identified this month as the month of “Cutting.” These signs can also be read *iq-ša* and related to *qsh* or *qšš*, which also mean “to cut.”

As the month succeeding the Month of Man, this cutting should logically refer to the cutting of the grain harvest in which man participated. The parallel month in the New Calendar refers to that harvest.

XI. ITU *ša-'a-tum*—Month of Sheep (?). Pettinato has related this month name to the Akkadian word for sheep, *šēnu*, by proposing that its *-n-* is assimilated to the *-t* which follows it. A variant form of this month name written with an *-n-* has been found in six Eblaitic texts thus far. In that case the *-t* probably should be taken as a plural ending, but that creates a

problem when interpreting this month name as the word for sheep. This word for sheep is common in the other Semitic languages, and it was used as a collective noun that was singular in form but stood for a plural. Even in Akkadian there is only one instance in which this word is attested with a plural ending. Such a plural at Ebla would have been exceptional.

Without any assimilation this month name can be interpreted quite satisfactorily as the infinitive of *ys'*, "to go out, come forth," with a case ending. This etymology does not provide an explanation for the variant form with an *-n-*, but that variant is a minority reading since it has appeared in only six texts thus far, while the form without the *-n-* has been found in twenty-seven. If the verbal interpretation of this month name is possible, then who or what went forth at this time? The least likely possibility would appear to be that this refers to the going out or end of the Old Calendar year. Another possibility is that this refers to the harvesters going out to harvest the summer fruit. A better interpretation probably is that this month name refers to the fruits themselves which now come forth fully ripe for the harvest. This would fit the function of Asherah, whose name came to be attached to this month in the New Calendar. The verb *ys'* is sometimes used in agricultural contexts in the OT. In Gen 1:12 this verb (in causative form) refers to the time when the earth "brought forth" grass, herbage, and fruit trees at creation.

XII. ITU *qi-li*—Month of Heat. On the basis of common Semitic cognates, Pettinato suggested that this month name means "Heat." The occurrence of this month late in summer fits well with the heat of that season.

2. *The Old Calendar: Summary*

The etymologies of the names of the Old Calendar can now be summarized by citing them in transliteration, translation, and with their chief cognate evidence. A more extensive study of the comparative Semitic linguistics bearing upon these month names could be presented. Biblical Hebrew has been emphasized as a prominent cognate in order to demonstrate the relationship between its lexicon and that of Eblaite. The Hebrew cognates are, therefore, the ones selected for this summary of the Old Calendar, and it is of interest that good parallels for these month names can be found in Hebrew for all of them except those of the seventh and eighth months, where it is uncertain how the Eblaite scribes read the Sumerian signs with which they wrote those names.

<i>Month Names Transliterated</i>	<i>Month Names Translated</i>	<i>Hebrew Cognates</i>
I. <i>ḥali</i>	Whirling (Winds)	<i>ḥwl</i>
II. <i>irisa</i>	Plowing/Seeding	<i>ḥrš</i>
III. <i>gašum</i>	Rains	<i>gšm</i>
IV. <i>inun</i>	Clouds	<i>'nn</i>
V. <i>šalul</i>	Shadows	<i>šll</i>
VI. <i>ibasa</i>	Drying	<i>ybsš</i>
VII. MAXganatenû-SAG	Unidentified	?
VIII. MAXganatenû-GUDU ₄	Unidentified	?
IX. <i>iši</i>	Man	<i>šš</i>
X. <i>igza</i>	Cutting	<i>gzh</i>
XI. <i>ša'atum</i>	Sheep	<i>š'n</i>
XII. <i>qili</i>	Heat	<i>qlh</i>

Grammatically, the final *-i* on the names of the first, ninth, and twelfth months gives them the appearance of nouns with genitive case endings without mimation. The names of the second, sixth, and tenth months look like verbs with *i-* (for *y*) preformatives and final *-a* vowel endings. They might be translated with indefinite subjects as “one plows,” “it dries,” and “one cuts” or “it is cut off.” The names of the third, fourth, and fifth months look like nouns without case endings. The name of the eleventh month may have originated either as an infinitive used as a gerund with a nominative case ending (and mimation) added, or as a feminine plural noun with mimation added. Grammatical forms cannot be suggested for the names of the seventh and eighth months until the way they should be read can be determined more specifically.

(To be continued)

A NOTE ON THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSY: GREEK AND LATIN DISAGREEMENTS ABOUT MATTER AND DEIFICATION

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The iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium is extremely complex, involving political, economic, and social factors, as well as the interplay of theology and popular piety.¹ Even though these various dimensions generally have been well explored, certain corners remain to be illuminated. One of the dustier and less crucial, but nonetheless interesting issues, is that of the Latin response to the Greek controversy. In this Latin response, political considerations doubtless loomed large, particularly for the Carolingian court, which sought equality with the Byzantine rulers for Charlemagne; but the theological disagreements were genuine and must also be taken seriously.

My intention here is to focus on one small aspect of that religious concern: the role of matter in the bringing of grace to the human as understood in two crucial theological sources. First I wish to look at the theology of John of Damascus, particularly in his treatise *On the Orthodox Faith*, a foundational document for the Byzantines; and next I shall focus on the *Caroline Books*, representing the Latins' theological reaction to the Greek Iconoclastic Controversy. Then I will explore a theological factor which substantially contributed to the Latin difficulty in comprehending the Greek dispute, namely, the *Caroline Books'* dependence on an Augustinian theology which lacked at precisely the point crucial for debate about the images—the question of the grace-bearing possibilities of matter.

1. *The Eastern Developments and John Damascene*

In the Byzantine Empire the first eruption of the Iconoclastic Controversy occurred under Leo III, who in 726 ordered that icons should not be venerated and that those which could be touched by the

¹L. W. Barnard, *Greco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (Leiden, 1974), points out some of the dangers of overly simple explanations.

people should be removed. Constantine V (A.D. 741-75) continued and intensified his predecessor's policy, and in 754 convoked a council at Hiera which condemned the veneration of icons and anathematized Patriarch Germanos and John of Damascus, the chief hierarchical and theological defenders of images. Leo IV (775-80) relaxed iconoclastic efforts somewhat, and his widow Irene in 787 convoked Nicaea II. In 813 Leo V came to the throne, following Irene's first two successors Nikephoros I and Michael I, and reintroduced iconoclasm, which was continued with more or less intensity by the next emperors, Michael II and Theophilos. In 843 Theodora, regent for the young Michael III, called a synod at Constantinople which restored the veneration of images, in what later Byzantines celebrated as the Triumph of Orthodoxy.² This presentation is concerned with the first phase of the Controversy, but we should keep in mind that most of the theological issues remained the same during both phases, and that Theodore of Studion continued John's theological argumentation, with some additions of his own.

Within this network of events the most important theological figure was not even a subject of the Byzantine Empire, but was subject to and one-time civil official of the caliph of Damascus. John of Damascus had become a monk at Mar Sabba near Jerusalem sometime soon after 730, dying there about 749. From his safety beyond Byzantium he wrote tracts and sermons against the iconoclasts and incorporated principles favoring icon veneration within his systematic theological work. He wove together some of the earlier defense of image veneration, as well as his own linking of such veneration to Christ's incarnation and to the goodness of matter itself.³ As his condemnation by the Synod of Hiera in 754 would suggest, John was regarded as the great theological defender of the iconodules. All his successors, including Theodore of Studion, relied on him.

How did John of Damascus understand the role and function of the icon? His views on this have been well expounded by modern

²An excellent summary of the events is provided by Cyril Mango in his "Historical Introduction" in A. Bryer and J. Herrin, eds., *Iconoclasm* (Birmingham, Eng., 1977), pp. 1-6. Edward James Martin's *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London, n.d.) still provides the standard history of these events and the reaction of the Latin West to them.

³Barnard, pp. 86-88, 93-96; Stephen Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm During the Reign of Leo III*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 5: 346, subsidia, 41 (Louvain, 1973), pp. 107-109.

scholarship,⁴ and I wish to set forth here only a few salient points for comparison with the *Caroline Books*.

For one thing, John espoused a view similar to that of the Latins, regarding the icon as a sort of memorial or recollection which functions as a book for the illiterate.⁵ Of course, the substantive theological dispute did not relate to that notion, but to the veneration of icons and their grace-bearing capabilities.⁶

John found in Christ's incarnation a doctrinal foundation for his understanding of icons: as Christ's flesh was deified through contact with the indwelling divine nature united to the human nature, so too the flesh of the saints is deified through their contact with the humanity of Christ. In his first *Oration on Images* John states: "Just as the saints in their lifetime were filled by the Holy Spirit . . . his grace abides with their spirits and with their bodies in their tombs, and also with their likeness and holy images, not by nature, but by grace and power."⁷ The grace of Christ, therefore, according to John, is not limited to Christ himself and his sacraments, but can also be bestowed upon the believer through the saints, who act as vehicles of God's grace. John insists that the material icon is the bearer of grace for the devout, just as were the saints' shadows and relics which possessed healing powers in their times. Salvation comes through "looking on the human form of God" and letting the visible image of Christ be burnt into the soul, and, in an extended sense, through looking at the image of Christ found in the saints.⁸ For John, although not for the iconoclasts, the saints could transmit Christ's grace to others by their images, since they themselves had been deified by Christ.

In commenting on veneration of places or objects connected with the earthly life of the Lord, he further remarks, in the *Orations*: "I venerate and worship angels and men, and all matter participating in

⁴In addition to the sources already cited, see John Papajohn, "Philosophical and Metaphysical Basis of Icon Veneration in the Eastern Orthodox Church," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 2 (1956): 83-89.

⁵John of Damascus, *De Imaginibus*, Oratio 1.17, in *PG* 5: 94. Trans. of his three orations on the images by Mary Allies, in *St. John of Damascus on Holy Images* (London, 1898).

⁶Martin, pp. 185-187. Although Martin is referring to the second iconoclastic period and the theology of Theodore of Studion, as the reference to John of Damascus shows, this aspect of the conflict was already clearly understood in John's time.

⁷*De imag. Or.*, 1.19.

⁸*Ibid.*, 1.22.

divine power and ministering to our salvation through it.”⁹ John makes the same connection in *On the Orthodox Faith* in a somewhat different way than in the *Orations*. Through the Son’s incarnation we are made children by adoption and grace, John insists. In a very specific way, matter’s grace-bearingness is not simply a property of Jesus’ body alone; but through the power of the incarnation it extends to the material of the sacraments, which divinizes the body, just as the inward grace divinizes the soul.¹⁰

John’s treatment of the images focuses on the propriety of making images of Christ and the saints. The making of images is allowable since human beings are created in God’s image, and therefore God’s image can be represented in human beings. The image painted on walls or wood is an image of God’s image. John’s clear inference is that the icon as an extension of the saint’s body possesses the grace present in the body of the saint, and the honor given to the icon passes to the prototype. Thus, icons may be venerated as images of those created in God’s image and divinized by him. Although John does refer to the icon as the picture-book of the illiterate, his predominant notion is that of the icon as a vehicle of the divine-human relationship. The icon is not simply a reminder, but makes the imaged holy person present to us, “that we may still, hearing and believing, obtain the blessing of the Lord.”¹¹ The icon carries the worshiper’s veneration of Christ and the saints up to heaven; but at the same time it also serves as the bearer of grace from heaven to earth for the worshiper, like a bridge between the divine and the human.

Thus, the grace-bearing possibility of the material icon, so important to the ordinary Christian in an age when most people received the Eucharist infrequently, is defended by John both in his sermons and in his treatise *On the Orthodox Faith*. The icons are both a complement to and an extension of the sacraments, a locus for the *admirabile commercium* between God and mankind. As E. J. Martin notes, such a sacramental view of the icons does, in fact, represent the mainstream of both popular and theologically articulate iconodule thought.¹²

⁹Ibid., 3.

¹⁰*De Fide Orthodoxa*, PG 5: 94; 4: 9, 13.

¹¹Ibid., 4: 16.

¹²Martin, pp. 19-20. For Theodore of Studion’s version of this theology, see Martin, pp. 184-188.

2. *The Latin West and the Caroline Books*

In the Latin West there had been sporadic outbursts of iconoclasm, but never any organized, persistent, and theologically coherent movement as in the Byzantine world. The impetus for the Frankish reaction to the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy seems to have been as much an expression of Charlemagne's political frustrations with Irene and her government as it was a substantial theological concern.¹³

The theological battles vital for the Carolingians focused on Christology and Trinitarian theology, rather than on the veneration of images or even relics. Such concerns emerge in the *Caroline Books* themselves.¹⁴ The *Caroline Books*, the major theological response to the Byzantine conflict, were written around 790. Alcuin and Theodulf are most frequently suggested as authors, although there are other possible candidates. At present, the evidence for Theodulf as major author seems the most substantial.¹⁵

In 794 the Council of Frankfort, using a theology akin to that of the *Caroline Books* (*Libri Carolini*), condemned the theology of Nicaea II. Pope Hadrian, who had originally informed Charles of Nicaea II through a very defective translation of the Acts of the Council, was told vociferously of the Franks' objections in a variant of the *Caroline Books* called *A Chapter against the Synod* (*Capitulare adversus Synodum*). Neither the full argument of the *Caroline Books* nor the digest in the *Capitulare* ever seem to have reached Constantinople, and the whole issue died out in the West until it took form again in various Protestant and "proto-Protestant" movements several centuries later, when the *Caroline Books* provided the Protestants, especially John Calvin, with much material for their arguments.

The importance of the *Caroline Books* lies in the fact that they represent the major reasoned Western reaction to the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy. Our other Latin documents are briefer variations of the *Caroline Books* or synodal decrees, such as those of Frankfort or those of Paris in 825. In this regard, the *Caroline Books*

¹³Martin, pp. 222-226.

¹⁴Reinhold Seeberg, *The History of Doctrines*, trans. Charles E. Hay (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952, 1954), 2: 27-29. Walther Schutz in *Einfluss Augustins in der Theologie und Christologie des VIII. und IX. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1913), provides a good general overview of the topic.

¹⁵Richard Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians* (Belmont, Mass., 1974), p. 48; Frederick Hoer, *Charlemagne and his Court* (New York, 1975), p. 166.

occupy a similar position to the works of John Damascene as a theological response to the conflict. For this reason I have chosen to compare these two sources rather than using the decrees of Nicaea II.

Theologically, the *Caroline Books* represent a mixture of ideas from a variety of sources ranging over a multitude of topics, including fundamental attacks on the veneration of images, arguments against what were sometimes grossly mistranslated statements of the Greeks, seemingly endless verbal quibbles, and personal assaults on the character of some of the Greek bishops (a fairly common convention of the time).

The *Caroline Books* are divided into four separate books, each with its own preface. In the first of these four books, the Greeks are accused of introducing innovations into the church, inasmuch as the Synod of Constantinople of 754 had called images in churches idols, whereas Nicaea II had encouraged worshipping images. Emperor Charles, the author asserts, wants images used as ornaments and memorials, but no more. The book proper attacks the imperial call to Nicaea II, defends the authority of the Roman Church, and examines scriptural passages which the Council used. The conclusion is actually reached in the second book, namely, that only God should be adored and worshipped. The second book ends by asserting the "ecclesiastical tradition," defending images as ornaments and memorials. It opposes either destroying or adoring them. In the third book, after a confession of faith, which the author supposed to be from Jerome, but which actually was from Pelagius, he levels personal attacks on Tarasius and Irene and some of the bishops. Relics, which either were from saints or had been in direct contact with the bodies of saints, are distinguished from the images, which did not meet these criteria. Relics, the author reasons in chapter 24, are from the body which will be raised and glorified with Christ on the last day, while images are mere artistic representations. Thus, relics should be given great veneration, far beyond that of images. The keeping of the divine law, not adoration of images, is the beginning of the fear of the Lord. Finally, the fourth book resumes an attack on individuals, on pronouncements of Nicaea II, and on the authority of this Council.¹⁶

¹⁶Text of the *Caroline Books* in PL 98: 999-1218; *Monumenta Germanicae Historiae*, ed. H. Bastigen (1924). Discussion in Martin, pp. 222-261; a summary and analysis of their influence by A. Hauck in Schaff-Herzog, 2: 419-422. No English translation is available. Major discussions are found in Stephen Gero, "The Libri Carolini and the Image Controversy," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 18 (1973): 7-34; Gert Haendler, *Epochen Karolingischer Theologie* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 27-42, 67-101.

3. *The Question of Grace-Bearing Properties of Matter*

Many strands of thought, marked by an impressive attempt to sort out issues on the basis of a fresh interpretation of Scripture and ecclesiastical authority, are woven together against a complex political background. In the remainder of this discussion I will focus on one thread which corresponds with that raised in my preceding discussion of the iconodules, namely, the grace-bearing properties of matter. It should be clear, even from the brief statements adduced so far, that the Greek iconodules and the Latins were operating on the basis of differing assumptions about matter, its potential for deification, and its relationship to Christ or the saints. The Latins rejected out of hand the concept of any sacramental or grace-bearing property of the icon with respect either to the soul or body of the believers, and they seemed ignorant of the Greek views on that issue.¹⁷ In fact, with the exception of John Scotus Erigena, no Carolingian theologian, even Alcuin or Theodulf, seems to have had any significant functional knowledge of the Greek language. Thus, although these Carolingians expressed some desire to know the works of the Greek theologians, they had no direct access to them.¹⁸

The Latin theologians regarded images as being edifying mental reminders, instructional aids, or simply decorations. The *Caroline Books* posit no intrinsic connection between the believers' respect paid to the image and the grace or favor received as a result of that encounter; in fact, they deny that the icon is the vehicle of grace. Even relics, which were far superior to icons and highly valued in the religious-cultural world of the Carolingians, did not always bear grace to the believer, and their worth and the occasional miracles worked through them were not an intrinsic part of them.¹⁹ God chose to use them, not for their present reality, but because at the last day they would be part of the particular saint's glorified body.

Such a perspective is not peculiar to the author of the *Caroline Books*, but has its roots in the theology of Augustine, on which the books themselves and Carolingian theology as a whole so heavily depended.²⁰ The *Caroline Books* reflect some of Augustine's fun-

¹⁷Gero, "Libri Carolini," pp. 14-15.

¹⁸Haugh, pp. 34-35.

¹⁹Arthur Mirgeler, *Mutations of Western Christianity* (New York, 1964), pp. 55-59.

²⁰Gero, p. 9; Haugh, p. 17.

damental theological assumptions, and cite him by name more than any other author—twenty-two times. Jerome, with the next highest number of references, was directly or indirectly quoted in eighteen different places, usually as support for the interpretation of biblical passages. Although this Carolingian Augustinianism had been tempered in some of its interpretation of free will and predestination under the influence of Gregory the Great, Augustine's opinion about the issues which relate to the image controversy was clearly felt in the theology of the *Caroline Books*. As Gert Haendler has noted, in summarizing other scholarly research, Augustine's influence was spiritualizing and bound up with an eschatological vision in the *Caroline Books*.²¹ My attempt here is to determine more specifically what this means with respect to the view of the role which matter could play in human "deification."

In seeking support from Augustine's writings, the author of the *Caroline Books* ranged widely over the Augustine corpus, using material from the *Letters*, *Sermons*, the *83 Different Questions*, *Commentary on the Psalms*, *On Christian Doctrine*, *On Heresies*, and *On the Trinity*.²² Augustine's theology is, of course, highly complex and nuanced, and his views did not remain static. Although the author of the *Caroline Books* truly represents Augustine in the sense that Augustine really says what the author claims for him, that which is clearly and boldly stated in the *Caroline Books* was in Augustine himself more carefully balanced and qualified. That is to say, the Augustinian theology of the *Caroline Books* is authentic "Augustinianism," albeit simplified.

In these *Books* Augustine's understanding of "image" as distinguished from "similitude" is explored (1:2), warnings against idolatry are delivered (4:25), and arguments raised about the true and false in worship (4:18). Major themes are often repeated, such as the insistence that the image of God is spiritual (see, e.g., 2:16), and it is declared that the human body is not a part of this imaging (2:21). In a slightly different perspective, Augustine is cited as being doubtful of veneration given to images that are reported to have worked wonders,

²¹Gero, "Libri Carolini," pp. 9-10; Haendler, pp. 57-58, 62; Haugh, pp. 17, 52. Haugh, pp. 35-36, comments on the Byzantines' ignorance of Augustine, who was known exclusively through florilegia, and their consequent inability to understand the fundamental theological approach of the Latin West.

²²References to Augustine are in 1: 2, 6, 8, 9, 11; 2: 5, 16, 22, 24, 28, 30; 3: 4, 5, 25, 27; 4: 18, 25, 27.

because such signs have been caused through the magic arts (2:25).

The author of the *Caroline Books* insists that the true image of God is the Son, through whom God's children are transformed into God's image in Spirit. Actually, Augustine's theological understanding precludes any direct relationship between matter and grace, such as that which is found in John of Damascus. Augustine identifies the image of God with the spirit, as does John, but suggests no way in which the body can participate in the divinization of the spirit in this present life. Salvation of the body is understood eschatologically: The body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, and it will be glorified in the final resurrection.²³ On the other hand, in John's thought and that of the iconodules generally, the flesh is even now being deified and transformed; one does not find the great gap between present earthly life and the eschaton that Augustine would seem to propose. Thus, the central argument against the deification of matter depends not so much on a positive assertion by Augustine, but rather on John's refusal to admit that the flesh will be deified only at the final resurrection.

Related to this matter is an assertion of Augustine relating to the material element of the sacraments. In wide contrast to the theology of the iconodules, Augustine's theology of the sacraments had emphasized the spiritual to the extent of leaving no real function for the matter of the sacrament, except to be the visible expression of that which must be "spiritually understood."²⁴ That is, the sacramental matter has no necessary or intrinsic relation to the spiritual effect, nor does the matter of the sacrament have any effect on the believer's body. Whereas in John's theology the matter of the sacrament deifies the body and the spiritual grace the soul, for Augustine the body is not deified now but must await the eschatological fulfillment, the matter of the sacrament having no intrinsic meaning, except to be—because of Christ's word—the visible sign of invisible grace. Thus, Augustine's sacramental theology undercut another theological position which might have made the iconodule position comprehensible in the West.

Relics are prized very highly by the *Caroline Books*, just as they are by Augustine, who valued them highly in his career as priest and bishop. Augustine, however, does not posit any necessary connection between the matter of the relics and the miraculous intervention of

²³*De Doc. Christiani*, 1: 19; *De Trin.*, 14: 4 (6).

²⁴*En. in Ps.* 98: 8; cited in *LC* 2: 5.

God. God simply uses them for a manifestation of his power, and Augustine does not formulate any intrinsic reason why this should be so. His only attempt to do so relates to the value of these bones, which will finally be glorified at the end of time. Their value is through anticipation, and Augustine never explains why God uses them here and now as vehicles of grace.²⁵ The power of relics is miraculous in the most strict sense, and therefore Augustine does not attempt to make a direct relationship between healing of a physical or spiritual kind and the relics which convey or bear such healing to the person. It would, therefore, seem more appropriate to call his perception of the relationship of the matter to the gracious work of God as “miraculous” rather than as “sacramental.”

4. Conclusion

The point of the foregoing observations is to indicate that whereas Augustine constantly downplayed and minimized the grace-bearing capabilities of matter—whether relics, the human body, or sacramental elements—John of Damascus clearly had a substantially different view. The latter shared a concept of the sacramental possibilities of matter—namely, that the icon was an extension of the saint’s body, here and now being deified and extending grace to the believer—while Augustine had put off the gracious deification of matter until the eschaton. It seems to me crucial to acknowledge that because of their dependence on Augustinian theology on this point, the Latins simply did not have the theological framework to enable them to assimilate or even to understand what the iconodules claimed they were doing in their veneration of the icons. Although this was not the only or probably even the major theological difference between the author of the *Caroline Books* and the iconodules, it represents a crucial distinction which prevented the Latins from plumbing the depths of Greek theology on this issue.

²⁵E.g., *De Civ. Dei*, 22: 8; F. Van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop* (New York, 1961), pp. 471-497.

BRIEF NOTES

SOME FURTHER EXAMPLES OF ANTI-JUDAIC BIAS IN THE WESTERN TEXT OF THE GOSPEL OF LUKE

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In the last issue of *AUSS*, I presented a brief note on variant readings found in the Western text (particularly in Codex Bezae [D]) of the Gospel according to Luke that show an anti-Judaic bias.¹ In this present study I will conclude this appraisal of anti-Judaic variants, but by no means exhaust the total number of such variants.

1. *The Old Wine*

The first variant to be considered here is found in a passage that already contains anti-Judaic overtones (Luke 5:33-39). Some of Jesus' hearers asked him why it was that his disciples did not fast when the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fasted religiously. Jesus replied that the attendants of the bridegroom could not fast while he was with them. However, the days would come when the bridegroom would be taken from them, and then they would fast. This explanation is followed by the parable of the patched garment and the wineskins. The parable is concluded by a statement on the quality of the old wine.

¹*AUSS* 18 (1980): 51-57.

Luke 5:37-39

Codex B	Codex D
37. και ουδεις βαλλει οων νεον εις ασκουσ παλαιουσ ει δε μηγε ρηξει ο οωos ο νεos τουσ ασκουσ και αυτοσ εκχυθησεται και οι ασκοι απολουνται	37. και ουδεις βαλλει οων νεον εις ασκουσ . παλαιουσ ει δε μηγε ρηξει ο οωos ο νεos τουσ ασκουσ τουσ παλαιουσ και αυτοσ εκχυθησεται και οι ασκοι απολουνται
38. αλλ οων νεον εις ασκουσ κωουσ βλητεον	38. αλλα οων νεον εις ασκουσ κωουσ βαλλουσω και αμφοτεροι τηρουνται
39. ουδεις πιων παλαιον θελει νεον λεγει γαρ ο παλαιωσ χρηστοσ εστω	
37. "And no one places new wine into old wine- skins lest the new wine will burst the skins and will be poured out and the wine- skins destroyed.	37. "And no one places new wine into old wine- skins lest the new wine will burst the old skins and will be poured out and the wine- skins destroyed.
38. But new wine must be placed into new wine- skins.	38. But they place new wine into new wineskins and both are preserved."
39. No one drinking old wine wishes new for he says the old is better."	
v. 37 + τουσ παλαιουσ post ασκουσ, D cop ^{sa,bo}	
v. 38 βλητεον] βαλλουσω, N * D sy ^P cop ^{sa,bo} Marcion + και αμφοτεροι τηρουνται post βλητεον, D a e r	
v. 39 om. vs., D it Marcion Irenaeus Eusebius	

Jesus' parable on the patched garment and the wineskins is found in Matthew and Mark, as well as in Luke. However, the concluding statement at Luke 5:39 on the quality of the old wine is found in neither Matthew

nor Mark. It is generally agreed that the old wine in this verse is a symbol of Judaism and the new is a symbol of Christianity.²

Marcion's influence is recognized by some as a possible reason for the omission of this verse, for he would not wish to say that the Jewish religion was "better" than Christianity.³ However, it must be noted that many variant readings in the Western text, and particularly in D, result from an attempted harmonization with Matthew and Mark. Therefore, to say that this variant was influenced by Marcion is rather arbitrary. Whether one sees the omission of vs. 39 as a result of Marcion's influence, or as an attempted harmonization, it is clear that the omission is in keeping with the anti-Judaic sentiment of the Western text in Luke. This verse virtually admits the contentment of the Jewish people with their religion and Christianity's lack of appeal to them. This would be reason enough to lead the Western text, with its biases, to omit the verse. It is for this very reason also that some commentators believe that vs. 39 is "an interpolated apology for the relative failure of Christian missions among the Jews."⁴

If it is an interpolation, two things may be concluded: (1) the text is early, as is shown by the number of early witnesses that have this reading, and (2) the Western reading is the original. On the other hand, if it is not an interpolation, the omission of vs. 39 shows a reluctance on the part of the Western text to admit that Judaism has an appeal for some people that is stronger than the appeal of Christianity, a reluctance that may have led Matthew and Mark not to record the statement.

²William F. Arndt, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (St. Louis, Mo., 1956), p. 172; John Martin Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (London, 1960), p. 83; Norval Goldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), pp. 196-197; S. MacLean Gilmour, ed., *The Gospel According to St. Luke, IB* (Nashville, 1952), 8:110; Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, ICC (New York, 1906), pp. 163-164; J. J. van Oosterzee, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Lange's Commentary, trans. of 2d German ed. by Philip Schaff and Charles C. Starbuck; New York, 1869-1885), 17:89-90. Cf. Alistair Kee, "The Old Coat and the New Wine," *NovT* 12 (1970): 13-21, who believes that the original intent of the parable was not to introduce tension between the old and the new, but rather to indicate that the old is still worth patching. The significance of the double parable deals with the danger of loss, not with incompatibility.

³Arndt, p. 172; Creed, p. 83; Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary of the Greek New Testament* (London and New York, 1971), pp. 138-139.

⁴Gilmour, p. 110. Cf. Plummer, pp. 164-165, and F. W. Farrar, *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (Cambridge, Eng., 1891), p. 125.

2. *Jesus and Jewish Custom*

Several anti-Judaic variants represent an attempt to free Jesus (and in one instance, his followers) from the restrictions of the law and from Jewish customs. The following variants prepare the reader of the Western text for the denunciation of Pharisaic customs:

a. At Luke 11:37 Jesus was invited to a morning meal at the home of a Pharisee. Upon accepting the invitation, Jesus sat at the meal without having washed his hands. Offended at Jesus' lack of sensitivity to the laws of ritual purity, the Pharisee was critical of him.

Luke 11:38, 39

Codex B	Codex D
38. ο δε φαρισαιος ιδων εθαυμασεν οτι ου πρωτον εβαπτισθη προ του αριστου	38. ο δε φαρισαιος ηρξατο διακρευομενος εν εαυτω λεγειν δια τι ου πρωτον εβαπτισθη προ του αριστου
39. ειπεν δε ο κς προς αυτον νυν υμεις οι φαρισαιοι	39. ειπεν δε ο κς προς αυτον νυν υμεις οι φαρισαιοι υποκριται
38. "And the Pharisee when he saw it marveled because he did not wash first before taking of the meal.	38. "And the Pharisee taking issue within him- self began to say why does he not wash first before taking of the meal?
39. And Jesus said to him, Now you Pharisees"	39. And Jesus said to him, Now you Pharisees hypocrites"
v. 38 ιδων εθαυμασεν οτι] ηρξατο διακρευομενος εν εαυτω λεγειν δια τι, D 251 lat Tatian	
v. 39 + υποκριται post φαρισαιοι, D b	

In vs. 38 the Western text intensifies the reaction to Jesus' unconcern for ritual purity by having the Pharisee take issue "within himself" against Jesus, rather than just marvel because Jesus did not wash first. Furthermore, Jesus' rebuke of the Pharisee is intensified in D and b by Jesus calling his host a hypocrite. The intensified narrative results in a clear statement as to how the efforts of the Pharisees for ritual purity are viewed by the

scribes of D and b. Also, by this intensified dialog between Jesus and his host, the stage is dramatically set for the scathing rebukes that immediately follow in this passage.

b. The omission of the last part of the following verse is clearly anti-Judaic, for it eliminates from Jesus' teaching instruction which supports tithe paying, a teaching that would be thought of as a Jewish custom and tradition.

Luke 11:42

Codex B

αλλα ουαι υμω τοις
 φαρεισαιοις οτι αποδεκα-
 τουτε το ηδυσσμον και
 το πηγανον και παν
 λαχανον και παρερχεσθε
 την κρισω και την
 αγαπην ταυτα
 δε εδει ποιησαι κακεωα
 μη παρεωαι

"But woe to you Pharisees
 because you tithe mint
 and rue and every herb
 and you pass by justice
 and love
 but these things one must
 do and the others must
 not be neglected."

Codex D

αλλα ουαι υμειω τοις
 φαρισαιοις οτι αποδεκα-
 τουτε το ηδυσσμον και
 το πηγανον και παν
 λαχανον και παρερχεσθαι
 την κρισω και την
 αγαπην του θυ

"But woe to you Pharisees
 because you tithe mint
 and rue and every herb
 and you pass by justice
 and the love of God."

+ του θυ post την αγαπην, [rell; B]

om. ταυτα δε εδει ποιησαι κακεωα μη παρεωαι, D Marcion

C. G. Montefiore believes D is consistent in the omission of this clause. The principle of the omitted words ("These things one must do, and the others must not be neglected") is opposed to Jesus' behavior as a sensitive guest at the Pharisee's morning meal, i.e., the refusal to wash before eating is such a minor matter. Washing his hands would easily have accommodated the conscience of his host.⁵ Bruce Metzger feels these words were unacceptable to Marcion, who omitted them from his text, and this influenced the omission in D.⁶ However, as noted previously, D feels quite free to use

⁵C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, 2d ed. (London, 1927), 2:482.

⁶Metzger, p. 159.

any reading with which he is acquainted that fits his bias, whether it is found in Matthew or Mark, Marcion or Tatian. He even uses his own creations, as the addition of the man found working on the Sabbath at Luke 6:4 testifies.⁷

c. In the next series of variants, D attempts to free Jesus from the Jewish "custom" of Sabbath observance.

Luke 4:16

Codex B

και ηλθεν εις ναζαρα ου ην
τεθραμμενος και εισηλθεν
κατα το ειωθος αυτω εν τη
ημερα των σαββατων εις την
συναγωγην και ανεστη αναγ-
νωναι

"And he came to
Nazareth, where he had
been brought up, and en-
tered the synagogue on the
Sabbath according to his
custom

and stood up to read."

Codex D

ελθων δε εις ναζαρεδ οπου ην
κατα το ειωθος εν τη
ημερα των σαββατων εις την
συναγωγην και ανεστη αναγ-
νωναι

"And when he had come to
Nazareth, where,

according to the
custom, he was in the syna-
gogue on the Sabbath, he
also stood up to read."

και ηλθεν εις ναζαρα ου ην τεθραμμενος] ελθων δε εις
ναζαρεδ οπου ην, D
om. και εισηλθεν, D
om. αυτω, D

The variants in this verse have long been considered as resulting from Marcion, primarily because the verse in Codex B contains a statement that identifies Nazareth as the place where Jesus was brought up, and secondarily because Sabbath observance is presented as being Jesus' custom. Else-

⁷Speculations as to the origin of this unique reading are numerous. However, when the variants in the next two verses to be considered in our study (Luke 4:16; 23:56), as well as D's anti-Judaic bias, are taken into consideration, the origin of this reading should not be a mystery. D wishes to teach his community that the "Jewish Sabbath" is no longer binding. The variants at 4:16 and 23:56 show Jesus and his followers as being freed from Jewish law and customs regarding the Sabbath. The addition at 6:4 supports D's position. It would be much simpler to see this reading as a creation of D, reflecting what happened historically in the Christian church, i.e., the "Jewish Sabbath" was abandoned for the Christian "Lord's Day."

where I have shown that D is not adverse to Jesus' being brought up in Nazareth.⁸ Therefore, it seems that D used this so-called "Marcionite reading" for a reason other than removing a statement about Jesus' earlier residence in Nazareth.

Once *τεθραμμενος* ("brought up") is eliminated as a possible motivation for D's use of this reading, we are left with two variants that reflect a biased attitude toward the Sabbath as a Jewish institution. D simply carried over the omission of *τεθραμμενος* into his text along with the other omissions in which he was theologically interested.

By omitting *αυτω* ("his"), D implies that it was the custom of the townspeople of Nazareth to attend synagogue services on the Sabbath, and that it was not necessarily Jesus' custom, but that he attended the services for the opportunity of addressing the people. By this omission it becomes clear that D does not want to say that Jesus was personally bound by Jewish custom and tradition. If on the Sabbath he entered a synagogue where worship was being held according to the custom of the Jews, he did so on his own volition and not because he was bound by law or Jewish tradition.

d. It also appears that D intended to free the followers of Jesus from Jewish tradition concerning the Sabbath. In connection with the placing of Jesus' body in the tomb, we have this statement that is peculiar to Luke:

Luke 23:56

Codex B

*υποστρεψασαι δε ητοιμασαν
αρωματα και μυρα και το
μεν σαββατον ηουχασαν
κατα την εντολην*

"And they returned and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment."

Codex D

*υποστρεψασαι δε ητοιμασαν
αρωματα και μυρα και το
μεν σαββατον ηουχασαν*

"And they returned and prepared spices and ointments, and rested the Sabbath day."

om. *κατα την εντολην*, D

⁸George Edward Rice, *The Alteration of Luke's Tradition by the Textual Variants in Codex Bezae* (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1974), pp. 11-30.

By omitting the phrase *κατα την εντολην* ("according to the commandment"), D again changes Luke's textual tradition. Luke endeavored to maintain the Sabbath as a Christian institution by saying, among other things, that it was Jesus' personal custom not only to attend worship services on the Sabbath but also to participate in them when the opportunity was presented (4:16), and by having his followers rest according to the commandment contained in the Decalogue. D, on the other hand, presents Jesus and his followers as free from the law and Jewish traditional restrictions. The significance of the Sabbath as a Christian institution is lessened, if not destroyed.

3. *Conclusion*

In the previous study and in the present study I have presented a number of variants that show an anti-Judaic bias on the part of the Western text, and particularly on the part of D. In this study the anti-Judaic bias is shown by the Western text's omission of Luke's statement about the quality of the old wine. Thus any suggestion that the Jews would reject the teachings of Christianity because they were well satisfied with Judaism is removed.

The narrative of a confrontation between Jesus and a Pharisee is intensified in that the Pharisee's concern for ritual purity is seen as hypocrisy. D especially, by a series of variant readings, attempts to free Jesus from what many consider to be Jewish customs, i.e., paying tithes and observing the seventh-day Sabbath.

THE LOCATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ARMAGEDDON IN REV 16:16

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Because the sixth plague of Rev 16:12-16 contains specific references to geographical loci—the Euphrates and Armageddon—it has received more attention than the preceding plagues that deal more generally with sores, blood, heat, and darkness. In view of the great interest in these geographical references, their location and the OT imagery from which they are drawn should be examined in some detail.

1. *Historical Babylon and the Euphrates*

The Euphrates River referred to in vs. 12 is well known and there is no problem in identifying what concerns the imagery it involves. The course of the river brings us to the city of Babylon, and the reference to the drying up of its waters takes us back to a historical event in OT times when the sudden drying up of the river-bed contributed to Babylon's military fall. Forces from Media and Persia in the east were on the march to conquer Babylon in Tishri (or October) of the year 539 B.C., and they entered the city by way of the bed of the Euphrates River.

According to Herodotus (*The Histories*, 1. 189-191), the Persians diverted the Euphrates into canals they had dug for this very purpose, and then they gained access to the city by way of the river-bed. While the Persians probably did come into control of Babylon through this avenue, it is unlikely that they did so by carrying out the grand hydraulic engineering project that Herodotus describes. The dates in the Nabonidus Chronicle argue against a project of this magnitude. Cyrus attacked the Babylonian army in Opis on the Tigris early in Tishri.¹ Sippar fell next, on the 14th of Tishri; and Babylon was conquered by another division of his forces only two days later.

Not only do the dates connected with this campaign indicate that the Persians did not bother with so elaborate a scheme as that described by Herodotus, but the month in which it occurred indicates why such a scheme was unnecessary. The Euphrates is at its lowest ebb in Tishri;

¹For the text see A. L. Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts," in ANET², p. 306.

hence nature had already prepared the river route into the city for the Persians. Thus a king from the east—Cyrus—gained entrance to, and victory over, Babylon through the drying up of the waters of the Euphrates. This led to the deliverance of the people of God, for Cyrus was the one who allowed the Jews in exile to return to their homeland (Ezra 1-2).

The picture of these events was painted prophetically in Isa 44:24-45:6. There it was Yahweh who spoke to the waters on behalf of Cyrus: "Be dry, I will dry up your rivers" (44:27). Not by Persian engineering, therefore, but by decree of the God who is sovereign over nature was this accomplished. Thus Cyrus served as Yahweh's agent in these events, and for this reason he was designated as Yahweh's anointed shepherd. Yahweh also promised to "open the doors before him that the gates may not be closed. . . . I will break in pieces the doors of bronze and cut asunder the bars of iron" (45:1-2). The question of how the river gates were opened for the Persians has never been determined. Since Nabonidus was an unpopular king in Babylon, it has been suggested that disloyal forces inside the city opened the gates for the conquerors. Another possibility may present itself from the perspective given in Isa 45:1-2, so that the question may be asked, Could the hand that wrote on the wall of the palace that very night of Babylon's fall (Dan 5:5, 25) also have opened the city gates for the Persians?

When consideration is given to the analogy of Rev 16:12 with the historical drying up of the Euphrates River, a central fact stands out: the phraseology in Revelation refers to the coming of a Messianic figure who, by virtue of his victory, will deliver God's people.

2. *The "Waters of Megiddo" and "Mountain of Megiddo"*

An actual battle is not described in this sixth-plague passage; only the preparation for it is noted. In preparation for the coming battle "on the great day of God Almighty" (vs. 14), the forces of the threefold coalition of evil are to assemble "at the place which is called in Hebrew Armageddon" (vs. 16). The difference between the imagery drawn upon here and that employed in the case of the drying up of the Euphrates at the beginning of this plague passage should be noted. The river which ran down the Jezreel Valley and past Megiddo to the sea was not the Euphrates, but the Kishon. Conversely, it was Babylon, not Megiddo, which was located on the Euphrates in Mesopotamia. This mixing of historical metaphors appears to be intentional and should tell us something about the nature of

the battle on the great day of God Almighty which is to follow this plague. It should caution the commentator against excessive literalness in interpreting these references in terms of modern-day political entities in the Middle East or elsewhere.

The prophetic analogy or lesson which is to be drawn from the historical setting of Armageddon can only be determined after having located this place. Unfortunately, this has not been easy, and there has been considerable disagreement among commentators on this point, as G. E. Ladd has noted:

The word "Armageddon" is difficult; the Hebrew equivalent would be *har megiddon*—the mountain of Megiddo. The problem is that Megiddo is not a mountain, but a plain located between the Sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean, part of the valley of Jezreel (Esdraelon). It was a famous battleground in the history of Israel. At Megiddo, Barak and Deborah overthrew the Canaanite Jabin (Jud 5:19); Ahaziah was slain by Jehu (II Kings 23:29; II Chr 35:22). Why John calls it the mountain of Megiddo is not clear; R. H. Charles says that no convincing interpretation has yet been given of the phrase, it is unknown in Hebrew literature. . . . Whatever the derivation of the name, it is clear that John means by Armageddon the place of the final struggle between the powers of evil and the Kingdom of God.²

Closer attention to Palestinian geography would have aided in avoiding the pitfall into which Ladd and other commentators have fallen here. While Megiddo was not a mountain, it was not a plain either; it was a city. As such it was located in the plain or valley known as the Jezreel or Esdraelon. The valley was not named for the city, and this city did not derive its name from the valley in which it was located. It is possible to identify different aspects of the topography around ancient cities by naming them after those cities, however, and this was commonly done in Hebrew by using a construct chain to express a genitive of possession. This is the case in Judg 5:19, which locates the battlefield where the forces of Jabin and Sisera met those of Deborah and Barak in the vicinity of the "waters of Megiddo."

What are these "waters of Megiddo"? A quick glance at the topography of the Jezreel Valley and the Song of Deborah is sufficient to identify them. Megiddo was located on the south edge of the Jezreel Valley; and the body of water that coursed through this valley, and hence by Megiddo, was the Wadi Kishon. Indeed, the identification of the "torrent Kishon"

²G. E. Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972), p. 216.

with the “waters of Megiddo” is clearly made in the Song of Deborah itself (Judg 5:21 compared with 5:19).

The point here is that Yahweh, as the God who controlled and used the elements of nature to serve his purposes, brought the rainstorm which filled the Kishon full to overflowing. The rain and the overflowing river turned the area of the Jezreel valley into a quagmire in which the chariots of the Canaanite foes bogged down and were unable to maneuver. In this way Yahweh gave his people a great victory that day by the “waters of Megiddo.”

By analogy with this historical setting and with the construct chain “the waters of Megiddo,” the “mountain of Megiddo” should be located near that city. Megiddo was located at the foot of the northern slope of what modern geographers of Palestine commonly have called the Carmel range of mountains. This specific kind of terminology, however, never was used for Carmel in the Bible. The place name Carmel occurs twenty times in the OT, and sixteen of those times it appears as a place name without being connected with a determinative like “mount” or “mountains.” In three of the sixteen occurrences it is paired poetically with Bashan in Transjordan (Isa 33:9; Jer 50:19; and Nah 1:4), and in one instance it is paired with Sharon, the plain which spreads out south of it (Isa 35:2).

In four instances Carmel is identified by a determinative, which always is in the singular: “the mountain of Carmel” or “Mount Carmel” (never “the mountains of Carmel”). Two of these references relate to the experience of Elijah (1 Kgs 18:19, 20), and two come from narratives about Elisha (2 Kgs 2:25; 4:25). Just as the expression “waters of Megiddo” refers to a river which ran by Megiddo but was known by another name—the Wadi Kishon—so the “mountain of Megiddo” should be identified with the mountain which lies close to Megiddo but was known by another name: Mount Carmel. On the basis of geographical proximity as well as historical and textual analogy, therefore, the “mountain of Megiddo(n)” in Rev 16:16 should be identified as Mount Carmel.

3. The Ancient Battle of Mount Megiddo and Analogy with Rev 16:16

Not only should Mount Megiddo in Rev 16:16 be identified with Mount Carmel geographically, but the connection should also be made historically. Just as the image of the drying up of the Euphrates is drawn from a historical battle for Babylon in the time of Cyrus, and just as the battle by the waters of Megiddo refers to a specific and famous battle in the Jezreel

Valley, so also Mount Carmel was the site of another famous battle in Scripture: the battle between Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18). This battle was not fought with the force of arms, however; instead, it was an intensely spiritual conflict. It is from this battle that we should draw the imagery upon which the "battle of Armageddon" in Revelation depends. All of the main elements of the latter are paralleled in 1 Kgs 18 in historically concrete form.

If the dragon of Rev 16:13 represents the power of the civil state in one way or another, then that power was represented by Ahab in the contest on Mount Carmel. If the beast of Rev 16:13 is connected with the beast of Rev 13 and the impure woman of Rev 17-18 as an apostate religious form, then that element was represented by Jezebel in the encounter on Mount Carmel.³ It is granted, of course, that Jezebel was not personally present at the contest according to 1 Kgs 19:1, but it was she who, as a Phoenician princess and Israelite queen, inculcated the cult of Baal into the warp and woof of the life of the northern kingdom. The third element that will gather forces to Mount Megiddo according to Rev 16:13 will be the false prophet. This is the first time the term "false prophet" occurs in the book of Revelation. False prophets were generously represented on Mount Carmel, there having been 850 of them in attendance (1 Kgs 18:19). (Elijah, as might be noted in passing, came from the east—from Tishbe in Gilead.)

Finally, the contest on Mount Carmel was settled by fire which came down from God and consumed Elijah's sacrifice and everything that was around it. The prophets of Baal were then put to the sword at the Wadi Kishon. Once again it should be emphasized that the sixth plague does not describe the actual fighting of a battle; it only portrays the preparation for that battle. The dragon, the beast, and the false prophet call all of their followers together at Mount Megiddo, just as Elijah had Ahab summon all Israel to Mount Carmel for the contest. The battle which is prepared for under the sixth plague, however, is actually fought in Rev 19:11-21. This is the battle of Armageddon, or more properly, the "battle on the great day of God Almighty" (Rev 16:14). This battle is to be fought when Christ shall ride forth from heaven as King of kings and Lord of lords with the army of his heavenly host following him. The victory will be gained in a similar way, by fire over the beast and false prophet (Rev 19:20), and by the sword over their followers (vs. 21). This is not a sword like the one used

³Cf. the reference to Jezebel also in Rev 2:20.

in the time of Elijah, however; it is the sword which issues from the mouth of the King of kings (vss. 15, 21).

4. Conclusion

On the basis of analogy with the historical setting in the OT from which the imagery of Rev 16:16 is drawn, this final conflict should be seen ultimately and essentially as a spiritual conflict in which the principal contending personages are supernatural, even Christ and his arch-antagonist, "the great dragon, . . . that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world" (Rev 12:9). The issue for the people of God in such a time will be the same as that about which Elijah prayed before the assembly, "O Yahweh, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, . . . that this people may know that thou, O Yahweh, art God, and that thou hast turned their hearts back" (1 Kgs 18:36-37). And their response of allegiance at that time will find fitting expression in the acclamation of the assembly on Carmel: "Yahweh, He is God; Yahweh, He is God" (vs. 39).

PSALM 109: DAVID'S POEM OF VENGEANCE

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The byline of Ps 109 indicates that David is the author of this Psalm. As H. C. Leupold states, "In view of the reliability of the headings generally, we feel prompted to accept this claim of Davidic authorship as being correct."¹ It should be noted also that Pss 108 and 110 both carry the superscription "Psalm of David," generally accepted as being correct. This fact adds additional weight to the acceptance of David as the author of Ps 109.

Why do I thus emphasize the Davidic authorship of this Psalm? My reason is that as an Imprecatory Psalm, Ps 109 seems out of harmony with so many of the other psalms of David. In fact, Ps 109 is the most emphatic of the Imprecatory Psalms in calling down curses on an enemy, and as such has caused commentators to think up various explanations as to its meaning and the reason for its inclusion in the Psalter.

C. A. Briggs, e.g., maintains that this Psalm is a composite, the imprecatory section having been joined to a prayer for deliverance.² He sees this joining to be the work of a much later editor apparently preparing the psalms for congregational use, the imprecations being from a Maccabean psalm. E. A. Leslie, as well as others, supplies a different kind of explanation, namely, that "verses 6-19 . . . are not part of the psalmist's own prayer, but a recitation by him of the charges which have been preferred against him."³ He finds support in the fact that the imprecations are hurled against one man, whereas the prayer section refers to enemies in the plural; and he also argues that the imprecations do not fit in with David's character.

¹H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of the Psalms* (Columbus, Ohio, 1959), p. 763.

²Charles Augustus Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* (New York, 1907), pp. 364-366.

³Elmer A. Leslie, *The Psalms* (New York, 1949), p. 388.

By far the greater number of commentators, however, appear to accept the Psalm as it stands. With reference to the view just mentioned, that the Psalmist is quoting his adversaries, *IB* indicates that "a more probable interpretation is that in verses 6-19 the psalmist himself is speaking, and that for the sake of vividness he refers to his enemies collectively as one person. . . ." ⁴ This concept is supported by other commentators. ⁵

If we then accept this Psalm without assuming that it is the work of an editor or that David is quoting his enemies, how do we explain David's use of such harsh and revengeful imprecations? F. Delitzsch proposes that "they are explained by the depth of David's consciousness that he is the anointed of Jahve. . . . It is not the spirit of Zion but of Sinai which here speaks out of the mouth of David" ⁶ Indeed, repeatedly in the OT we find the spirit of vengeance shown towards God's enemies, the enemies of God's people, and even against God's people themselves when they continued in their rejection of God. We should not think it strange, then, that David should utter words such as these, whether against a personal or national enemy. In either case, such an enemy must ultimately be an enemy of God.

With this background, we turn now to a literary study of this Psalm, which may carry implications as to the Psalm's basic unity as well as its message.

1. *Overall Structure of the Psalm*

Ps 109 falls naturally into three main divisions, having an A-B-A' pattern: A. There is a plea for help because of the wrong done the Psalmist by his enemies (vss. 1-5). B. Next follow imprecations against his chief enemy in the form of a prayer to God (vss. 6-20). A'. Finally, there is a further plea for help which concludes with praise to God for his salvation (vss. 21-31).

The Psalm can further be thought of as having six stanzas, each containing five verses, except the last stanza which has six verses: Stanza 1 is the Psalmist's plea to God for help; stanza 2 begins the imprecations against the Psalmist's enemy, with emphasis on his family; stanza 3 continues the imprecations with emphasis on his

⁴*IB*, 4: 582.

⁵E.g., Leupold, pp. 763-764, and *The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary* (Washington, D.C., 1954), 3: 878.

⁶Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, trans. Francis Bolton (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1959), 3: 177.

enemy's possessions, ancestors, and posterity; stanza 4 concludes the imprecations with emphasis on his enemy's character; stanza 5 is a reiteration of the Psalmist's need; and stanza 6 is another plea for help, ending with praise for the deliverance the Psalmist knows is coming.

2. *Literary Features as a Lyric Psalm*

Ps 109 must stand high among the lyric psalms for its literary features. Several will be noted here.

Parallelism

As would be expected in Hebrew poetry, the Psalmist has continually used thought-parallelism. The outstanding examples are synonymous parallelism, as in vss. 2, 5, 9, 13, 27:⁷

For wicked and deceitful mouths are opened against me,
 Speaking against me with lying tongues.
 So they reward me evil for good,
 And hatred for my love.
 May his children be fatherless,
 And his wife a widow!
 May his posterity be cut off;
 May his name be blotted out in the second generation!
 Let them know that this is thy hand;
 Thou, O Lord, hast done it!

In the last distich, there is also, in vs. 31, an example of synthetic parallelism of reason:

For he stands at the right hand of the needy,
 To save him from those who condemn him to death.

It is interesting to note that of the thirty-one verses in this Psalm (as given in our English Bible), twenty-eight are distichs. The other three are tristichs.

Figures of Speech

Another important lyric aspect in Ps 109 is the use of figures of speech, as in vs. 18:

He clothed himself with cursing as his coat,
 May it soak into his body like water,
 Like oil into his bones!

⁷All quotations herein from the Psalms are from the RSV, used by permission of the Division of Education and Ministry of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Here the first line employs a metaphor to state that the enemy cursed so much that it was as if curses were continually around him as a coat is around a man. Then the Psalmist uses similes, "like water" and "like oil," to imply that the curses instead of being around his enemy should enter wholly into him and become part of him, thus acting on his life rather than on those originally cursed. This thought is further emphasized by the use of two more similes in vs. 19.

Another metaphor and simile combination is found in vs. 29:

May my accusers be clothed with dishonor;
 May they be wrapped in their own shame as in a mantle!

The first line gives the metaphor "clothed with dishonor" in requesting that everything about the enemy should only bring dishonor to him. The Psalmist then continues the synonymous parallel by employing a simile saying that his enemy's shame should cover him just as a mantle covers the body.

Vs. 23 furnishes an interesting example of a sequential use of similes:

I am gone, like a shadow at evening;
 I am shaken off like a locust.

The Emotional Element

Leland Ryken states that "the emotional element in a lyric poem is often considered its chief identifying trait — its differentia."⁸ Ps 109 is built around emotion. Section 1 (vss. 1-5) portrays a plea to God for help, uttered because of the depths of despair and helplessness in which the Psalmist found himself. His enemies spoke lies against him, attacked him without cause, and even returned hatred for love. What more could the Psalmist do than appeal to God? In section 2 (vss. 6-20), the Psalmist speaks from a heart filled with anger as he hurls imprecations against his chief adversary. He asks that his enemy's life be short, his goods be seized, his posterity be cut off, his sins be ever before the Lord and that all curses should become part of him. Although it is obvious that these curses arise from a heart full of anger seeking vengeance, it is not clear whether these curses are David's wishes against a personal enemy or whether they are uttered in behalf of the Lord God whose representative the

⁸Leland Ryken, *The Literature of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1974), p. 123.

Psalmist is. Section 3 (vss. 21-31) is built on two emotions. First there is a repetition of the despair mentioned in section 1, and then the mood changes to gratitude and praise. The Psalmist's physical condition or position has not changed, but with the hand of faith he has grasped God's promises as having already been fulfilled, and he gives thanks for them.

Use of Concrete Terms

One other important literary aspect of this work is the Psalmist's use of concrete terms rather than abstractions. This is particularly true in section 2, where it would have been possible to utter abstract imprecations against his enemy. However, this section is brought to life by the use of concrete details, illustrated by the following, in vss. 9, 11, 13:

May his children be fatherless, And his wife a widow!
 May the creditor seize all that he has; . . .
 May his posterity be cut off; . . .

Each time, the concrete detail furnishes an added facet to the picture of ultimate destruction and oblivion that the Psalmist wishes on his adversary.

Conclusion

What meaning, then, can we get from this Psalm? The obvious or primary meaning is David's plea for divine help and his curses on his chief adversary. In addition, we could see this as a prophetic Psalm (cf. Peter's quoting of vs. 8 and applying it as a fulfilled prophecy in the experience of Judas Iscariot [Acts 1:20]), and we might, indeed, view the imprecations of this Psalm as prophetic utterances against all bad men.

Moreover, as R. G. Moulton reminds us, "We in modern times are quite accustomed to feel enthusiasm for the abstract thing we call 'a cause'; with the ancient world it was necessary for the cause to be embodied in a concrete party. . . . When the psalmist's hatred of evil men has once been translated into the form of hatred against evil, it will be felt that the passages cannot be too strongly worded."⁹ When viewed in the light of this concept, the overall structure and the lyric features we have noted above speak to the unified theme of

⁹Richard G. Moulton, *The Literary Study of the Bible* (Boston, 1895), p. 183.

Ps 109, but also raise another pertinent question: Can we not in this Psalm see more than merely a desire for a particular adversary to be brought low? Can we not indeed see David's desire for sin or wickedness itself to be extirpated? If so, moreover, can we not ourselves much more readily identify with David as Psalmist?

PARALLELS TO A RARE DOUBLE-SPOUTED
EARLY ROMAN OIL LAMP FROM TOMB E.6, TELL HESBÂN

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Loma Linda, California

A unique double-spouted Early Roman Oil lamp was found at Tell Hesbân, Jordan, during the 1974 Andrews University/American Schools of Oriental Research Expedition. (See p. 172 for a photograph.) This appears to be the first from the context of controlled stratigraphy.

Located on the western hills across the Wadi el-Majarr from Tell Hesbân is Area E, where a number of Roman/Byzantine rock-hewn tombs can be observed only a short distance southwest from the acropolis. Tomb E.6,¹ a type 2 tomb with a single locus,² provided two Roman cooking pots and an unusual "Herodian"-type lamp with two spouts and a high central column, previously broken off at the top (handle?). Its color is mottled black-white,³ with each of the two spouts (3 cm. wide) at the opposite ends of the oil reservoir (7 cm. in diameter). The lamp base and central column (2 cm. at the broken top) seem to have been made on a wheel by a potter who used his imagination to include easy suspension from the loop that may have completed the column; the design also had the benefit of doubling the "candle" power with two oil spouts. The lamp is 13 cm. long (nozzle to nozzle) and 9 cm. high.⁴ It was found on bedrock under four soil loci at a depth of 1.31 m., the loci covering the tomb face. The ceramic evidence for each locus ranged from Locus 1, Byzantine, to Locus 4, Early Roman. (Note the ceramic discussion of the Early Roman period.)⁵

¹James H. Stirling, "Heshbon 1974: Areas E, F, and G.10," *AUSS* 14 (1976): 102-103.

²According to the categories of S. Douglas Waterhouse, in "Heshbon 1971: Areas E and F," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 120.

³Munsell chart was unavailable. On the Grumbacher Color Compass Wheel the colors are #1, black; #9, off-white.

⁴The author wishes to thank Mr. Samir Issa Ghishan, of the Madaba Regional Museum, Jordan, for his assistance in providing these measurements.

⁵James A. Sauer, "Heshbon 1971: Area B," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 63-69.

1. *Published Multiple-“Bow-Spouted” Early Roman Lamps*⁶

There are only a few published parallels to the rare Early Roman lamp with two bow-spouts found in Tomb E.6. This situation may be due either to the small number of lamps with multiple spouts discovered thus far, or because the lamps that have been found come from an unknown ceramic context. The paucity of published information regarding these lamps limits the chance of finding evidence of the ceramic development for this innovative style, at least for the present. The existing information on this style of lamp is as follows:

R. H. Smith has described a two- and a four-bow-spouted lamp, both belonging to the Whiting Collection of Palestinian Pottery, Yale University Art Gallery: (a) The design of the lamp with two nozzles is larger than the common one-bow-spouted lamp, often referred to as the “Virgin’s Lamp” or “Herodian Lamp.” Dated to the middle of the first century A.D., it has “extravagant incised decoration”⁷ and two spouts formed, side by side. Both of these attributes make it quite different from the E.6 lamp of Ḥesbân. (b) The closest parallel to the Ḥesbân double-bow-spouted lamp is the second one, described by Smith — Type 29, Number 841:

The latter example is also unique in that it was wheel made in two sections, after which the four nozzles and a loop for suspension were attached. No exact parallel is known, but a wheel made ring lamp in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto exhibits the same manufacturing technique, and our lamp can most probably be dated with it to the second century, B.C.⁸

Further information is given concerning this unusual lamp: “(W772) Grey black ware. Hanging lamp with four nozzles. Wheel made. Hellenistic. D = .145; H = .105.”⁹ In a subsequent study Smith gave additional information for Number 841:

The rare four-spouted Herodian lamp shown on the right in Figure 4 is even more complex, yet manages to convey a pleasing appearance. It is well made of grey ware with a grey-black slip. It was clearly meant to be placed in the center of a room. In designing

⁶Paul W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C. — A.D. 70*, *Archaeology*, Vol. 3 (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1961): 25.

⁷Robert Houston Smith, “The Household Lamps of Palestine in New Testament Times,” *BA* 29 (1966): 14.

⁸Robert Houston Smith, “The Development of the Lamp in Palestine,” *Berytus* 14 (1963): 95.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 114.

this lamp the potter surmounted several technical difficulties competently. Since the presence of wicks on all sides of the bowl made carrying difficult, the potter added a tall ring-handle in the center which he joined to the body by a discus. Closing the oil reservoir in this way meant, however, that some means of filling the lamp had to be found, so the potter punched two small filling-holes on opposite sides of the bowl. In order that the oil would run into the holes properly, he depressed the discus sufficiently to form a catch-basin.¹⁰

Smith published a third source in the development of multiple-spouted "Herodian" type lamps and describes a larger ring-shaped lamp, mentioned in his 1963 quotation above. This lamp was first described by Winifred Needler who states:

Lamps with several wicks burned more oil but gave a much brighter light. The large ring-shaped lamp which originally had thirteen nozzles was imported from Greece during the Hellenistic period; the tubular ring which contained its oil was folded into shape and the hand-modelled nozzles, filling funnel and loop handle were then added; marks both on the exterior and on the hollow interior suggest that the walls of the ring were wheel-made.¹¹

The dimensions of this large multiple-spouted Greek lamp are provided. "Diam. of largest (to tip of nozzles) 24.5 cm. (9 5/8 in.)."¹²

2. Unpublished Multiple-"Bow-Spouted" Lamps

Besides the published lamps with multiple bow-spouts, there are others which to date have not appeared in the literature. Two examples can be seen in the Israel Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem. The first is a very large square lamp with twenty-one nozzles. The date and provenance are unknown, but it could be hypothesized that it was made in the late Hellenistic period, as was the lamp described by Needler above. The second is similar to the four-spouted lamp in the Whiting Collection at Yale University Art Gallery described by Smith.

Correspondence with Dan P. Barag,¹³ of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, provided evidence of another four-spouted lamp from a private collection in Jerusalem. However, as with the other unpublished multiple-spouted lamps, the date and provenance are not known.

¹⁰Smith, "Household Lamps," p. 15.

¹¹Winifred Needler, *Palestine Ancient and Modern* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, 1949): 41-42.

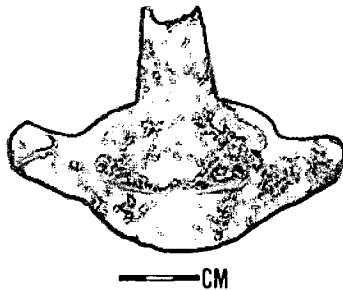
¹²*Ibid.*, Plate X.

¹³Dan P. Barag, Personal Letter.

A two-spouted lamp, with a central handle similar to the Ḥesbân E.6 lamp, is now in the Ellis Museum at the University of Missouri. Differences include lack of "bow-spouts," and an abundance of incised decoration, which may indicate a late Roman or Byzantine date.

Since there is a dearth of information concerning lamps with multiple nozzles, a discrepancy in Smith's accounts is puzzling and disconcerting. In an article in *Berytus* in 1963, Smith states that the unique four-spouted lamp (No. 841) was found at Ascalon and that it probably dates from the second century B.C.,¹⁴ as does the above-mentioned ring lamp now exhibited in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. However, in a later account published in *BA*, he gives a word description below the lamp's picture and says its date is "ca. the middle of the 1st century A.D." and it is "of unknown Palestinian provenance."¹⁵

If the facts concerning the geographical and chronological context are confused, it would appear that there are no contextually dated predecessors for the E.6 lamp found at Ḥesbân. Also, on the basis of the Ḥesbân Early Roman evidence,¹⁶ this lamp should be assigned to the second of Smith's dates, i.e., middle of the first century.



Double-Nozzled Herodian Lamp from Tomb E.6
Photo: Paul H. Denton

¹⁴Smith, "Development of the Lamp," pp. 114, 95.

¹⁵Smith, "Household Lamps," p. 14.

¹⁶Sauer, "Heshbon 1971: Area B," pp. 63-69.

COINS FROM THE 1976 EXCAVATIONS AT HESHBON

ABRAHAM TERIAN
Andrews University

This report is the last of the preliminary reports on the coins found at Tell Ḥesbān, Jordan, from 1968-1976.¹ With the current publication covering 57 coins found in 1976,² the total of the coins found during the five campaigns has reached 395: 78 in 1968, 187 in 1971 (including a hoard of 66 coins), 35 in 1973, and 38 in 1974. Regardless of their condition, all of these coins have been accounted for in the respective reports, with 363 enumerated and 32 merely cited.³

Certain of the latest coins are worth singling out. Of the Roman provincial coins, no. 327 is of particular interest because of the rarity of its type. The reverse, showing a cart with domed canopy supported by four pillars and drawn right by four horses, appears only among the coins of Philadelphia (Amman) from the time of Aurelius to Commodus (second half of the second cent. A.D.). However, the Heshbon specimen differs somewhat from the two known types,⁴ and its attribution to Philadelphia cannot be determined with certainty because of the illegible inscription.

Two Islamic coins are of special interest: no. 344 is an Umayyad pictorial coin of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (A.D. 685-705), the 5th Umayyad caliph, known for his monetary reforms and the

¹For the earlier reports, see *AUSS* 9 (1971): 147-160; 12 (1974): 35-46; and 14 (1976): 133-141.

²Not included in the descriptive catalogue are the following very poorly preserved coins: nos. 355-356 (2468—B.7:19; 2676—C.6:72) are Roman *aes* III-IV type of the 4th-5th cent.; nos. 357-363 (2469—C.6:45; 2664—C.9:14; 2670—A.11:11; 2675—F.34:4B; 2879—K.1:4; 2880—C.9:37; 2881—G.15:20) are, to all obvious indications such as a partial reading of the word *as-Sulṭān*, all Mamlūk. Of these, no. 360 must have been dropped by a tomb-robber.

³For the latter, see *AUSS* 9 (1971): 156, n. 24.

⁴Cf. George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922), pp. 39, 41, nos. 11 and 20.

erection of the Dome of the Rock at the temple mound in Jerusalem. It shows the caliph standing in Byzantine style; a number of other Byzantine derivations are also noticeable.⁵ The other Islamic coin, no. 348, is of special significance to the dig. It is a poorly preserved 'Abbāsid silver coin (*dirham*) from the early tenth century. It is the only 'Abbāsid coin found at Tell Ḥesbān and must be correlated with the few other 'Abbāsid finds from the tell in order to account for this very poorly represented period in the occupational history of the site, a subject to which we shall return after cataloguing.

Except for the *dirham* cited above, all coins are copper.

Ptolemaic

307. (2477—D.3:108, fill in cave 83.) Ptolemy III, 246-211 B.C.
Similar to no. 269 in the 1974 report, but one eagle on rev.; between legs: Δ .
308. (2473—G.11:11, soil layer, continuous with loci 5-8.)
Obv. Head of Alexander the Great, r.
Rev. Eagle on thunderbolt, facing l., wings open; between legs: Δ; obliterated inscr. on l. and r. .

Seleucid

309. (2674—G.15:1, surface soil.) Antiochus VIII, 121-96 B.C.
Obv. Head of Antiochus r., radiate.
Rev. Eagle, facing l., wings closed, scepter over r. shoulder; inscr. r.: [BA] ΣΙΑ [ΕΩΣ] / ANTIOXOY; l.: [ΕΠ] ΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ; obliterated exergue.

Maccabean

310. (2480—D.4:92, ḥuwwār surface over 85.) Alexander Jannaeus, 103-76 B.C.
Similar to no. 47 in the 1971 report.
311. (2662—D.4:101, soil fill over bedrock between walls 86-103 and 32.)
Obv. Wreath of laurel, obliterated inscr. within.
Rev. Traces of two cornucopias.
312. (2671—G.14:8, multiple burials in undefined graves.) John Hyrcanus II, 67, 63-40 B.C.
Obv. Wreath of laurel, within: ⁶ יהוחנן / הגדל וחבר / היהודים
Rev. Two cornucopias, pomegranate between.

Nabataean

313. (2317—D.4:69, ḥuwwār and soil surface.) Aretas IV, 9 B.C.-A.D. 40.
Similar to no. 2 in the 1968 report.

⁵For more on this type, see the excellent introduction by John Walker, *Catalogue of the Muhammadan Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. III: *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-reform Umayyad Coins*, 2 vols. (London, 1956); cf. p. 32, no. 104.

⁶A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*, 4th ed. (Jerusalem, 1965), p. 40, no. 10 has π of line 3 at the beginning of line 4. Such differences are commonplace.

314. (2474—C.9:3, tumble above area of walls 8 21 35.)
Similar to the preceding.
315. (2871—C.9:38, wall, ceiling collapse debris in SW room.)
Similar to the preceding.
316. (2669—B.7:35, fill under late Roman stairway.) Malichus II, A.D. 40-70.
Obv. Jugate heads of Malichus II and wife; hair hanging down; obliterated field.
Rev. Two crossed cornucopias; two lines of inscr. between them above, and one line below: מלכר / שקי/לון
317. (2663—D.4:107, soil layer S of wall 88.) Rabbel II, A.D. 71-106.
Obv. Traces of two busts r.
Rev. Traces of two crossed cornucopias; two lines of inscr. between them above, and one line below: אמה / ל... / ...
318. (2872—G.4:33, soil layer.)
Similar to no. 276 in the 1974 report.
319. (2873—C.8:25, early Mamlūk occupation surface in E room.)
Similar to the preceding.
320. (2348—C.1:119, cleanup locus in NE.)
Similar to the preceding.

Provincial Roman

321. (2937—C.9:24, channel on bedrock in NW corner.) Judaea; Pontius Pilate, A.D. 30-32.
Similar to no. 5 in the 1968 report; date obliterated.
322. (2939—G.15:32, soil surface E of wall 2-8.) Alexandria; Trajan, A.D. 113/4.
Obv. Traces of head l.
Rev. Androsphinx r., recumbent; in exergue: LIS.
323. (2470—D.4:99, soil surface in NW corner of walls 100-103 and 88.) Caesarea; Hadrian, A.D. 117-138.
Obv. Bust of Hadrian r., laureate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; obliterated inscr. around.
Rev. City-goddess standing l., wearing turreted crown, chiton, and mantle; her r. foot rests on small figure, l. hand rests on spear or standard and r. holds another small figure; around: [CIF AVG] CAESAR.
324. (2591—A.10:4, soil accumulated over architecture after collapse.) Petra.
Obv. Bust of Hadrian r., laureate, draped, and wearing gorgoneion on breast; around: AYTKPATWP KAICAP TPAIANOC CEBACTOC.
Rev. City-goddess seated l. on rock, l. foot forward, wearing turreted crown, veil, long chiton, and mantle; l. hand holding trophy, r. extended open; around: ΠΕΤΡΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ.⁷
325. (2479—D.4:99, soil surface in NW corner of walls 100-103 and 108.) Aelia Capitolina; Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161.
Obv. Similar to no. 279 in the 1974 report.
Rev. Bust of Faustina I r., draped; obliterated inscr. around.
326. (2938—C.8:54, soil layer between W balk and walls 7 and 30.) Caesarea; Marcus Aurelius, under Antoninus Pius, A.D. 139-161.
Obv. Bust of Aurelius r., bareheaded; inscr. around: AV[RELIO CAES ANTON AVG P F].
Rev. Bust of Serapis r., hatted; inscr. around: COL P[RIM. . .] .

⁷Note the difference in Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 34, no. 1, where the obv. drape has less pleats and rev. feet are brought together.

327. (2668—C.9:14, subsoil with rock tumble.) Philadelphia (?).
Obv. Bust of Aurelius (?) r., bareheaded, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; obliterated inscr. around.
Rev. Cart with domed canopy supported by four pillars, drawn r. by four horses; obliterated inscr. above (and in exergue?).
328. (2476—C.8:11, collapse debris in W room.) Neapolis, Diadumenian, A.D. 217-218. Similar to no. 8 in the 1968 report, but in poorer condition.
329. (2318—C.8:19, collapse debris in SE corner, NW/SE wall.) Uncertain.⁸
Obv. Bust of emperor r., laureate and draped; around: . . .OCCEBOYC.
Rev. Bust of Zeus Serapis r., Laureate and wearing modius; illegible inscr. around.

Late Roman

330. (2319—C.7:47, soil layer S of wall 3.) Gallienus, A.D. 253-268.
Obv. Bust of Gallienus r., radiate and draped; around: GALLIENVS P F AVG; border of dots.
Rev. Soldier standing l., r. hand on shield, l. holding spear; around: VIRTVS AVG; border of dots.
331. (2667—C.8:13, collapse debris N of wall 15, 20.) Diocletian, A.D. 284-305.
Obv. Bust of Diocletian r., radiate and draped; around: IMP C C V[AL DIOCLET]IANVS P F AVG; pierced.
Rev. Similar to no. 282 in the 1974 report; obliterated field; pierced.
332. (2672—C.6:66, clayey, mud-like buildup.) Maximian, A.D. 286-305.
Similar to no. 282 in the 1974 report; obv. inscr.: IMP C M A MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.
333. (2875—G.14:23, soil layer E of wall 3.) Constantine I, A.D. 307-337.
Obv. Bust of Constantine I r., wearing wreath, helmet, and cuirass; around: [CONSTA]NTINVS AVG.
Rev. Obliterated.
334. (2874—F.31:21, rubble and soil fill in locus 7.) Constantius II, A.D. 337-346.
Obv. Head of Constantius II (A.D. 337-361) r., with pearl-diadem; around: [D N CONST]ANTIVS P F AVG.
Rev. Inscr. within wreath: VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX; obliterated exergue.
335. (2315—G.11:3, earliest phase of late Mamlūk tumble.) A.D. 346-354.
Obv. Bust of Constantius II r., with pearl-diadem and cuirass; around: [D N CONSTANT]IVS P F AVG.
Rev. Soldier advancing l., spearing fallen horseman; upper l. field: S; around: FEL TEMP REPARATIO; obliterated exergue.
336. (2665—F.31:13, collapsed ceiling and soil layer.) A.D. 354-361.
Obv. Similar to the preceding.
Rev. Soldier advancing l., spearing fallen enemy; around: [FEL] TEMP REPA[RATIO]; obliterated exergue.
337. (2940—C.5:219, soil layer S of wall 200.)
Similar to the preceding.
338. (2941—G.15:28, pit in earliest early Mamlūk phase, cut in floor of tabun 30.)
Similar to the preceding.
339. (2666—F.34:4D, soil layer on bedrock.) Valens, A.D. 364-378.
Similar to no. 284 in the 1974 report.
340. (2942—C.5:217, soil layer S of wall 200, E of wall 190.)
Similar to the preceding.

⁸Reminiscent of the coins of Alexandria.

341. (2876—C.9:37, collapse debris in SE room.) Arcadius, A.D. 383-408.
Obv. Bust of Arcadius r., with pearl-diadem, cuirass, and holding spear; around:
D N ARCADIVS P F AVG.
Rev. Victory advancing l., carrying trophy and dragging captive; around:
SALVS REIPVBLICAE: obliterated exergue.

Byzantine

342. (2478—C.10:4, subsoil and collapse debris.) Half *Follis* of Justin II, A.D. 575/6.
Obv. Similar to no. 19 in the 1968 report, but smaller and not pierced.
Rev. K (prominent mark of value—20 *nummi*); above, cross; beneath, []
(Antioch); 1. segment: ANNO; r. segment: IX (575/6); border of dots.
343. (2589—G.11:25A, foundation trench for latest early Mamluk phase cistern.) A.D.
572/3.
Similar to the preceding, regnal year ʿUḲ (572/3).

Umayyad

344. (2877—G.14:26, soil layer W of apse wall 4.) ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, 685-705.
Obv. Caliph standing, draped; outward inscr., clockwise, beginning top r.: *Li-‘Abd Allah ‘Abd al-Malik Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*.
Rev. M; below ʾ; outward inscr., clockwise, beginning top r.: *Lā ʾilāh ʾillā ʾllah Muḥammad Rasūl Allah*; border of dots.
345. (2475—C.6:4, W wall of SE room in latest early Mamluk phase.)
Similar to no. 21 in the 1968 report, but in poorer condition.
346. (2592—F.31:11, soil layer.)
Obv. Similar to no. 23 in the 1968 report.
Rev. Similar to no. 22 in the 1968 report, but the starlike flower is smaller and the inscr. is in three lines.
347. (2878—G.14:22, soil layer W of apse wall 4.)
Obv. Similar to no. 23 in the 1968 report.
Rev. Obliterated.

‘Abbāsīd

348. (2590—C.9:10, surface soil.) *Dirham* (2.61 gm.) of Abū Muḥammad ‘Aḏī al-Muktafī, 902-908.
Obv. Obliterated.
Rev. [*Li-ʾllah/Muḥammad/Rasūl/Allah/al-Muk [tafī bi-ʾllah]*]; linear border; illegible margin.

Ayyūbid (1171-1342)⁹

349. (2587—G.4:22, surface debris in cistern 5.) Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn, 1169-1193.
Obv. *Al-Malik/an-Nāṣir*; border of dots; illegible margin.
Rev. *Yūsuf/Bin Ayyūb*: border of dots, illegible margin.
350. (2350—G.11:1, surface soil and tumble including recent shallow-founded wall.)
Obv. *Yū* (continued as the last line) *al-Malik an-Nāṣir* (last two consonants downward)/*suf* (continuation of the 1st line); border of dots; illegible margin.
Rev. *Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ / bi-ʾl-‘adil*; border of dots; around: *Ḍariba haḏḏā ʾl-fils bi-Dimaṣḡk sanat . . . waḥamanīn* (i.e. [5]8[-] A.H., A.D. 1185-1193).
351. (2588—C.5:134, fill layer.) Al-Kamīl Muḥammad (Egyptian Branch), 1218-1238.
Similar to no. 75 in the 1971 report.

⁹End of the Hamah branch.

352. (2472—C.6:45, last floor in earliest early Mamlūk phase, N building.) An-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf (Halab Branch), 1236-1260.
Similar to no. 31 in the 1968 report, but in poorer condition.

Mamlūk (1250-1517)¹⁰

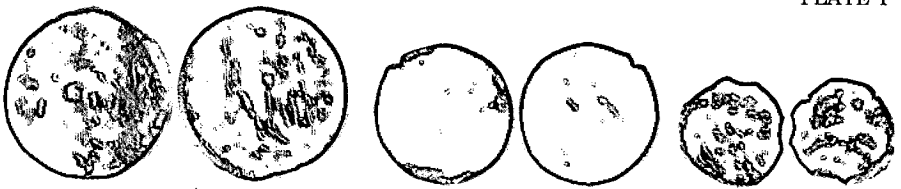
353. (2673—C.9:14, subsoil with rock tumble.) An-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 1293-1294, 1299-1309, 1310-1341.
Obv. [*Allah*] / *wa mā an-naṣr illā min 'ind/lā 'llah illā 'llah Muḥammad* /
Rev. [*Bi-Dimashq*] / [*sanat*] *khams* [*wa ṭhalathīn*] / [*a*]s-Sultān al-Malik an-Nāṣir / [*Nāṣir ad-Dunyā wa 'd-Dīn*] [*Muḥammad*] / [*Bin*] al-Malik Almansūr / *Ḳalā'ūn* (i.e. [7]35A.H., A.D. 1334).
354. (2471—C.8:18, ḥuwwār surface in E room.) Aẓ-Zāhir Barḳūḳ, 1382-1399.
Obv. *Ḍurā'ba* / *bi-'l-Ḳāhirā*.
Rev. *As-Sultān al-Malik* / *aẓ-Zāhir* . . . /

The fact that 'Abbāsīd coins at Tell Ḥesbān are almost nonexistent is not to be taken as an indication of no occupation during that period. The extreme scarcity of 'Abbāsīd coins could partly be due to the fact that these coins are predominantly silver, a commodity well sought by succeeding generations. In the absence of such coins, I had observed at the end of the first report that "there were either short periods of nomadic settlement or a lengthy sparse occupation during the 9th-12th centuries."¹¹ Some scant evidences of 'Abbāsīd occupation have come to light since 1973,¹² which, along with the recent discovery of the coin (no. 348), do not alter the conclusions reached earlier. In spite of the ever-increasing number of coins since the publication of the first report and the updating of the earliest coins to the Ptolemaic period, the occupational history outlined on the basis of the coins from the 1968 excavations remains virtually unchanged.

¹⁰Baḥrī Mamlūk (1250-1382), Burdjī Mamlūk (1382-1517).

¹¹*AUSS* 9 (1971): 160.

¹²See, e.g., J.A. Sauer, "Area B and Square D.4" *AUSS* 13 (1975): 138-139; H. O. Thompson, "Area C," *AUSS* 13 (1975): 170-171; etc.



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Ptolemaic, Seleucid, Maccabean, Nabataean, and Roman coins from the 1976 excavations at Heshbon. Photos: Paul H. Denton and J. Bjørnar Storfjell.

PLATE II



331



333



334



335



336



341



342



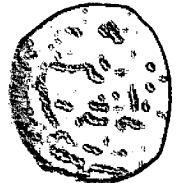
344



348



349



350



353



354



Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic coins from the 1976 excavations at Heshbon. Photos: Paul H. Denton and J. Bjørnar Storfjell.

BOOK REVIEWS

Brown, Raymond E., Donfried, Karl P., Fitzmyer, Joseph A., and Reumann, John, eds. *Mary in the New Testament. A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press; and New York: Paulist Press, 1978. xii + 323 pp. Paperback, \$3.95.

In 1973 a team of NT scholars, at the request of the U.S. Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogue, published a consensus statement called *Peter in the New Testament*. A model of contemporary historical-critical interpretation of the Bible, the book served as a kind of object lesson in methods shared across denominational lines.

Virtually the same group has tackled an even more sensitive issue, "a very divisive topic in Christianity, namely the role of Mary in Christian thought." In *Mary in the New Testament*, four Catholics, four Lutherans, two Episcopalians, and two theologians of the Reformed tradition present what they term "the NT data about Mary." They have isolated 37 NT texts and put them along with 21 NT apocryphal passages and a quick survey of second-century texts, carefully describing the import of each of them. The authors of the first draft of each chapter and the discussion leaders are identified, but the responsibility is assumed by the whole group.

Brown and his colleagues present the role of Mary in the NT and early Christian thought in a way marked by careful scholarship, lucid argument, intelligible writing — and surprising agreement. Pauline passages such as Phil 2:6-11, Rom 1:3-4, Gal 1:19, 4:4, and 4:28-29 are dutifully reviewed, but the team found little of direct Marian import. A majority of the task force did not believe either that Rev 12 originally referred to Mary, but agreed that, once incorporated in the NT canon, this material may have picked up a secondary Marian symbolism.

Not surprisingly, the most significant yields are found in the gospel narratives of Matthew, Luke, and John, though one's attention is soon called to the variety of concurrent Marian traditions in the early Christian community. The members of the task force see Mark as actually giving a "negative portrait" of Mary (especially Mark 3:20-35), though this view is regarded as more than offset by the later evangelists Matthew and Luke with their infancy narratives. They concur that Mark does not allude to the virginal conception, and remain undecided about the question of the perpetual virginity of Mary. In any case, the biblical authors are described as having no concern themselves with the latter issue.

Although the NT picture of Mary is considered to be far from unified, the members of the task force conclude that there is a generally highly positive picture of Mary as spokeswoman for the poor, as the obedient handmaiden of the Lord, and as a member of Jesus' eschatological family. Advocates of the historical-critical method will find few surprises. As the authors note: "... the task we set for ourselves was to see whether, as a group of scholars from different church backgrounds, we could agree upon a presentation of the NT data about Mary" (p. 294). To a remarkable extent they have been able to do so. For other readers, less convinced of the reliability of the modern exegetical methodology, the achievement of the authors' stated goal may have a more troubling effect. Roman Catholics, in particular, might find the final tabulation of results rather meager in view of the traditional role of Mary in Roman Catholic theology and piety. The issue is ecumenically important, for Catholics regard Mary's life-long virginity as a teaching of the church, not on conclusive biblical grounds, but as a belief that gradually took form in the early centuries.

The fact that this book raises more questions than it attempts to answer is

probably good evidence that the real issue lies elsewhere. The real ecumenical question regarding Mary will not be worked out on the level of exegesis, but rather on the level of theology and church praxis. What, for instance, does such a doctrine as the perpetual virginity of Mary mean for the ongoing life of the church? Is it a necessary part of Christian faith? What is the ultimate basis of its claim to authority? Is it reformable? What is the purpose of and legitimacy of the evolution of the church's reflection on Mary and her place in liturgy and piety?

For Roman Catholics and Protestants to agree on what is said about Mary in the NT may be the easiest step of all. The next step — namely, to decide what the churches are ready to say about Mary, and on what basis — will be more crucial for all who are concerned. The dozen scholars who contributed to *Mary in the New Testament* have probably made such a start possible.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Cassidy, Richard J. *Jesus, Politics, and Society: A Study of Luke's Gospel*. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1978. ix + 228 pp. \$15.95/7.95.

Since the 1960s there has been a growing interest in Jesus' political and social stance as portrayed in the Gospels. Cassidy attempts an evaluation of this stance in the Gospel of Luke.

The passages in Luke that contribute to an understanding of the social and political teachings of Jesus are approached by way of redaction criticism. At times this means examining a minor social or political statement within a passage to the neglect of the major theme that initially led Luke to record the passage. In a note at the end of the book the author recognizes that minor themes may be presented within passages that contain unrelated major themes, and an examination of these minor themes must not result in a contradiction of their contexts. However, if the reader did not bother to turn to the "notes" to each chapter, he would miss this important methodological point, as well as other helpful statements on methodology. This inconvenience, of course, is a weakness in the format of the book and not in the work of the author.

Chap. 1 is an elementary "introduction" to the Gospel of Luke. The problems of date, authorship, and Luke's skills as a theologian and historian are dealt with. Redaction criticism is briefly explained and identified as the method used in this study. Chaps. 2 through 6 deal with the social and political stance of Jesus. These chapters are followed by four appendices. The first three give a brief history of Palestine under the Romans and the Herods, the country's social and economic situation during the first century A.D., and a short survey of five socio-religious groups, i.e. the Pharisees, Zealots, Essenes, chief priests, and general populace. As with the first chapter, the first three appendices are elementary and make a contribution only to a reader who is unacquainted with these subjects.

Therefore, only chaps. 2 through 6 (pp. 20-86) and appendix 4 (pp. 128-130) contain a treatment of Jesus' social and political stance. Appendix 4 is a brief refutation of Hans Conzelmann's evaluation of Luke's gospel as a "political apologetic." This appendix is simply a collection of the arguments and conclusions worked out in the body of the book that are important to the author's refutation.

Cassidy defines social stance as "the response that Jesus made, through his teachings and conduct, to the question of how persons and groups ought to live together" (p. 20). Beginning with the reading from the scroll of Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth, Cassidy shows that the Lucan Jesus is concerned with "the poor, the captives, the blind, the oppressed." Luke's version of the "Sermon on the

Mount" supports an interpretation of the Isaiah passage that sees the poor and blind as literally poor and blind. Thus for Luke the passage from Isaiah sets the tone for Jesus' ministry. He will take a special interest in the outcast and despised of society, including women and Gentiles.

The Lucan Jesus is opposed to the accumulation of wealth. Surplus possessions are identified as "unrighteous mammon." Luke's account of Zacchaeus, therefore, not only portrays Jesus' interest in the outcasts of society, but also stands as the prime example of what is expected from those who accept Jesus' teaching regarding accumulated wealth. Although Jesus admonishes the rich to use their surplus possessions to ease the plight of the poor, Cassidy notes that the Lucan Jesus does not place upon the rich the responsibility for the fact that the poor are poor.

Cassidy prefers to describe the Lucan Jesus as nonviolent, as opposed to nonresistant. The popular understanding of Jesus held by many Christians, clergy and laymen alike, is that of nonresistance. Nonresistance is defined as a rejection of all actions that would involve physical violence to others, and refraining from direct confrontations with those responsible for existing evils. On the other hand, non-violence avoids violence to other people but challenges and confronts those responsible for existing evils.

The Jesus of Luke's gospel followed the path of nonviolence. Many of his teachings challenged existing social evils. He also acted aggressively, the cleansing of the temple being a case in point. Certainly the religious leaders saw him as a disruption to the establishment and admitted as much to Pilate during Jesus' trial (Luke 23:2, 5).

It is Cassidy's portrait of Jesus as an aggressor that may disturb the old, familiar concept of Jesus. Yet his portrait of the Lucan Jesus is accurate.

Politically, the Lucan Jesus is critical of the chief priests and the Roman leaders. He teaches the existence of only one realm, God's realm. Caesar did not rule independently. The social order of the Roman empire was a part of God's larger order of creation. "Therefore, the Romans' social patterns were to be evaluated against the standard of the social patterns desired by God, and supported or not on that basis" (p. 58).

In Cassidy's opinion, Jesus' reply to the question on taxation, to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, states that only in the areas in which Caesar's patterns harmonize with God's desired patterns can Caesar expect allegiance. Render to God the things that are God's is seen as requiring a rendering to God even if it means a rejection of practices that Caesar himself has established. In short, the policies and practices of Rome must be evaluated and responded to from the standpoint of the social patterns that God desires.

When told by certain Pharisees that Herod Antipas sought his life and that he should escape while he had a chance, Jesus refused to change the course of his ministry and defied Herod to interrupt his work, "for it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem" (Luke 13:31-33). When brought before Herod during his trial, Jesus showed no deference to the ruler by ignoring Herod's requests and remaining silent when addressed.

When brought before Pilate and asked if he was the king of the Jews, Jesus replied: "You have said so" (Luke 23:3). Cassidy does not see Jesus' response as an affirmation, but as a terse answer that betrays an attitude of noncooperation, which, together with the critical attitude on the part of Jesus, forms the basis of Cassidy's refutation of Conzelmann, who believed Luke portrayed Jesus in a light that would be favorable to Rome.

The last chapter of Cassidy's book bears the intriguing title, "Was Jesus Dangerous to the Roman Empire?" The author concludes that he was. Even though he "rejected the use of violence and was not a Zealot, Jesus still posed a threat to

Roman rule." How was this possible? Cassidy believes that if large numbers of people had ever accepted the social patterns advocated by the Lucan Jesus and adopted his stance toward ruling political authorities, the Roman government, or any other government based on a similar social order, could not have continued.

Andrews University

GEORGE E. RICE

Clements, R. E. *Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1978. x + 214 pp. £6.95.

The student of the OT is aware of a constellation of OT theologies such as those by W. Eichrodt (1961-67), G. von Rad (1965), E. Jacob (1958), T. C. Vriezen (1970), J. L. McKenzie (1974), S. Terrien (1978), W. C. Kaiser (1978), C. Westermann (1978) and W. Zimmerli (1978). Indeed, there have been more than a dozen volumes on that subject between 1970 and 1978. The decisive differences between such tomes in OT theology are indicative of the disarray and inherent difficulty of the enterprise of the discipline. The volume under review is actually not a new OT theology, but rather a kind of preface (or call it prolegomenon) to an OT theology.

Clements is a Baptist teaching at Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge, England, and is a well-known international figure in OT studies. He divides his monograph into eight chapters, the first two and the last two of which are particularly concerned with the issues of writing an OT theology, i.e. matters of methodology and related subjects. Chaps. 3 through 6 (pp. 53-154) deal with what Clements regards as central themes in the OT. Thus the theme of "The God of Israel" (pp. 53-78) is treated under such aspects as the being, names, presence, and uniqueness of God. A comparison of the section on the presence of God with S. Terrien's tome *The Elusive Presence* (1978), in which he argues for the centrality of the theology of divine presence, is both stimulating and rewarding, and in some sense demonstrates the divergency of methodology. The same is true, though in a different sense, of a comparison of Clements' chapter "The Old Testament as Promise" (pp. 131-154) with W. C. Kaiser's book *Toward an Old Testament Theology* (1978), in which it is argued that the central theme of the OT is the promise (and blessing) theme. Clements does not follow a centrist approach to the OT on the basis of which an OT theology can be structured and systematized. Thus for him the unity of the OT is not a single theme, dual theme, or a formula, but "it is the nature and being of God himself which establishes a unity in the Old Testament, . . ." (p. 23). This reviewer has also argued for the same direction ("The Problem of the Center in the OT Theology Debate," *ZAW* 86 [1974]:65-82). This position certainly places the resolution of the problem of organizing the OT materials elsewhere, because the OT itself does not order its ideas or concepts in a systematic fashion (cf. G. F. Hasel, "The Future of Biblical Theology," *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology*, eds. K. S. Kantzer and S. N. Gundry [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 1979], pp. 179-194).

The chapter "The People of God" (pp. 79-103) discusses the relationship of people and nation, the theology of election, and the theology of covenant. The chapter "The Old Testament as Law" (pp. 104-130) traces the meaning of *tōrāh* as applicable to the Pentateuch and its use in the prophetic writings and compares it to that of "law."

In contrast to other approaches for OT theology, Clements not only emphasizes the significance of the canon but argues with force that the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures, i.e. the OT, in itself and by itself is the authoritative norm for OT theology. "There is a real connection between the ideas of 'canon' and 'theology,' for it is the status of these writings as a canon of sacred scripture that marks them out as

containing a word of God that is still believed to be authoritative" (p. 15). In a manner reminiscent of some concerns of the Yale University scholar B. S. Childs, we are reminded that "it is precisely the concept of canon that raises questions about the authority of the Old Testament and the ability to present us with a theology which can still be meaningful in the twentieth century" (p. 19). Clements thus refuses to conceive of OT theology as a purely descriptive exercise. The reason for rejecting such a "rigidly historicising approach" rests in the position that "the Old Testament does present us with a revelation of the eternal God" (p. 19).

The insistence upon the canon of the OT as the boundary of OT theology is on target in the contemporary discussion. The perennial question is one of dealing with the totality of the writings in the canon of the OT. A typical test for the adequacy of a methodology for OT theology is the matter of integrating the complete OT in all its variety and richness. Virtually all OT theologies have had difficulties in dealing with the wisdom writings (Prov., Job, Eccl., Cant.). Typical examples are the approaches of G. von Rad, W. Zimmerli, and C. Westermann, who consider the wisdom literature of the OT in terms of Israel's answer to God. But hardly will one find the kind of disregard of this part of the OT canon as is evident in Clements' approach. He disregards it completely. This means in effect that the canon of Clements consists of but the Law and the Prophets, with a sprinkling of the Psalms (see now the rich tome by H.-J. Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979]). Even if this book grew out of a series of lectures (see "Talking Points from Books," *ExpTim* 90 [1979]:194), it is a frustrating lacuna to have wisdom literature so completely neglected.

The "fresh approach" of Clements also includes a new look at "the Christian study of the Old Testament," which involves a "very full and careful attention . . . to the manner, method and presuppositions of the interpretation of the Old Testament in the New" (p. 185). Among other things this involves a rather welcome examination of "those key themes by which the unity is set out in the Bible itself" (p. 186). The significance of this "fresh approach" can be more fully appreciated if we keep in mind the fact that one recent OT theology was written "as if the New Testament did not exist" (J. L. McKenzie, *A Theology of the Old Testament* [Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1974], p. 319) and argued that the relationship between the Testaments is not a major problem in OT theology. That it is such a problem need no longer be denied except as one hides his head in the sands of the desert of his own making, as the studies of J.A. Sanders, B.S. Childs, J. Blenkinsopp, H.-J. Kraus, etc., have amply demonstrated. In sharp contrast to historical-critical approaches to OT theology this "fresh approach" affirms a wider starting-point for the discipline of OT theology. OT theology is not to be conceived of as a historical and descriptive enterprise (so the Gabler-Wrede-Stendahl school), but "instead of treating it as a subordinate branch of the historical criticism of the Old Testament, it should be regarded properly as a branch of theology" (p. 191). Does this mean that it is a branch in the field of systematic theology where B. S. Childs would place biblical theology, or does it mean that it remains part of the field of OT studies, but with a post-critical, post-historicist methodology?

This review has highlighted some of the rich and provocative aspects of Clements' volume. It is stimulating throughout, and one cannot easily put aside the issues raised. Every perceptive reader will be richly rewarded by plowing through this "fresh approach" to OT theology, even though not all suggestions are novel. There is much in this volume for serious reflection by both teachers and preachers.

Davies, J. G., ed. *The Westminster Dictionary of Worship*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976. xiv + 385 pp. \$12.50. Inasmuch as the original edition of this work (entitled *A Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* [New York: Macmillan, 1972]) was not reviewed in *AUSS*, a brief review of this new edition is given here, although the text is the same except for a few minor changes on pp. vii-xi.

This book is a collection of brief essays by 65 distinguished scholars from various churches, representing a variety of liturgical and free-church traditions. It is a reference work illustrated with photographs and drawings, and is designed to provide basic background material for the various worship practices of the Christian Church. The book has a twofold purpose (p. v): First, it seeks to assist Christians in understanding the worship practices of their own tradition, and second, it attempts, in an age of increasing ecumenism, to familiarize all Christians with the contemporary worship practices of other faiths.

The text represents a spectrum of worship forms from the fixed rites of the Roman (pp. 337-338) and Orthodox (pp. 304-305) liturgies to the non-liturgical traditions of the Free Church Movement. A variety of worship traditions are well represented, covering such diverse communities as the Anglican (pp. 17-19) and Jehovah's Witnesses (pp. 206-207). Even the non-Christian liturgical perspectives of Islam (pp. 205-206) and Judaism (pp. 207-208) are included.

A major feature of the *Dictionary* is its composite articles on the topics of baptism, books of liturgies, burial services, liturgies, matrimony and ordination. Each article is approached from four perspectives — patristic, orthodox, medieval/Roman, and the current denominational positions (each time starting alphabetically with the Anglican and ending with the Seventh-day Adventist). In spite of their brevity, these articles are helpful overviews of the basic positions within each worshiping community.

Davies is well aware of the current crisis in worship and has therefore wisely included articles dealing with the contemporary issues of liturgical experimentation, indigenization and secularization. Hollenweger's article on "Experimental Forms of Worship" (pp. 175-178) needs more functional breadth and depth in terms of actual experimental *praxis* (such a helpful text is David James Randolph, *God's Party: A Guide to New Forms of Worship* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975]). The article on "Indigenization" (pp. 198-203) by E. Bolaji Idowu is most valuable, since it is written from the perspective of a black African who understands the need for liturgical forms which grow out of specific cultural and social contexts. The editor has written on "Secularization and Worship" (pp. 342-344) and has precisely stated the impact that secularization and urbanization are having on traditional worship forms. (This has been most fully developed by Raimundo Panikkar, *Worship and Secular Man* [London: Orbis Books, 1973]).

The contributor's list (pp. vii-xi) has been changed in this latest printing, so that each contributor now has the list of articles appearing under his name. This is an improvement over the earlier printing which only listed the name of the contributor along with the ecclesiastical title and/or academic position.

The Westminster Dictionary of Worship is a most handy reference work that will be read with great interest by all who are concerned with the current issues in worship.

Andrews University

R. EDWARD TURNER

Kapelrud, Arvid S. *God and His Friends in the Old Testament*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 202 pp. Paperback, \$14.00.

Arvid S. Kapelrud of the University of Oslo, Norway, presents here a series of his previously published articles from a wide variety of journals and *Festschriften* not easily accessible today to interested readers. These eighteen essays cover a period of about thirty years.

Four essays deal with aspects of the "Historical Books and the Cult" of the OT. In "Some Recent Points of View on the Time and Origin of the Decalogue" (pp. 11-20), which first appeared in 1964, he suggests that "the Decalogue got its first form as a catalogue of obligations within the covenant with Yahweh" (p. 19) and that this happened along with the origin of the covenant at Kadesh and not in Shechem or Gilgal (*pace* M. Noth and G. von Rad, respectively). "The Date of the Priestly Code (P)" (pp. 21-27) suggests that the Priestly Code was finished before 550 B.C., whereas other scholars more recently have argued for a pre-exilic date. "The Role of the Cult" (pp. 28-40) concludes that "the prophets learned from the cult, they took part in it, more or less, and it is impossible to form a picture of an Israelite prophet without a solid cultic background" (p. 40). The essay "King and Fertility, A Discussion of II Sam 21:1-14" (pp. 41-50) concludes the first part of this collection.

Three essays are placed under the heading "The Psalms." Two deal with S. Mowinckel and his influence after his death up to the year 1967 ("Sigmund Mowinckel and Old Testament Study" [pp. 53-78] and "Scandinavian Research in the Psalms after Mowinckel" [pp. 79-95]). The subject of "Yahweh malak" in the so-called "enthronement psalms" is treated in an essay in the German language that argues that the Hebrew expression means "Yahweh reigns now as an active King" (p. 98).

Four essays are devoted to "Israel's Prophets." The subject of the "Eschatology in the Book of Micah" (pp. 103-116) argues for an eschatology in the book, including chaps. 4 and 5. The essay "God as Destroyer in the Preaching of Amos in the Ancient Near East" (pp. 117-122) demonstrates that the Israelite prophets "*foretell* the coming catastrophe, the destruction of their people, as a punishment for the sins committed in their own times" (p. 122, italics his), whereas in the ancient Near East the reasons for the destruction are reflections after the events happened. In "Second Isaiah and the Suffering Servant" (pp. 123-129) and in "The Identity of the Suffering Servant" (pp. 130-137) the hypothesis is advanced that the "Servant" is a special individual, namely imprisoned King Jehoiachin.

Two essays treat aspects of "Qumran Texts." The first of these, "Die aktuellen und die eschatologischen Behörden der Qumrangemeinde" (pp. 141-149), is devoted to aspects of leadership in the Qumran community. The second, "Der Bund in den Qumran-Schriften" (pp. 150-162) discusses the idea of covenant in various Qumran documents.

The last section, entitled "History of Religion," includes five essays. They range from Hittite religion, in "The Interrelationship between Religion and Magic in Hittite Religion" (pp. 165-183), to central matters in Ugaritic religion, in "Temple Building, as Task for Gods and Kings" (pp. 184-190), "The Gates of Hell and the Guardian Angels of Paradise" (pp. 191-194), "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts" (pp. 195-197), and "The Ugaritic Text Rs 24.252 and King David" (pp. 198-202) as they relate to certain aspects in the OT.

This is a handy, useful, and stimulating collection of articles from the pen of a renowned Scandinavian scholar who interprets the OT within the historical and literary context of its time. Those who find it difficult to follow his suggestions, hypotheses, and conclusions will be stimulated to further study. Unfortunately, the lack of indexes does not facilitate the use of this volume.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Martin, R. A. *An Introduction to New Testament Greek*. Dillsboro, N.C.: Western North Carolina Press, 1978. vi + 205 pp. Paperback, \$6.95.

There are many Greek grammars already on the market, but new ones keep coming out. One reason for this is the dissatisfaction on the part of some concerning available grammars for one reason or another and the feeling that one can improve upon them. This grammar of R. A. Martin is, I believe, a definite improvement. Of course, one cannot really get a total feel of a grammar until one uses it; but as I examine this grammar I am impressed with its clarity and the obvious care with which it has been put together. It is evident that the author has a knack for teaching, and that he has the student in mind rather than his colleagues who may think that many of his explanations are not necessary.

Some helpful features are the treatment of syllabification, short lessons with good exercises, explanations of grammatical terms (even simple ones), Greek readings, ample illustrations of points made, listing of principal parts of commonly used verbs, good explanation of participles and their uses, exercises especially with the *mi* verbs to establish confidence in recognition of these forms, and an English-Greek Vocabulary in addition to the Greek-English Vocabulary. Many other helpful features enhance the book.

To further improve the volume, more readings could be added, infrequent forms could be eliminated (even though they may appear necessary to complete the conjugation), and the sequence of lessons could be improved (the contract verbs appear in Lesson 4).

As a whole this grammar is excellent. Students especially, but teachers also, will appreciate it.

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SAKAE KUBO

Oliver, W. H. *Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press, 1978. 269 pp. \$15.00.

Primarily a social historian who has been diverted into the study of millennialism through his research into the life and teachings of Robert Owen, Oliver became increasingly aware of, and puzzled by, Owen's frequent use of millennial terminology. This prompted him to undertake a study of millennialism in England during the early nineteenth century in an attempt to discern exactly what Owen intended by his use of the vocabulary and symbolism of millennialism. The result is a well-researched monograph which helps clarify both the nature and the extent of millennial speculation in England during the half century following the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Oliver's thesis is that in these decades "the habit of looking at the world in a manner shaped by biblical prophecy was a normal and widespread activity" (p. 239). Consequently, he argues, the vocabulary, the imagery, and the symbolism of prophecy were employed not only in millennial speculation, but on behalf of a wide variety of political and social causes. This assertion is supported by an analysis of the millennial view of the wide spectrum of biblical expositors and social prophets. They range from John Henry Newman to Joanna Southcott and include such figures as George Stanley Faber, Edward Irving, Henry Drummond, William Cuninghame, Edward Bickersteth, John Ward, James Smith, and Robert Owen. Through this analysis Oliver is able to delineate clearly the widespread interest in prophetic and millennial speculation in England at the time.

However, Oliver's real interest remains social reform rather than scriptural exegesis; hence his sympathies lie with the social aspirations of the millennialists rather than with their spiritual anticipations. This leads him to portray Robert Owen, the agnostic social reformer, as being in the tradition of millennialist exposition. Certainly Owen's vocabulary and imagery reflect the millennial milieu in which he lived, although the goals in which he believed and for which he struggled clearly differentiate him from traditional millennialists.

Unfortunately, Oliver has written for the specialist rather than for the general reader. Both individuals and events are mentioned without any clarification or detail provided; and when detail is provided, it is often much later in the text. E.g., the Albury group is mentioned seven times before an explanation of the membership and ideology of the group appears on p. 107. While this will not trouble those familiar with English history during this period, it may frustrate those who are interested in the development of millennial ideas and know little of English history. Furthermore, Oliver's analysis of millennial preaching is sometimes complicated and difficult to follow — though that is possibly the fault of the preachers themselves rather than of the analyst. Oliver's frustration with their methods of expression is occasionally apparent as when he points out, after one complicated analysis, "It is a little hard to say what all this is about" (pp. 122-123).

Nevertheless, Oliver has provided a succinct account of the significant individuals and the main ideas of English millennialism during the first half of the nineteenth century. In so doing he has increased our understanding of the religious currents which influenced those decades.

Andrews University

CEDRIC WARD

Peters, Ted. *Futures—Human and Divine*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1978. 192 pp. \$10.95.

This volume is a somewhat unusual work in that it endeavors to grapple very seriously with human future both in the light of the biblical message and in the context of meaningful dialogue with the scientific, sociological, ecological, and other basically or, at least, ostensibly secular concerns of today. Peters points out that just as there was a ferment near the year A.D. 1000 for a sort of "millennialism," so in our own day "the secular and scientific communities are just as concerned about the year 2000" (p. 9). He speaks of "a new academic profession" — "futurology," which "is the science that seeks to understand the future and to provide the tools whereby humans can obtain greater control over their own destiny" (ibid). The author further proposes that future consciousness "is religious," by which he means two things: "First, in some cases it is explicitly religious because overtly religious groups from time to time express distinctive concern for the future. . . . Second, there are implicit religious dimensions to much of even avowedly secular futuristic thinking" (p. 14). The second dimension requires, says Peters, a "principle of interpretation," and the "method I intend to use for studying this dimension is a *hermeneutic of culture*" (ibid).

It is difficult in a short review to give the reader an adequate concept of what this volume is all about, and my normal reviewing practice of including an indication of main chapter titles does not in the case of this book seem particularly useful. Rather, I would simply summarize by indicating that Peters discusses both biblical concepts (such as apocalypticism) and the scientific and humanistic assessments and proposals for solving critical ecological, population-growth, etc., problems which face the world of the late twentieth century. Among concepts noted are those of Charles Reich in *The Greening of America*, Robert Heilbroner's treatment of our current

"civilizational malaise," John R. Platt's technological-progress theory that utilizes concepts from behavioristic psychology, Victor Ferkiss's anticipation of "a new stage in human development" in what may be called "technological man," etc. (see esp. pp. 70-97, though further treatment of various "secular" approaches are given *passim* elsewhere).

As for Peters himself, he finds no hope in the humanistic approach, which may be called *futurum*. Rather he looks for something greater than man, in which the future is not simply molded by the present but speaks to the present — *adventus*. The last comprises the theological dimension which brings God into the picture.

The author's last two chapters — 8, "Toward a Proleptic Theology of the Future" (pp. 150-164), and 9, "Concluding Nonscientific Prescript" (pp. 165-181) — bring us, it seems to me, to the heart of his own thesis. The earlier material is more in the nature of background and analysis. In chap. 8, Peters deals with "Values, Ontology, and the Future"; with "Ontology and the Kingdom of God"; and with what he captions as "God is Not Yet God." In the last of these three sections he proposes several theses: (1) "God is absolute freedom"; (2) "God creates from the future, not the past"; (3) "God is not yet God"; and (4) "Jesus Christ is truly God." In chap. 9, the author proposes that the eschatological vision "is not pie-in-the-sky-take-me-to-heaven-when-I-die escapism. Rather, once our hope embraces the vision of God's love at work in the creation and redemption of the world, our own love is triggered into action aimed at transforming the present in behalf of our image of the new" (p. 166). He concludes the chapter with "six basic things the Christian church can do that will make a significant contribution to our planning for the new world of tomorrow." These, as listed on p. 170, are as follows (on pp. 170-181 they are discussed briefly): "(1) First and most important, it can *prophesy* visions of God's coming kingdom. In addition, the church should (2) *promote* a sense of global *Gemeinschaft* (community); (3) *provide* for our posterity; (4) *produce* programs; (5) *propose* alliances between Christians and non-Christians who share visions of a truly human future, and (6) *proclaim* pardon and comfort in the face of our failures to achieve by ourselves all that those visions require of us."

Although in the present reviewer's opinion, the book does not articulate as well as it could the solutions to today's problems and to the "human dilemma" generally, it nevertheless provides a useful summary of today's secular futurism, plus suggesting provocative concepts and insights that stimulate thought. In endeavoring to bridge a certain gap or cleavage that has arisen between the secular and religious worlds, the author endeavors, of course, a herculean task, complicated by almost overwhelming complexities. His very attempt to grapple with the matter is noteworthy and praiseworthy.

However, from a reviewer's point of view, to evaluate an approach so different from the common ordinary attention given to the present "civilizational malaise" is virtually impossible. The fruitage of the author's continuing interest and work in this field will probably in the long run provide the best test; and for its accomplishment I would suppose that the author would recognize indeed the need of the divine *adventus* which he describes.

The volume contains endnotes (pp. 182-190) and an index (pp. 191-192). There is no bibliography.

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BOOKS RECEIVED: BRIEF NOTICES

ELLEN S. ERBES and DAVID C. JARNES

Titles of books received which are at all related to the interests of this journal are listed in this section, unless the review of the book appears in the same issue of *AUSS*. Inclusion in this section does not preclude the subsequent review of a book. No book will be assigned for review or listed in this section which has not been submitted by the publisher. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

Crider, Charles C., and Kistler, Robert C. *The Seventh-day Adventist Family: An Empirical Study*. Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1979. xii + 284 pp. Paperback, \$8.95.

A demographic, ecological, and socio-economic study of the white Seventh-day Adventist family in the United States, intended to provide the basic understanding needed to develop programs to strengthen the family unit. Includes a profile of this family unit, analyses with age, education, and occupational influences as variables, information on marital stability and sources of conflict, and recommendations on what the church may do, particularly in "preventive care." (There were 2004 respondents.) — D.C.J.

Michael Belina Czechowski, 1818-1876: Results of the Historical Symposium about His Life and Work Held in Warsaw, Poland, May 17-23, 1976, Commemorating the Hundreth Anniversary of His Death. Rajmund L. Dabrowski, General ed., B.B. Beach, English ed. Warsaw: Znaki Czasu Publishing House, 1979. 551 pp. Text given in both languages. \$7.00.

The book presents the published record of this symposium dealing with the life and work of one of the pioneers of early Adventism in Europe. The life story of this remarkable Pole is a colorful one. He was in turn a Roman Catholic priest, a Protestant, and finally became an Adventist minister. He worked under most trying conditions. He traveled in many European countries (where the first Adventist churches or groups in Italy, Switzerland and Romania were established as a result of his labors), and lived for more than a decade in America. Having been the first Seventh-day Adventist preacher on the European continent, Czechowski was truly a forerunner of the future worldwide missionary work of this church. — E.S.E.

Roop, Eugene F. *Living the Biblical Story: A New Method of Group Bible Study*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1979. 142 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

Roop presents a case study method of group Bible study. One of his goals is to reintroduce the Bible into the discussion of ethical questions in a responsible way. In this book he first explains the method and then illustrates it with eight sample studies of Biblical passages with implications for the Christian community. — D.C.J.

Schantz, Hans J. *Enhedens dilemma* (The Dilemma of Unity). Odense: Dansk Bogforlag, 1979. 155 pp. Paperback, Danish Crowns 69.50.

An analysis of the encounter between the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church, the latter claiming to be *The Church* through which an all-embracing unity is to be administered. The book discusses the problems on both sides and closes with a warning against ecumenical efforts that are too far-reaching and which could result in sacrificing biblical truths for the sake of unity. — E.S.E.

Scott, Lindy. *Economic Koinonia within the Body of Christ*. Mexico City, D.F.: Editorial Kyrios, 1980. 156 pp. Paperback, \$1.95.

This study of the use and distribution of material possessions in the Bible is an M. A. thesis adapted for a general audience. Its chapters deal with the applicable biblical passages, and, very briefly, first-century Jewish practices from extra-biblical sources. Included is an exegesis of 2 Cor 8:1-5 and finally, there are suggestions and applications for contemporary Christians. — D.C.J.

Simos, Bertha G. *A Time to Grieve: Loss As a Universal Human Experience*. New York: Family Service Association of America, 1979. x + 261 pp. \$14.95/9.95.

Aimed particularly to enable those in the helping profession to deal adequately with those who have suffered loss of one kind or another, this book combines both theory and practice in nontechnical language. It discusses what experiences can be classified as loss, gives an overview of normal grief, and discusses various elements of the grief process, restitution, and loss as an agent for change. — D.C.J.

Whittenburg, Ruth Stump, comp. and ed. *Time for Everything under the Sun. On the Life and Times of V. L. Stump, A Gifted Minister and Able Editor*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1980. xiv + 363 pp. \$17.50.

Besides being a pastor, evangelist and businessman, for many years (1918-1942) V. L. Stump was editor of the *Evangelical Visitor*, the official periodical of the Brethren of Christ Church. The book consists of a biographical part, and a selection of Stump's editorials, covering such issues as ministry, doctrines, current events, and Christian living. — E.S.E.

Willimon, William H., and Wilson, Robert L. *Preaching and Worship in the Small Church*. Lyle E. Schaller, ed. *Creative Leadership Series*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1980. 126 pp. Paperback, \$4.95.

An approach that perceives small churches (memberships of 200 or less) not as problems to be dealt with but as having inherent strengths (community, an emphasis on preaching and worship) which may be built upon. Discusses the Lord's Supper, baptisms, weddings, and funerals and the prominent role of the laity in this context. — D.C.J.

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1979 AND 1980



ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

ISSN 0003-2980

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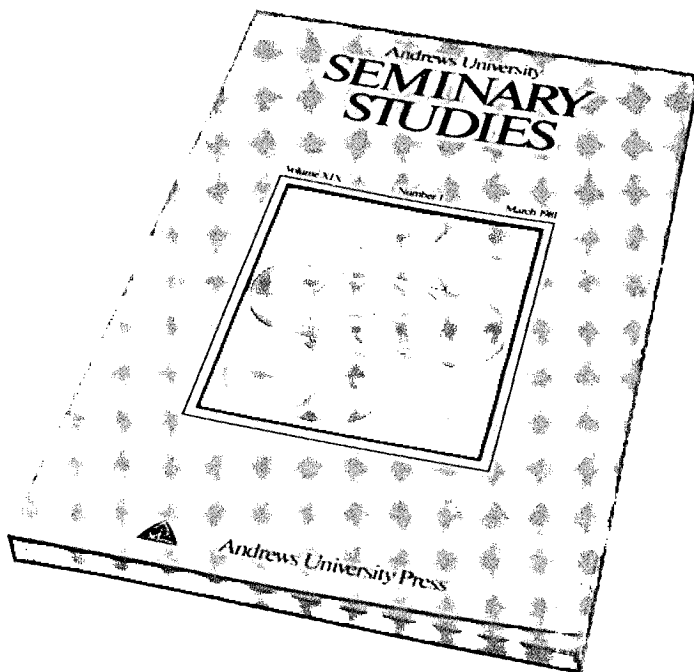
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The two-year Index, on pages 195-199, will give an indication of the contents of the four issues appearing in 1979 and 1980, with materials from such authors as Allen Carden, James J. C. Cox, Jacques Doukhan, Erwin R. Gane, Siegfried H. Horn, James A. Kritzeck, John I. Lawlor, Julia Neuffer, Eugenia L. Nitowski, Dennis Pardee, Elizabeth Ellen Platt, George E. Rice, William H. Shea, Kenneth A. Strand, Patricia Wilson-Kastner.

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א	=	ʾ	ט	=	ḏ	י	=	y	ס	=	s	ך	=	r
ב	=	b	ה	=	h	כ	=	k	ע	=	ʿ	שׁ	=	ś
בּ	=	b̄	ו	=	w	כּ	=	k̄	פ	=	p	שׂ	=	ś̄
ג	=	g	ז	=	z	ל	=	l	פּ	=	p̄	ת	=	t
גּ	=	ḡ	ח	=	ḥ	מ	=	m	צ	=	ṣ	תּ	=	t̄
ד	=	ḏ	ט	=	ṭ	נ	=	n	ק	=	q			

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֶ	=	a	ׁ, ׃ (vocal shewa)	=	e	ׂ	=	ō
ֶ̄	=	ā	׃, ׄ	=	é	׃̄	=	ō̄
ֶ̇	=	ȧ	ׂ̇	=	i̇	ׂ̇̄	=	ō̇̄
ֶ̇̄	=	ė̄	ׂ̇̄̄	=	i̇̄̄	ׂ̇̄̄̄	=	u̇̄̄̄
ֶ̇̇	=	ē	ׂ̇̇	=	ȯ̇	ׂ̇̇̄	=	ū̇̇̄

(Dāgēs Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

- JAAR** *Journal, Amer. Acad. of Rel.*
JAC *Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum*
JAOS *Journal 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 *Journal, Palest. Or. Soc.*
JQR *Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR *Journal of Religion*
JRAS *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE *Journal of Religious Ethics*
JReLS *Journal of Religious Studies*
JRH *Journal of Religious History*
JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
JRT *Journal of Religious Thought*
JSJ *Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT *Journal for the Study of OT*
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR *Journal, Scient. Study of Religion*
JTC *Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS *Journal of Theol. Studies*
KJV *King James Version*
LCC *Library of Christian Classics*
LCL *Loeb Classical Library*
LQ *Lutheran Quarterly*
LTK *Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche*
LW *Lutheran World*
McCQ *McCormick Quarterly*
MLB *Modern Language Bible*
MQR *Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NAB *New American Bible*
NASB *New American Standard Bible*
NCB *New Century Bible*
NEB *New English Bible*
Neot *Neotestamentica*
NHS *Nag Hammadi Studies*
NICNT *New International Commentary, NT*
NICOT *New International Commentary, OT*
NIV *New International Version*
NKZ *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NouT *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 *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or *Orientalia*
OrChr *Oriens Christianus*
OTS *Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PEFQS *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.*
PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG *Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.*
PJ *Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL *Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.*
PW *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl.*
QDAP *Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.*
RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.*
RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RArch *Revue archéologique*
RB *Revue biblique*
RechBib *Recherches bibliques*
RechSR *Recherches de science religieuse*
REg *Revue d'égyptologie*
ReLS *Religious Studies*
RelSoc *Religion and Society*
RelSRev *Religious Studies Review*
RenQ *Renaissance Quarterly*
RevExp *Review and Expositor*
RevQ *Revue de Quémran*
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*
Review *Review of Religion*
RRR *Review of Religious Research*
RS *Religious Studies*
RSPT *Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RSV *Revised Standard Version*
RTP *Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SB *Sources bibliques*
SBLDS *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.*
SBLMS *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.*
SBLBSB *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study*
SBI,TT *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.*
SBT *Studies in Biblical Theology*
SCJ *Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR *Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem *Semítica*
SJT *Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT *Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought*
SOR *Studia Orientalia*
SPB *Studia Postbiblica*
SSS *Semitic Studies Series*
ST *Studia Theologica*
TAPS *Transactions of Am. Philos. Society*
TD *Theology Digest*
TDNT *Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.*
TDOT *Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.*
TEH *Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGI *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 *Ugarit-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 altes. Wiss.*
ZDMG *Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*
ZDPV *Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*
ZEE *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT *Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie*
ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT *Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie*
ZMR *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW *Zeitsch. für die neues. Wiss.*
ZRGG *Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.*
ZST *Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie*
ZTK *Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche*
ZIWT *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*