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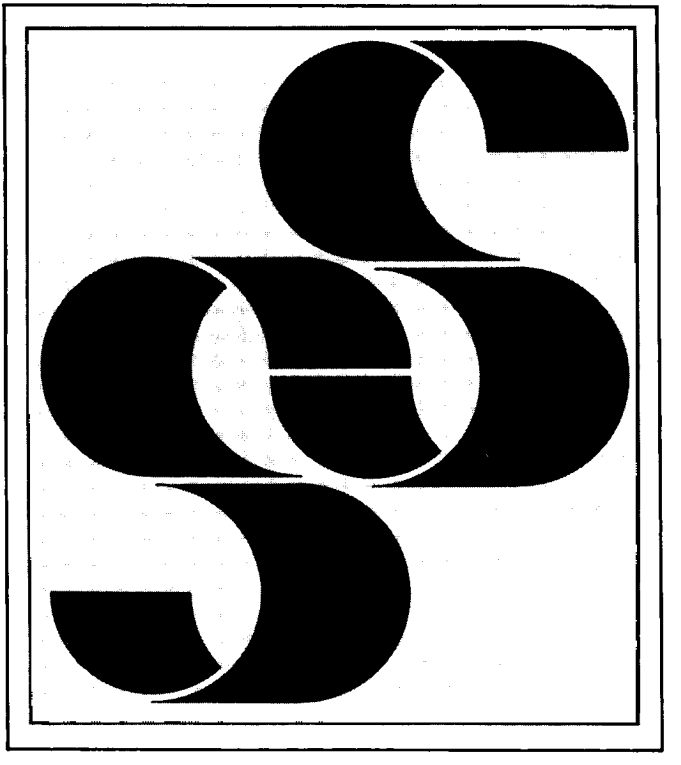

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THE ALLEGED "NO" OF AMOS AND AMOS' ESCHATOLOGY

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1. *Introduction*

One of the most hotly contended issues, perhaps even the most difficult problem of the entire OT book of Amos, is the assessment of Amos' message about the future. Does Amos have a message that contains a future for Israel or, in any case, for an entity within Israel? Do his words contain an eschatology or at least one or more aspects of eschatology?

Two foundational considerations are undeniable. The first relates to the fact that the book of Amos in its canonical form contains messages that clearly hold out a future, if not for Israel as a whole, then at least for a "remnant of Joseph" (5:15). Whether this future hope is eschatological in nature depends to a large degree, but by no means entirely, upon the definition of eschatology. For our purpose it may suffice to say that we follow the broad definition of eschatology in the sense of an end of the present world order which can either be within the flow of history or, in an absolute and final sense, at the end of all history.[1]

[1]On the definition of eschatology, see W. Vollborn, *Innerzeitliche oder endzeitliche Gerichtserwartung? Ein Beitrag zu Amos und Jesaja* (Kiel, 1938); Joh. Lindblom, "Gibt es eine Eschatologie bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten?" *ST* 6 (1953): pp. 79-114; Th. C. Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology," in *Congress Volume: Copenhagen 1953*, VTSup, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1953), pp. 199-229; E. Rohland, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten* (privately publ. Th.D. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1956); H.-J. Gronbaek, "Zur Frage der Eschatologie in der Verkündigung der Gerichtspropheten," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 24 (1959): 5-21; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, trans. G. W. Anderson (New York, [1954]), pp. 149-154; Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, vol. 2, *The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York, 1965), pp. 114-119; R. E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant*, SBT, no. 43 (Naperville, IL, 1965), pp. 103-107: "We may, therefore, adopt a broad definition of eschatology which renders it suitable to describe the biblical ideas of God's purpose in history. Eschatology is the study of ideas and beliefs concerning the end of the present world order, and the introduction of a new order" (p. 105); Horst Dietrich Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten

The second foundational consideration involves a recognition that the book of Amos contains the radical announcement, "The end has come for my people Israel" (8:2). This is often seen, to use the words of Rudolf Smend, as an "absolute No regarding the future existence of the nation."[2] Scholars who take this "No" as unconditional in nature, absolute in intention, and total in comprehensiveness have assigned passages that hold out a "perhaps" (5:15), or a possibility of repentance or a future of some sort, as being the work of a later editor or later editors—a redactor or redactors who have sought to soften Amos' absolute message of judgment with its assumed proclamation of a sure end to the entire nation of Israel.[3] As we shall see, a number of key scholars have followed Smend's conclusion that "Amos speaks the No of God, not the Yes of God, he announces wrath and not grace."[4] Smend argues that Amos says "No" to Israel's social relations, to her understanding of history, to her election and cultus; and consequently Amos says "No" to the entire existence of Israel as a whole.

The task of this essay will be to investigate the nature of "the day of the Lord" (5:18-20), the motif of the remnant, and the future hope preserved in the ending of the book (9:11-15) with a view to elucidate, if possible, Amos' "No" and Amos' eschatology. While

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und Neuen Testaments (BWANT), vol. 87 (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 208-214; Hans-Peter Müller, *Ursprünge und Strukturen alttestamentlicher Eschatologie*, BZAW, vol. 109 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 1-11; J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Eschatology in the Old Testament," in *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Woudschoten, 1970*, Oud Testamentische Studiën, vol. 17 (Leiden, 1972), pp. 89-99; Goswin Habets, "Eschatologie-Eschatologisches," in *Bausteine biblischer Theologie: Festgabe für G. Johannes Botterweck zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Bonner Biblische Beiträge, vol. 50 (Köln, 1977), pp. 351-369; and others. Among those who follow a broader definition of eschatology are Vollborn, Vriezen, Lindblom, von Rad, Rohland, Clements, Müller, Preuss.

[2]Rudolf Smend, "Das Nein des Amos," *EvT* 23 (1963): 415.

[3]E.g., Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 231, 234, and Artur Weiser, *Die Profetie des Amos*, BZAW, no. 53 (Giessen, 1929), pp. 191-192, before him. Similarly J. Lust, "Remarks on the Redaction of Amos V 4-6, 14-15," in *Remembering All the Way . . . : A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland*, Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 21 (Leiden, 1981), pp. 141-146.

[4]Smend, p. 423.

there are numerous scholars who have denied any eschatological message for Amos and have thus maintained the "No" of Smend, there are recent voices that claim that "Amos never unequivocally proclaimed the total destruction and end of the people."[5] Klaus Koch puts it this way: "Amos certainly proclaims unconditional disaster, but he does not proclaim it wholesale."[6] Similarly, Georg Fohrer maintains that Amos continued to hold out that repentance was possible and that it was part of Amos' proclamation to keep the door of salvation open.[7]

2. *Amos and "The Day of the Lord"*

A pivotal passage in connection with the debate about the eschatological nature of the message of Amos is the first usage in the Bible of the Hebrew expression *yôm YHWH*, "the day of Yahweh," in Amos 5:18-20. In 1905 Hugo Gressmann in his famous study on eschatology argued that the beginning of biblical eschatology is found in this very passage in Amos.[8] In 1922 Sigmund Mowinckel, who saw the matrix of eschatology in the cult, also understood "the day of Yahweh/Lord" in Amos as eschatological.[9] For Gerhard von Rad, who argues that eschatology is rooted in the holy-war tradition,[10] the *yôm YHWH* is likewise eschatological.[11]

A slightly different view is expressed by Koch. He believes that "the day of Yahweh/Lord" is "an important expression of popular eschatology."[12] In a similar vein, J. Alberto Soggin has recently

[5]John H. Hayes, *Amos: The Eighth Century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching* (Nashville, 1988), p. 39.

[6]Klaus Koch, *The Prophets*, vol. 1, *The Assyrian Age*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 70.

[7]Georg Fohrer, *Die Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Die Propheten des Alten Testaments, vol. 1 (Gütersloh, 1974), p. 50.

[8]Hugo Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 6 (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 141-158.

[9]Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien II: Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie* (Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 213-244; idem, "Jahves Dag," *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 59 (1958): 1-56, 209-229.

[10]Gerhard von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 5th ed. (Göttingen, 1969).

[11]G. von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh," *JSS* 4 (1959): 97-108; idem, *Theology*, 2:119-125.

[12]Koch, p. 63.

noted: "This [Amos 5:18-20] is probably the earliest datable discussion of an eschatological theme, a theme which . . . cannot have just emerged then."[13] Koch and Soggin refrain from saying that Amos' own saying on "the day of Yahweh/Lord" is eschatological.

Scholars such as Meir Weiss[14] and C. Carniti[15] see the expression and concept of "the day of the Lord" as an invention of Amos himself. Accordingly, they do not allow for a reaction on the part of Amos against a popular concept of "the day of the Lord."

There are other scholars, among them John H. Hayes, who assert that Amos has no eschatological message whatsoever.[16] In this opinion Hayes was preceded by H. W. Wolff,[17] who suggested that "the day of the Lord" in Amos was derived by the prophet from the thought patterns of clan wisdom and the wandering shepherds.[18] Werner H. Schmidt,[19] J. G. Trapiello,[20] A. J. Everson,[21] and H. M. Barstad,[22] in their discussions on "the day of the Lord," deny any eschatological connections in Amos. It is also noteworthy that the recent massive commentary by F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman in the Anchor Bible series refrains from linking "the day of the Lord" in Amos 5:18-20 to eschatology, while otherwise these authors maintain with fervor that the message of Amos in its fourth stage/phase is

[13]J. Alberto Soggin, *The Prophet Amos* (London, 1987), p. 95.

[14]M. Weiss, "The Origin of the 'Day of the Lord' Reconsidered," *HUCA* 37 (1966): 29-60.

[15]C. Carniti, "L'espressione 'il giorno di JHWH'," *Bibbia e Oriente* 12 (1970): 11-25.

[16]Hayes, p. 38.

[17]Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, p. 253-257. He cautiously states, "The oracle [of Amos 5:18-20] can be called eschatological only in the precise sense that it testifies, in the face of renewed assurances of security, that the end of the state of Israel is totally inescapable" (p. 257).

[18]Hans Walter Wolff, *Amos' geistige Heimat*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 18 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1964), pp. 11, 23.

[19]Werner H. Schmidt, *Alttestamentlicher Glaube und seine Umwelt: Zur Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gottesverständnisses* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968), p. 95.

[20]J. G. Trapiello, "La noción del 'Dia de Yahvé en el Antiguo Testamento," *Cultura bíblica* 26 (1969): 331-36.

[21]A. Joseph Everson, "The Days of Yahweh," *JBL* 93 (1974): 329-37; idem, "Day of the Lord," *IDB*, suppl. vol. (1976), pp. 209-210.

[22]Hans M. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos: Studies in the Preaching of Amos 2, 7B-8; 4, 1-13; 5, 1-26; 6, 4-7; 8, 14*, VTSup, vol. 34 (Leiden, 1984), pp. 89-108.

thoroughly eschatological.[23] Finally, we may note that there is a sustained argument by Y. Hoffmann that "the day of the Lord" in Amos 5:18-20 is non-eschatological in its meaning,[24] this view being subsequently shared by Barstad,[25] who with Hoffmann believes that eschatology is a postexilic Israelite phenomenon.[26]

This brief survey[27] of perceptions and interpretations of "the day of the Lord" in Amos 5:18-20 indicates that there are at present three major views regarding the eschatological nature of this expression: 1) "the day of the Lord" concept is non-eschatological in Amos 5; 2) "the day of the Lord" concept reflects popular eschatology which Amos puts to an end; and 3) Amos' own statement on "the day of the Lord" is eschatological.

The idea that "the day of the Lord" in Amos 5:18-20 represents a part of the popular theology of (some) Israelites may be sustained on the assumption that the "you" in 5:18c refers to the people of Israel[28]—a text which certainly seems to indicate that at least some Israelites considered "the day of the Lord" as a day when Yahweh would intervene in behalf of his people. This "popular eschatology,"[29] which understood the *yôm YHWH* as a day of Yahweh's saving intervention, was reversed by Amos into a day of doom for

[23]Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 24A (New York, 1989), pp. 519-522.

[24]Yair Hoffmann, "The Day of the Lord as a Concept and a Term in the Prophetic Literature," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 40-45.

[25]Barstad, p. 106.

[26]C. van Leeuwen, "The Prophecy of the *Yom YHWH* in Amos V 18-20," in *Language and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Language and Biblical Exegesis: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at London, 1973*, Oudtestamentische Studiën, vol. 19 (Leiden, 1974), pp. 133-134, concludes that the *yôm YHWH* in Amos 5:18-20 is "not in itself an eschatological phrase" (p. 133); but, based on a broad definition of eschatology, it could be seen as part of an eschatology of doom.

[27]Other studies on the "Day of the Lord" which have a less direct bearing on our topic are K. A. D. Smelik, "The Meaning of Amos V 18-20," *VT* 36 (1986): 246-247; F. C. Fensham, "A Possible Origin of the Concept of the Day of the Lord," in *Biblical Essays* (n.p., 1966), pp. 90-97; E. Haag, "Der Tag Jahwes," *Bibel und Leben* 13 (1972): 517-525; F. J. Hélewa, "L'origine du concept prophétique du 'Jour de Yahvé'," *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 15 (1964): 3-36.

[28]Here I do not follow the suggestion made by Smelik (p. 247) that those who long for the "day of the Lord" are the false prophets.

[29]Preuss, p. 172.

Israel. Israel had become like one of the other nations, and thus she was in no better position to avert the coming calamity than were they.

The picture of the *yôm YHWH* in the book of Amos makes it clear that that day is to be a time of disaster for Israel. It is a day of darkness and not light. It will be as when a person escapes with his/her life from the death threat of a lion and subsequently from the death threat of a bear in order to reach his/her house for safety, where, once inside and assuming to be safe, the escapee in the end is bitten by a deadly snake. In this sense one may speak of the end of the person's life in terms of personal eschatology. The picture of the person, however, is to be applied to the nation and not to a single individual or to a group within Israel. Is this not, then, a picture of national eschatology, in which the absolute, irrevocable demise of the nation is proclaimed by Amos?

This picture is not, however, one of universal eschatology which brings about the end of the world in some form of a cataclysmic event. If eschatology is understood in the larger sense of something final within history, and not just the absolute end of all history,[30] then the *yôm YHWH* message of Amos 5:18-20 can surely be considered to be eschatological.[31] Accordingly, Amos is to be seen as the first eschatological preacher among the writing prophets in the OT.[32]

3. *Amos and the Remnant*

In the messages of Amos, would there be, or could there be, hope—at least some hope? This query invites us to consider briefly the remnant motif in Amos.

The view held by a rather large number of OT scholars is that the remnant motif in Amos is not cancelled out by the finality of Amos' judgment message, including the coming reality of the *yôm*

[30]See Müller, pp. 1-11, for a brief discussion on the definitions of eschatology in modern research. In modern times the concept of eschatology as the end of history (the end of the world) has given way to eschatology as a decisive end within history.

[31]On this broader definition of eschatology, see n. 1.

[32]This is supported among others by Ralph W. Klein, "The Day of the Lord," *CTM* 39 (1968): 517-525, esp. 523; Clements, pp. 103, 107-110; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Joel-Amos-Obadja-Jona*, Kommentar zum Alten Testament, vol. 13, pt. 2 (Gütersloh, 1971), p. 204; van Leeuwen, pp. 133-134.

YHWH. The essential question is, once again, whether Amos needs to be interpreted in a radical "either/or." In other words, inasmuch as Amos announced the end of the nation of Israel as a nation, is it also true that there cannot be any future whatsoever for anyone or any entity in Israel? Does Amos' message—i.e. his own message, not a reconstructed one by the alleged editors/redactors of the book—contain some hope for the future?

It has been felt by some scholars that to make Amos into a consistent prophet of doom is to put him into a straightjacket of our own making.[33] If we were to force Amos into a mold of western rational consistency, we would press him into a Procrustean bed of our own devising. Indeed, if Amos had no future hope whatsoever, his message would stand totally unique among the prophets of the eighth century B.C. Why would Yahweh reveal himself through Amos in a totally negative way?

During the last two decades, a number of major studies on the remnant idea in the OT have been produced, all of which treat the remnant motif in the book of Amos. In 1972 the first edition of a shortened version of my dissertation of 1970 (Vanderbilt University) appeared under the title, *The Remnant.*[34] I have returned to this theme several times since,[35] my conclusion being that the remnant idea did not originate in the socio-political sphere of warfare (against Werner E. Müller[36] and supporters), but is deeply rooted in Israel's past history. The concept appears in ancient Near Eastern

[33]J. Philip Hyatt, *Prophetic Religion* (New York, 1947), pp. 100-101; A. S. Kapelrud, "New Ideas in Amos," in *Volume du Congrès, Genève, 1965*, VTSup, vol. 15 (Leiden, 1966), p. 196.

[34]Gerhard F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah*, Andrews University Monograph Studies in Religion, vol. 5 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1972).

[35]Gerhard F. Hasel, "Linguistic Considerations Regarding the Translation of Isaiah's *Shear-jashub*: A Reassessment," *AUSS* 9 (1971): 36-46; idem, "Semantic Values of Derivatives of the Hebrew Root *šʾr*," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 152-96; idem, "Remnant," *IDB*, Supp. Vol. (Nashville, 1976), pp. 735-736; idem, " 'Remnant' as a Meaning of *ʾacharith*," *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies*, ed. L. T. Geraty and L. G. Herr (Berrien Springs, MI, 1986), pp. 511-524; idem, "*Pālaṭ, mālaṭ, pālîṭ, pālêṭ, pĕlêṭāh, pĕleṭāh, miṗlāṭ*," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (1987), 6:589-606; idem, "Remnant," *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (1979-1988), 4:130-134.

[36]His dissertation was originally published in 1939, but was republished and enlarged by H. D. Preuss in Werner E. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im Alten Testament* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973).

texts prior to the establishment of Israel[37] in contexts of natural catastrophes, economic hardships, physical difficulties, and military-political strife.[38]

As regards Amos, I have concluded that there is a twofold usage of the term "remnant" in this book. One usage heightens the picture of judgment (3:12; 4:1-3; 5:3; 6:9-10; 9:1-4) because of a meaninglessness of the remnant, and the other holds out hope for a remnant and thus qualifies the message of doom. The former may be considered as the negative remnant idea. There is joined to this negative picture a powerfully positive remnant concept, one which looks forward to a group that consists not of the nation as a whole, but of a faithful segment from within the nation (5:14-15; 9:11-12). In Amos, this remnant is a remnant *from* Israel, sifted out along ethical-religious lines.[39] It may be concluded that "in Amos the remnant motif is used for the first time in an eschatological sense."[40]

F. Dreyfus in an important article has investigated the OT remnant idea and essentially supports the twofold picture in Amos as set forth above. He points out, as well, the manner in which various commentators on critical grounds (form-critical and traditio-historical) redate some or all passages with a positive notion of the remnant (H. W. Wolff, for instance).[41] The Swiss exegete Hans Wildberger, too, defends the positive remnant idea in Amos 5:15 (against Wolff).[42] Two dissertations on the remnant concept have appeared in recent years. The Italian scholar Omar Carena attempts in his 1985 dissertation to bolster the earlier idea of Müller that the Israelite remnant concept derives from the sphere of warfare, borrowed and adapted from Assyrian political texts.[43] This reconstruc-

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

[38]Preuss writes in the first appendix to Müller and Preuss, p. 114: "In view of the amount and variety of (new) materials [from the ancient Near East] which have been brought together and interpreted by Hasel, Müller's thesis of an original military-political filling of the remnant idea and his conclusions based on them will have to be scrutinized anew and critically."

[39]Hasel, pp. 173-215.

[40]Ibid., p. 393.

[41]F. Dreyfus, "Reste d'Israël," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément* (1985), 10:422-423.

[42]Hans Wildberger, "שׁאר übrig sein," *THAT*, 2:850. Preuss also objects to Wolff's claim of inauthenticity of Amos 5:15 in Müller and Preuss, pp. 118-119.

[43]Omar Carena, *Il resto di Israele*, Associazione Biblica Italiana, Supplementi alla Rivista Biblica 13 (Bologna, 1985), pp. 21-55.

tion remains highly problematical in view of the presence of the remnant idea in older nonpolitical texts from the ancient Near East,[44] not to speak of the OT itself. Carena supports the remnant idea in Amos 5:14-15 and 9:7-10, with this little remnant forming the nucleus of the new people of God.

The University of Erlangen-Nürnberg dissertation by Jutta Hausmann is radically different from Carena's.[45] Hausmann allows for only a minimalized idea of the remnant in the preexilic prophetic writings in general. She dates most of the major texts into exilic times and later, and thus she utilizes them to describe the development of the rich remnant idea in postexilic Judaism. She dismisses from her discussion the negative remnant concept in Amos, but does acknowledge Amos 5:14-15 to have a positive remnant idea with a "conditional salvation promise."[46] For her the remnant is not a national possibility, but is rather a religious notion conditioned by the "perhaps," which expresses a vague hope in a direct manner.[47] It is part of Amos' future expectation.[48]

We may now summarize as follows: 1) There is no total unanimity in recent scholarship as to how many of the remnant passages in Amos are authentic, but there are few scholars today who would deny Amos 5:14-15 as deriving from the prophet himself (*pace* Wolff and followers). 2) There is a rather general consensus that Amos has a negative and also a positive remnant idea. 3) There is widespread agreement that Amos does have a future expectation expressed by means of the remnant concept.[49] 4) Müller's hypothesis of a political-military origin of the remnant motif has recently found a defender

[44]See Hasel, *Remnant*, pp. 50-134, and Müller and Preuss, pp. 113-114.

[45]Jutta Hausmann, *Israels Rest: Studien zum Selbstverständnis der nachexilischen Gemeinde*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 124 (Stuttgart, 1987).

[46]Ibid., 184, n. 227.

[47]Ibid., 186.

[48]Ibid., 187.

[49]Aside from those already mentioned, the following need to be added: James Luther Mays, *Amos: A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 102; W. Zimmerli, "Die Bedeutung der grossen Schriftprophetie für das alttestamentliche Reden von Gott," in *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie und Prophetie: Gesammelte Aufsätze II*, Theologische Bücherei, vol. 51 (Munich, 1974), p. 63; Othmar Keel, "Rechttung oder Annahme des drohenden Gerichts? (Erwägungen zu Amos, dem frühen Jesaja und Micha)" *BZ* 21 (1977): 200-218; John M. Berridge, "Zur Intention der Botschaft des Amos: Exegetische Überlegungen zu Am 5," *TZ* 32

in Carena but has not received any real support from Hausmann.[50] (It should be noted that covenant notions [O. Schilling], election traditions [H. H. Rowley], connections with "the day of the Lord" [K.-D. Schunck],[51] and other relationships with the remnant play a role as well.[52]) 5) A positive remnant thrust is present in Amos 5:14-15, where it serves as an eschatological idea located right at the center[53] of the book.

4. *Amos and the Future Restoration*

One of the most vexing problems in the book of Amos and in the study of it is found in Amos 9:11-15. Ever since Julius Wellhausen declared in 1892 that Amos 9:13-15 suddenly deals out "roses and lavender instead of blood and iron,"[54] and that Amos cannot so quickly change his mind in 9:8-15 to let "milk and honey" flow from "the wrath of Yahweh,"[55] there have been scores of scholars who have denied this passage as belonging to Amos. This influential assessment gives the impression, as Klaus Koch objects, that it "puts Amos too hastily on the same level as a Christian theologian, ruled by dogmatic principles."[56]

In discussions since the 1970s, it has been suggested that the ending of the book of Amos is a "voice of Deuteronomistic salvation hope"[57] of obviously a much later period than the historical Amos.

(1976): 321-340; Rudolph, p. 59; Alfons Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten: Hosea, Joel, Amos*, Neue Echter Bibel (Würzburg, 1981), pp. 114-115; Ina Willi-Plein, *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments: Untersuchungen zum literarischen Werden der auf Amos, Hosea und Micha zurückgehenden Bücher im hebräischen Zwölfprophetenbuch*, BZAW, vol. 123 (Berlin, 1971), p. 32.

[50]Hausmann, pp. 211-212.

[51]K.-D. Schunck, "Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom 'Tag Jahwes'," *VT* 14 (1964): 319-330, esp. 323.

[52]Preuss, pp. 181-182.

[53]Andersen and Freedman, p. 53, note with great insight that "the center of the book is vv. 14-15 [of Amos 5], almost to the word. Taken together the two verses are a capsule of the book's essential message."

[54]J. Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten: Übersetzt und erklärt*, 4th unchanged ed. (Berlin, 1963), p. 96.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Koch, p. 69.

[57]Ulrich Kellermann, "Der Amosschlussals Stimme deuteronomistischer Heilshoffnung," *EvT* 29 (1969): 169-183. The theory that Amos 9:11-15 is of Deuteronomistic origin is not unique to Kellermann. See Weiser, *Die Profetie des Amos*,

But even a scholar of the stature of H. W. Wolff, who is a strong supporter of the Deuteronomistic edition of the book of Amos (following W. H. Schmidt), does not see here any Deuteronomistic influence; instead, he considers this passage as being from "the hand of a redactor not in evidence elsewhere in the book."[58] Soggin also refuses to follow the Deuteronomistic redaction line of thought.[59]

Peter Weimar seeks to place this concluding section of Amos into the framework of the redaction of the book of Amos,[60] and W. A. G. Nel suggests that Amos 9:11-15 is an unconditional prophecy to the people of the kingdom of Judah from the time of the exile.[61] Brevard Childs, based on his interest in the final form of the text, and agreeing with those who see Amos as a consistent prophet of doom, suggests that the later redactor of the final edition of Amos "engaged in a decisive canonical reinterpretation of the book in that he placed the words of Amos into a broad eschatological framework which goes beyond the original perspective of the prophet himself."[62] Rolf Rendtorff insists that none of the texts in the book of Amos should be interpreted independently from the context in which they are placed in the book itself.[63] As regards Amos 9:7-15, Rendtorff insists that "the proclamation of doom is integrated into the eschatological proclamation of salvation as in all other prophetic books."[64]

In one way or another, the numerous scholars since 1892 who have denied that the concluding part of Amos belongs to the prophet himself feel that the statements about future salvation contained in this prophetic word presuppose the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. They are agreed that the unique phrase "the booth of David" (9:11)

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pp. 282-290; Siegfried Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament: Ursprung und Gestaltwandel*, BWANT, vol. 85 (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 125-126, among a few others.

[58]Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, p. 353.

[59]Soggin, pp. 149-150.

[60]Peter Weimar, "Der Schluss des Amos-Buches: Ein Beitrag zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Amos-Buches," *Biblische Notizen* 16 (1981): 60-100.

[61]W. A. G. Nel, "Amos 9:11-15—An Unconditional Prophecy of Salvation during the Period of the Exile," *Old Testament Essays* 2 (1984): 81-97.

[62]Brevard S. Childs, "Die theologische Bedeutung der Endform eines Textes," trans. Klaus Bickerstein, *TQ* 167 (1987): 251.

[63]Rolf Rendtorff, *Das Alte Testament: Eine Einführung*, 2d ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), p. 235, citing Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, 1979).

[64]Ibid., p. 234.

refers to the Southern Kingdom and that the reference to its fall must be to the events connected with the end of Judah in the time of the Neo-Babylonian period. This accommodation to the new historical reality of a later period is also understood to soften the harsh message of Amos. In one way or another, an exilic or postexilic dating is bolstered with various historical and philological-linguistic arguments.[65]

Already as early as 1902 Otto Procksch raised an issue that has haunted exegetes and scholars ever since. He wrote, "Most of all one can hardly imagine that Amos should let Yahweh triumph over nothingness."[66] The debated issue is whether Yahweh's triumph is the complete and total end of Israel and every Israelite.

Did Yahweh have really only an end to proclaim through Amos, without any kind of a future for anyone? Why would only later editors be able to have a message of hope? Therefore, numerous exegetes have considered the final section of Amos to derive from the historical Amos himself.[67] This is a reconsideration which continues into the present.[68]

[65]In recent times see Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, pp. 113, 350-355; and Willi-Plein, pp. 55-63.

[66]Otto Procksch, *Geschichtsbetrachtung und geschichtliche Überlieferung bei den vorexilischen Propheten* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 13, n. 1.

[67]We will not mention those scholars that see parts of this section as overlaid by later redactors/editors.

[68]E.g., Müller, p. 213, with 9:12 as a late interpolation; O. Hvidberg-Hansen, "Die Vernichtung des goldenen Kalbes und der ugaritische Ernteritus: Der rituelle Hintergrund für Exod 32,20 und andere alttestamentliche Berichte über die Vernichtung von Götterbildern," *Acta Orientalia* 33 (1971): 41-46; Klaus Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum im Zeugnis der Propheten*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 107 (Göttingen, 1972), pp. 17-19; S. N. Rosenbaum, "Northern Amos Revisited: Two Philological Suggestions," *Hebrew Studies* 18 (1977): 137; Rudolph, pp. 278-287; Bernhard Lang, *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology* (Sheffield, 1983), p. 75; G. Henton Davies, "Amos—Prophet of Re-Union: An Essay in Honor of the Eightieth Birthday of Professor Aubrey R. Johnson, F.B.A.," *ExpTim* 92 (1981): 200, leans in that direction; and more recently the commentaries by Hayes; Andersen and Freedman; Gary V. Smith, *Amos: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1989); and Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 31 (Waco, TX, 1988). Joseph W. Groves, *Actualization and Interpretation in the Old Testament*, SBL Dissertation Series, vol. 86 (Atlanta, 1987), pp. 179-191, criticizes Hans Walter Wolff's atomization of the text and concludes, "In looking at allusions and context we have shown that Amos 9:11-15 is much more thoroughly integrated with the rest of Amos than other commentators have suggested. Every verse contains allusions which enrich the meaning of both this pericope and the rest of the book" (p. 189).

Among the supporters of the authenticity of Amos 9:11-15 are Julius Boehmer,[69] Ernst Sellin,[70] H. H. Krause,[71] K. Cramer,[72] S. R. Driver,[73] G. A. Danell,[74] Albrecht Alt,[75] Johannes Hempel,[76] W. Zimmerli,[77] A. Neher,[78] Victor Maag,[79] E. Rohland,[80] J. G. Botterweck,[81] E. Hammershaimb,[82] J. D. W. Watts,[83] R. E. Clements,[84] R. A. Carlson,[85] Gerhard von Rad,[86] Walther Eichrodt,[87] Ivan Engnell,[88]

[69]Julius Boehmer, "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Heilspredigt des Amos," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 76 (1903): 38-39, 44, n. 1.

[70]Ernst Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 32-33.

[71]H. H. Krause, "Der Gerichtsprophet Amos, ein Vorläufer des Deuteronomisten," *ZAW* 50 (1932): 228-229.

[72]K. Cramer, *Amos: Versuch einer theologischen Interpretation*, BWANT, series 3, vol. 15 (Stuttgart, 1930), pp. 47-49, 177-180.

[73]S. R. Driver, *The Books of Joel and Amos*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 122-126.

[74]G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament* (Uppsala, 1946), pp. 134-135.

[75]A. Alt, in lectures delivered at Leipzig in 1950-51, as stated by S. Wagner, "Überlegungen zur Frage nach den Beziehungen des Propheten Amos zum Südreich," *TLZ* 96 (1971): 661, 669, n. 18.

[76]Johannes Hempel, *Worte der Propheten: In neurer Übertragung und mit Erläuterungen* (Berlin, 1949), p. 114; idem, "Die Wurzeln des Missionswillens im Glauben des Alten Testaments," *ZAW* 66 (1954): 253.

[77]W. Zimmerli, "Gericht und Heil im alttestamentlichen Prophetenwort," *Der Anfang* 11 (1949): 38.

[78]A. Neher, *Amos: Contribution à l'étude du prophétisme* (Paris, 1950), p. 111.

[79]V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (Leiden, 1951), pp. 61-62, 246-251, contends v. 12 is exilic or post-exilic.

[80]Rohland, pp. 59, 230-232. Rohland follows Maag in considering v. 12 late.

[81]J. G. Botterweck, "Zur Authentizität des Buches Amos," *BZ* 2 (1958): 188-189.

[82]Erling Hammershaimb, *Amos fortolket*, 2d ed. (Copenhagen, 1958), pp. 131-139.

[83]J. D. W. Watts, *Vision and Prophecy in Amos* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1958), pp. 58-60.

[84]Clements, p. 111.

[85]R. A. Carlson, "Propheten Amos och Davidsriket," *Religion och Bibel* 25 (1966): 74-78.

[86]von Rad, *Theology*, 2:138.

[87]W. Eichrodt, *Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens im Alten Testament* (Gütersloh, 1920), pp. 95-101.

[88]Ivan Engnell, "Amos," in *Svensk Bibliskt Uppslagverk*, ed. I. Engnell and A. Fridricksen, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Stockholm, 1962), 1:65-66.

Abraham Heschel,[89] Y. Kaufmann,[90] Horst D. Preuss,[91] and Henning Graf Reventlow[92] before the 1970s. Since that time the arguments for authenticity continue, with, for example, Wilhelm Rudolph[93] and Erling Hammershaimb[94] defending this final section of Amos as coming from the prophet himself. S. Yeivin sees this text as an "invitation to rebellion against the king and his powers," a position which Amos supports and to which he holds out "the restoration of all Israel under the Davidic dynasty."[95] The passage has been seen as a criticism of the rulership of Jeroboam II.[96]

Other scholars assign this concluding prophecy to a supposed Judean phase of the prophetic activity of Amos.[97] The suggestion has also been made that it belongs to a cultic covenant-renewal festival.[98] Very recently the commentaries of John H. Hayes,[99] Douglas Stuart,[100] Gary V. Smith,[101] and David A. Hubbard,[102] besides various others,[103] have given full support to the authenticity of the passage. Andersen and Freedman[104] are also in general support of the view that it derives from the eighth-century Amos.

[89]Abraham J. Heschel, *The Prophets* (New York, 1962), p. 37.

[90]Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. and abrid. Moshe Greenberg (Chicago, 1960), p. 368.

[91]Preuss, pp. 138-139.

[92]Henning Graf Reventlow, *Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, vol. 80 (Göttingen, 1952), pp. 90-95.

[93]Rudolph, pp. 279-287.

[94]Hammershaimb, pp. 135-138.

[95]S. Yeivin, "The Divided Kingdom: Rehoboam-Ahaz/Jeroboam to Pekah," *The World History of the Jewish People*, vol. 4, pt. 1, *The Age of the Monarchies: Political History*, ed. Abraham Malamat (Jerusalem, 1979), p. 164.

[96]Seybold, pp. 60-67.

[97]So, among others, Watts, pp. 58-60.

[98]Reventlow, pp. 90-110.

[99]Hayes, p. 223, suggests that 9:11-15 forms the conclusion to the unit begun in 7:1.

[100]Stuart, pp. 396-400.

[101]Smith, pp. 275-280.

[102]David Allan Hubbard, *Joel and Amos*, Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL, 1989), pp. 237-239.

[103]E.g., Wagner, cols. 661-663; Seybold, pp. 17-19.

[104]Andersen and Freedman, p. 916.

The matter of the genuineness of this concluding part of the book of Amos relates to the understanding of the whole message of Amos.[105] Is this prophecy dependent on the ideology of a Davidic empire? Does it reflect a pro-Judean tendency? Is it a criticism of the royal dynasty of Jeroboam II? Does it reflect a psychological/religious tension? Is it rooted in the covenant? Does this prophecy reflect a message of hope from an earlier period which was abandoned later? These issues have been raised but cannot be pursued here.

The perpetual issues turn on whether Amos is a consistent prophet of doom or whether there is some hope held out, even for only a remnant. Is there a development from one to the other? These concerns will exercise exegetes and theologians for some time to come, because the question is not just a matter of what Amos said or did not say. It is also a matter of the entire origin of future hope in the earliest phase of OT classical prophecy. Why should a crisis of the magnitude to be encountered by the Northern Kingdom end in an absolute "No" as regards a future for any remnant from the ten-tribe kingdom? Does not Yahweh have more to offer than that (Procksch)? We must certainly not allow our theology to determine the meaning of a book or a prophet's message, and neither must we allow our notion of consistency to force a text into a particular mold simply because that mold is in harmony with our own modern expectations.

5. *Conclusions*

We may bring together our conclusions as follows: 1) "The day of the Lord" passage in Amos 5:18-20 is indeed eschatological in nature. It proclaims, in a lamentation setting, the end of the national existence of Israel. 2) This final, eschatological end of the national history of Israel, the Northern Kingdom, is not, however, an absolute end of everything. There is a "perhaps" for a remnant that will be left from the "house of Joseph" (5:14-15). This remnant is one of faith, preserved by grace; and as a surviving entity it is eschatological in nature, carrying on the salvational intentions of Yahweh. 3) In view of the end of the Northern Kingdom, the eschatological message of the restoration of the "fallen/falling booth of David," to which

[105]In any case, it is clear from the stance of both supporters and detractors that the decision regarding genuineness has nothing to do with the conservative/liberal position of the respective exegete.

other entities are joined (viz., "the remnant of Edom"), looks forward to a successful future. This too is a deed of Yahweh in which the past failures of the people, the separation of the Davidic Israel, are overcome by a glorious reunion.

Thus, Amos is not just a "prophet of re-union";[106] he is a prophet of eschatological doom *and* eschatological hope. Amos holds both aspects together; he is the first preacher of eschatology, but not a "popular eschatology." His eschatology is Yahwistic eschatology, in which the divine demands count and the divine-human relationships are at the center, transforming and shaping all inter-human relationships.

[106]Davies, pp. 196-200.

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 1990 SEASON AT TEL GEZER: EXCAVATIONS OF THE "OUTER WALL" AND THE "SOLOMONIC" GATEWAY (JULY 2 TO AUGUST 10, 1990)

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During the summer of 1990, Andrews University, the University of Arizona, and Hebrew Union College cosponsored an archaeological excavation at Tel Gezer (see **Plates 1** and **2**).[1] The staff and work force of 39 archaeologists, students, and interested laypersons came from Andrews University and the University of Arizona (**Plate** 3).[2]

1. *Objectives and Methodology*

The major objectives of the 1990 season were to resolve the continuing controversy over the dates of the Outer Wall and the Solomonic Gate (**Plates** 4 and 5).[3] Earlier excavators at Gezer assigned the former to the Late Bronze Age II (ca. 1400-1200 B.C.) and

[1]The excavation was conducted in affiliation with the American Schools of Oriental Research and the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. Financial support was provided by the sponsoring institutions, volunteer participation fees, and generous private donations—including the Endowment for Biblical Research.

[2]William G. Dever served as Senior Project Director; Randall W. Younker as Associate Director.

[3]See A. Kempinski, "Review of *Gezer I*," *IEJ* 22 (1972): 183-186; W. G. Dever, "The Gezer Fortifications and the 'High Place': An Illustration of Stratigraphic Methods and Problems," *PEQ* 105 (1973): 61-68; A. Kempinski, "Review of *Gezer II*," *IEJ* 23 (1973): 210-214; K. Kenyon, "Review of *Gezer II*," *PEQ* 109 (1977): 55-58; I. Finkelstein, "The Date of Gezer's Outer Wall," *Tel Aviv* (hereafter cited as *TA*) 8 (1981): 136-145; A. Zertal, "The Gates of Gezer," *Eretz Israel* 15 (1981): 222-228; W. G. Dever, "The Late Bronze, Iron Age, and Hellenistic Defenses at Gezer," *JJS* 33 (1982): 19-34; S. Bunimovitz, "Glacis 10014 and Gezer's Late Bronze Age Fortifications," *TA* 10 (1983): 61-70; W. G. Dever, "Gezer Revisited: New Excavations of the Solomonic and Assyrian Period Defenses," *BA* 47 (1984): 206-218; W. G. Dever, "Late Bronze Age and Solomonic Defenses at Gezer: New Evidence," *BASOR*, No. 262 (1986): 9-34; G. J.

the latter to the Iron IIA period (second half of the 10th century B.C.). Meanwhile, recent critics have argued that both features were more likely built *after* the time of Solomon—perhaps in the 9th century B.C. or even later. Accurate dating of these well-known architectural features is important because they, and their associated pottery, are generally used as chronological referents for dating similar architectural features and ceramics at other sites and for reconstructing vital periods in biblical history. A secondary objective was to check Macalister's date for the so-called "Egyptian Governor's Residency," generally presumed to have been built during the Late Bronze II period, although recent studies have proposed an earlier date in the Middle, or even Early, Bronze Age (**Plate 6** and see below).[4]

In order to reach the objectives, it was decided to: (1) deepen the 1984 soundings[5] in the Solomonic Gate and the adjoining "Palace 10,000" (Field III) so as to penetrate into the preceding strata below their founding levels and thus determine their date and construction technique; (2) re-excavate and date Macalister's monumental "Egyptian Governor's Residency" (also described as a "Canaanite Castle"), and to see if it connected with the nearby Outer Wall along the northern perimeter of the tell; and (3) locate and excavate new sections of the Outer Wall in the hope of finding datable interior living surfaces. The latter two features were located in a newly opened field designated as Field XI.

Wightman, "The Myth of Solomon," *BASOR*, No. 277/278 (1990): 5-22; J. S. Holladay, "Red Slip, Burnish, and the Solomonic Gateway at Gezer," *BASOR*, No. 277/278 (1990): 23-70; D. Ussishkin, "Notes on Megiddo, Gezer, Ashdod, and Tel Batash in the Tenth to Ninth Centuries B.C.," *BASOR*, No. 277/278 (1990): 71-91; L. Stager, "Shemer's Estate," *BASOR*, No. 277/278 (1990): 93-107; I. Finkelstein, "On Archaeological Methods and Historical Considerations: Iron Age II Gezer and Samaria," *BASOR*, No. 277/278 (1990): 109-119; W. G. Dever, "Of Myths and Methods," *BASOR*, No. 277/278 (1990): 121-130.

[4]For the Late Bronze Age dating of the "Egyptian Governor's Residency" at Gezer, see R. A. S. Macalister, "Fourteenth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of Gezer," *PEFQS* (1907): 184-204; R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer I* (London, 1912), pp. 206-208; I. Singer, "An Egyptian 'Governor's Residency' at Gezer?" *TA* 13 (1986): 26-31. For Middle and Early Bronze Age datings for this structure, see A. M. Maeir, "Remarks on a Supposed 'Egyptian Residency' at Gezer," *TA* 15-16 (1988-1989): 65-67; S. Bunimovitz, "An Egyptian 'Governor's Residency' at Gezer?—Another Suggestion," *TA* 15-16 (1988-1989): 68-76.

[5]See Dever, "Gezer Revisited" and Dever, "Late Bronze Age" for reports of the 1984 season.

2. *Results in Field III*[6]

The Solomonic Gate

Just west of the gate area in Field III a number of soundings were conducted along the line of north-south section *a-a'* (**Plate 5**). These soundings, which penetrated as much as 2.5 m. below the founding levels of the guard rooms of "Palace 10,000" and the lane west of the gate, showed that both the casemate wall and the gate had been constructed on "built-up foundations" as Ussishkin had proposed, rather than being trench-built as Yadin had maintained.[7] The whole area had been levelled off, then raised as much as 1.5 m. with backfilled, fresh mudbrick destruction debris containing large chunks of charred beams and high quality wet-smoothed plaster (**Plate 7**). It is possible that this backfilled destruction debris could be from the Egyptian destruction mentioned in 1 Kgs 9:15-17. Terrace-like "core walls," similar to what was found below the street level in the outer gatehouse in 1984 (**Plate 8**), had been incorporated into the fill to stabilize it. The gate and casemate foundations were laid directly above the fill with large, roughly dressed boulders (**Plate 9**). Additional layers of fill were then added, burying the face of the wall by nearly a meter. The first use-surfaces were then laid down.

The pottery from these fills was carefully examined, and statistical records of all red-slipped and red hand-burnished wares were made; red slip was plentiful, but red hand-burnish was rare, and red wheel-burnished ware was totally absent. Following ceramic conventions that have been generally accepted until recently, the fills, and thus the initial construction of the upper gate and casemate wall, should be dated to the mid-10th century B.C.[8]

[6]William G. Dever was the Field Supervisor of Field III. Area Supervisors included Elliot Greenberg, Jimmy Hardin, Nick Kronwall, Lisa Marsio, and Hiroaki Watanabe. Volunteers included Kerry Adams, Andrea Smith, Crystal Green, Leontine Greenberg, Vicki Heisman, Howard Krug, Randal Jennings, Richard Lambeth, Peter Love, Sean McLachlan, Elaine Nailing, Vivian Oxman, Terry Reed, Yvonne Scott, and Thio Voilquin. The results of Field III, as presented in this article, are based on the field summary provided to the author by Dever.

[7]See D. Ussishkin, "Was the 'Solomonic' City Gate at Megiddo Built by King Solomon?," *BASOR*, No. 239 (1980): 1-18; Y. Yadin, "A Rejoinder," *BASOR*, No. 239 (1980): 19-23.

[8]The tendency on the part of some archaeologists to date red-slipped wares to the 9th century B.C. is largely the result of Kenyon's excavations at Samaria. She found red-slipped wares at Samaria in fills under the first buildings but dated them to the

"Palace 10,000"

The 1984 excavation of "Palace 10,000," located just west of the Solomonic Gate, indicated that it was constructed in the mid-to-late 10th century B.C. (**Plate 5**). That date was derived from the combination of red-slipped and red hand-burnished vessels found on its floors. This season's excavation established that "Palace 10,000" was actually secondary to the gate and casemate wall. It was founded above two earlier surfaces that were clearly related to the gate and casemate wall. That arrangement perfectly parallels the stratigraphic picture of the nearby two-entryway outer gatehouse, which 1984 excavations indicate was added to the upper gate at the third street level. The addition immediately preceded a major destruction that most likely should be attributed to Pharaoh Shishak (ca. 926 B.C).

The Casemate Wall

The later history of Field III was elucidated by excavation inside the first casemate west of the upper gate (**Plate 5**). The bottom of the sounding revealed a thick layer of mudbrick destruction debris, with charcoal chunks and some restorable pottery overlying the original cobblestone and beaten earth floors. The date of this destruction is identical to that encountered in the upper gate and probably also should be attributed to Shishak.

9th century since she believed there was no occupation of the site prior to ca. 880 B.C., when Omri established his capital there. Stager, however, has convincingly shown that, contra Kenyon, there is clear evidence, both historical and archaeological (e.g., winepresses), for a considerable and lengthy occupation of Samaria prior to the commencement of Omri's building project. It is logical to assume that the inhabitants of the site during this time (who were heavily engaged in an intensive wine production industry) would have left a considerable pottery record of their activities, and that is exactly what the pottery from Pottery Periods 1 and 2 (pre-Building) indicates.

An important point is that the pottery under the building floors at Samaria included hand- and wheel-burnished red-slipped wares. Holladay, however, has recently shown that *unburnished* red-slipped ware *precedes* hand- and wheel-burnished stratigraphically, showing that the former must be clearly dated earlier than the latter. Since the four-entryway gate at Gezer was founded on fills which contained unburnished red-slipped ware (and some hand-burnished), but no wheel-burnished, it is reasonable to conclude that the gate was initially constructed sometime prior to the founding of Samaria. A date in the latter part of the 10th century B.C., therefore, is not at all unreasonable. Historical considerations based on biblical and Egyptian sources make the time of Solomon the most logical period. See Stager, pp. 93-107, and Holladay, pp. 23-70, for full discussions.

Above this destruction level was a later layer of destruction debris nearly 2 m. thick. This layer already had been partially excavated in 1984, resulting in the recovery of over one hundred clay loom weights, more than a dozen restorable vessels of the late 8th century B.C., and two ostraca reading *yayin* and [*ba*]*t*. The finds in the 1990 season included additional loom weights, approximately a dozen restorable vessels of the 8th century B.C., and seven miniature baggy-shaped vessels with holes in their tops. The latter appear to lack any known parallels, but may possibly be inkwells (**Plate 10**). The destruction of this casemate should probably be attributed to the Assyrians during the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III (ca. 734 B.C.).

Outer Wall Evidence

A final result in Field III was derived from a probe below the stretch of possible Outer Wall found in 1984 just west of the outer gatehouse (see **Plates 4** and **11**). Not only was the line of the Outer Wall fully confirmed, preserved 3 to 4 courses high, but a *lower* phase of the wall was uncovered. It was on a somewhat different alignment and suggested an earlier tower (or even possibly a gateway). Thus the "gap" or "breach" in the Outer Wall, proposed by Macalister and accepted by most later commentators, has now been filled. Also, the Outer Wall west of the outer gate is now seen to have two phases, just as was the case to the east of the gate in 1984.

3. *Results in Field XI*[9]

The "Canaanite Castle"/"Egyptian Governor's Residency"

At the northern end of his trenches 14, 15, and 16, Macalister found a large structure which he dated to the 13th century B.C. and described as a "Canaanite Castle" (**Plates 4** and **6**).[10] He suggested that it served as the residency of either the governor or king of Gezer

[9]Randall W. Younker was the Field Supervisor of Field XI. Area Supervisors included Penny Clifford, Carolyn Draper, Lorita Hubbard, Lisa Marsio, David Merling, Rozanna Pfeiffer, and Paul Ray. Volunteers included Kent Birmingham I, Kent Birmingham II, Isabelle Crépeau, Ronald du Preez, Stefanie Elkins, Jim Fisher, Leontine Greenberg, Jennifer Groves, Michael Hasel, Ralph Hendrix, Randal Jennings, Linda Johnston, Richard Lambeth, Steven Ortiz, Toni Stemple, Sid Schneider, and Koot van Wyk.

[10]See n. 4 above.

at that time. Macalister's plan of this building shows three walls running right up against the inner face of the Middle Bronze IIC Inner Wall. One of the latter structure's towers was also incorporated into the "Residency."

This building has recently attracted the attention of several Israeli scholars.[11] I. Singer, the first interpreter to refocus attention on this structure, basically accepted Macalister's dating of the building, but argued that several features—such as the squarish plan, the large solid walls (which could have supported an upper story), the corner entrance, and the narrow corridor at the entrance—resemble Egyptian governors' residencies that have been found throughout Canaan. As for the awkward incorporation of the MB IIC tower in the middle of the structure, Singer suggested that only its foundations were preserved in Late Bronze Age times and that these underlay a large room in the northeast corner of the residency—possibly the main room of the building.[12]

The results of this season's excavation tend to support Macalister's and Singer's interpretations. After clearing post-Macalister accumulation with a bulldozer, the "Residency" was easily located (**Plate 14**). Three soundings were then conducted within the "Residency"—one in the chamber immediately north of Macalister's room *b*, a second one in Macalister's room *d*, and a final one inside the Inner Wall tower (see **Plate 6**).

The square opened inside the Inner Wall tower showed that the "stairwell" indicated on Macalister's plan was actually filled with large stones, possibly from former upper courses of either the Inner Wall or the tower itself. These stones were laid in the stairwell so that they were level with the surviving upper course of the tower,

[11]Ibid.

[12]Singer's proposal has been challenged by two other Israeli scholars, Maeir and Bunimovitz (see n. 4 for references). Maeir challenged both Singer's and Macalister's conclusion that the "Residency" post-dated the Inner Wall. Rather, Maeir argued, Macalister's plan indicates that part of the Inner Wall *covers* the northern wall of the "Residency." Thus the "Residency" must be *earlier* than the Inner Wall, not later. Since the latter has been securely dated to the MB IIC, the "Residency" must date to either earlier in that period or even as early as the Early Bronze Age.

Bunimovitz, likewise, argued that the "Residency" preceded the construction of the Inner Wall. Specifically, Bunimovitz suggested that the "Residency" was built sometime earlier in the Middle Bronze Age to serve as a "bastion" in the topographical "bay" on the northern side of the settlement. Later, in the MB IIC period, it was incorporated into the Inner Wall.

possibly creating a rough platform upon which the later "Residency" could have been constructed, similar to Singer's suggestion. Underneath the stones in the stairwell was an MB IIC fill, which, in turn, overlay a MB IIC floor that ran to the base of the tower wall. Thus the tower (and the Inner Wall) can be firmly dated to the MB IIC. The MB IIC floor was preceded by two EB II levels and a Chalcolithic level. The latter rested on bedrock.

The sounding in room *d* revealed that Macalister had trenched through the floors of the "Residency," making a dating of the building in this area impossible. There was some evidence for earlier Early Bronze Age and possibly Chalcolithic occupation well *under* the level of the "Residency" walls, corresponding to what was found below the MB IIC floor in the tower, as described above.

The sounding north of room *b* also revealed that Macalister had trenched below the floor level of the "Residency," thus making a conclusive dating impossible. However, it was clear that the "Residency" was founded on an almost sterile fill that was laid directly on a plaster surface which abutted the inner face of the Inner Wall, the latter being securely dated to the MB IIC both by previous excavations and by our own probe in the center of the tower (**Plate 13**). Thus the "Residency" clearly appears to be post-MB IIC, and there is no real reason to reject Macalister's original conclusions of an LB II date. This interpretation also harmonizes with that of Singer (noted above).

Macalister's Tower VII

According to Macalister, a number of ashlar towers had been inserted into the Late Bronze Age Outer Wall by Solomonic engineers.[13] In order to test this claim it was decided to locate his "Tower VII" (situated immediately north of the "Egyptian Governor's Residency," according to Macalister's plan) and open two soundings—one against each of the inner and outer faces of the "tower"—in order to determine if indeed the "towers" were constructed in the manner and at the time Macalister claimed (see **Plates 4, 6,** and **19**).

After clearing off the top of the Outer Wall, however, it was discovered that Macalister's "Tower VII" was not a tower at all, but rather an offset that was similar to what he found further west in his

[13]See Macalister, *Gezer I*, pp. 244-256.

trenches 22-29, a stretch of wall which he described as "rebuilt."[14] Macalister had apparently found the same corner as our team and had simply drawn in the other three corners on his plan.

Excavation against the inner face of the "tower" reached bedrock in just over a meter (**Plate 14**). A foundation trench, which showed up clearly in the eastern balk, indicated that the offset was initially constructed in the 8th century B.C. Later, during the Hellenistic period, a second trench had been dug into the earlier one, suggesting that at least part of the wall was rebuilt during this period. Indeed, the ashlars in the upper two or three courses of the wall were poorly laid. They were uneven and not in the header-stretcher fashion. Thus they were probably reused from the earlier Iron Age construction.

The fact that the earliest architectural phase of the offset dated no earlier than the 8th century B.C. would seem to raise doubts about the claims of those who have argued for an earlier dating of the Outer Wall. However, excavation along the outer face of "Tower VII" revealed at least nine courses (ca. 5 m.) of excellent header-stretcher masonry.[15] Although bedrock could not be reached in this sounding, the pottery from the lowest level of fills against the outer face consisted of red-slipped 10th century B.C. wares.

Above these 10th century fills (which were more than 2 m. thick) were at least two plastered surfaces which ran up against the wall

[14]Ussishkin has argued that Macalister's "rebuilt" section (see **Plate 4**) corresponds to or marks the position of a monumental building which used this rebuilt stretch as a "back wall." According to Ussishkin, that section was bonded to and ran between two of Macalister's towers, which presumably served as corner towers for this building ("Notes," p. 75). Excavations from the 1990 season indicate that Macalister's rebuilt section extends well to the east of this 30 m. stretch and that what Macalister called "towers" are not necessarily towers at all. Even Macalister admitted that many of the Outer Wall's towers appeared to be little more than "set-offs" and that those on the inner face did not always correspond to those on the outer face (see Macalister, *Gezer I*, p. 244). That is exactly what was found this season in Probes 9 and 18. Also, it appears that little, if anything, of the Late Bronze Age wall was left *in this section* of the Outer Wall (described as "rebuilt"). Thus Ussishkin's criticism that the Iron Age builders of this monumental building would have had to line it up to the stub of the Late Bronze Age wall and then remove it to build up the back wall of the monumental building does not hold. The Late Bronze Age wall was probably already *missing* in this section.

[15]The vast difference in the depth to bedrock between the inner and outer faces of the Outer Wall is due to the fact that the wall was built along an escarpment—a point noted by Macalister, *Gezer I*, p. 244.

face. The debris on these surfaces included fallen ashlar blocks in a bricky fill containing 8th century B.C. sherds. The debris layers may be evidence of both an earlier 8th century earthquake (see below) and a later 8th century B.C. Assyrian destruction (**Plate 15**). The latter was followed much later by a hasty repair and rebuild, probably during the Maccabean period (2d century B.C.).

Thus, based on the results of the excavation along the outer face of "Tower VII," it appears that the Outer Wall was originally constructed at least by the 10th century B.C., and probably earlier. The discoveries in Square 22 to the east (see below) even suggest the possibility of an initial construction in the LB II. Engineers of the Iron II and Hellenistic periods apparently found it necessary to repair isolated sections of the inner face (which rested on the top of an escarpment), thus leading to the discrepancy between the dates for the construction of the inner and outer faces of the Outer Wall.

Macalister's Tower VI

In the hope of finding a genuine Solomonic tower inserted into a Late Bronze Age wall, it was decided to move east and attempt to locate Macalister's "Tower VI." According to Macalister's top plan, Tower VI was located between 25 m. and 30 m. east of Tower VII (**Plate 19**). Using the bulldozer to clear away Macalister dump and post-Macalister debris accumulation (which included some 1947 Jordanian army trenches), it was not long before an ashlar block of what appeared to be the southwest corner of Macalister's Outer Wall Tower VI was uncovered.

Unfortunately, excavations indicated that this "tower" was also only an offset (**Plate 16**). However, the pottery from the foundation trench[16] indicated that the earliest phase of *this stretch* of the Outer Wall was founded probably during the 10th century B.C. Two additional pieces of evidence also support a 10th century B.C. dating. First, a stone of the lowest course of the inner face of the Outer Wall is roughly bossed in a fashion typical of foundation ashlars of the 10th century. Second, this lowest course is clearly cut by the later "tower" or offset, indicating that this stretch of the wall *preceded* the

[16]The sections of both the east and west balks of this probe showed that the Middle Bronze Age glacis, which has been found in all areas where the Outer Wall has been exposed, was cut clear to bedrock by a 10th century B.C. trench to make room for the founding of the wall.

construction of the "tower." Since the "inserted tower" dated to the 9th/8th century B.C. (see below), the wall must be dated earlier. While this second line of evidence is not sufficient by itself to provide a 10th century date, the bossed ashlar and the 10th century trench combine to make a 10th century B.C. date for this section of the wall most probable.

Sometime during the 9th/8th century B.C. the upper courses of the Outer Wall were remodelled with large ashlars to create an offset.[17] The ashlar offset was "inserted" more than a meter into the 10th century B.C. wall line.[18]

The 9th/8th century ashlar inserts and wall appear to have been destroyed sometime during the 8th century B.C. Several lines of evidence suggest that the agent of destruction was an earthquake. For one thing, several sections of the Outer Wall had been clearly displaced from their foundations by as much as 10 to 40 cm. Furthermore, these wall sections were all severely tilted outward toward the north. That this tilting was not due to slow subsidence over a long period of time was evident from the fact that intact sections of upper courses of the inner face of the wall had fallen *backwards* into the city. Only a very rapid outward tilting of the wall, such as that caused by an earthquake, could cause these upper stones to roll off backwards, away from the tilt. If the wall's outward tilt had occurred slowly, the stones on the top of the wall should have fallen off toward the downward-sloping outer face of the wall.

[17]The dating for the ashlar insert and the upper courses of the inner face of the Outer Wall was determined by 9th/8th century pottery in their foundation trench (which was dug into the 10th century trench), as well as by the style of the ashlars, which are larger and more rough than the fine, well-hewn, 10th century ashlars found in other sections of the wall (e.g., see above on Macalister Tower VII). This foundation trench was clearly dug into the earlier 10th century trench described above.

[18]It was thought initially that this "insert" was the southwest corner of Macalister's Outer Wall Tower VI. However, clearing along the top of the wall to the east failed to produce the southeast corner of the tower. Ashlars were indeed found in the location where the corner was to be expected, but they were in the wall line and did not form a corner (see, e.g., Y. Shilo, *Proto-Aeolic Capital*, QEDEM series, vol. 11 [Jerusalem, 1979], p. 51). It therefore appears that the engineers who rebuilt the wall in the 9th/8th century modified the wall along this stretch by creating a series of offsets rather than by inserting a series of towers, as Macalister originally thought (he also dated the inserts to the 10th century B.C.). In fact, this stretch of offsets seems to continue the pattern of offsets that Macalister himself found for the Outer Wall further to the west between trenches 23 and 29 (see Macalister's plan, **Plate 4**).

The southwest corner of the ashlar insert had been similarly displaced from its foundational cornerstone, although to a lesser degree because of the greater stability of the ashlar construction. However, even the cornerstone had been split longitudinally because of the great pressure created by the lateral movement of the upper courses. This same tremendous pressure also created fissures in the ashlar stones that penetrated through several courses. The reason the foundation stones were not themselves dislodged to any significant degree is probably due to the fact that they were set into levelled-out depressions cut directly into the bedrock.

Evidence for an 8th century B.C. earthquake has been discovered at several other sites, such as Hazor.[19] It is not impossible that the wall was destroyed by the well-known earthquake of Amos 1 and Zech 14:5 (ca. 760 B.C.).[20]

The Outer Wall

Square 21 was opened approximately 10 m. east of Macalister's "Tower VI" along the inner face of the Outer Wall in an additional attempt to date the latter structure (**Plate 19**). It soon became clear that, as in other areas, the Outer Wall had been built into the Middle Bronze glacis. Nevertheless, two distinct foundation trenches could be discerned in the western balk. These corresponded to two distinct architectural phases of the Outer Wall (**Plate 17**). The first trench contained little pottery, but none of it dated later than the 10th century B.C. The 10th century trench was, in turn, cut by another, later trench. This latter trench clearly served as a foundation trench for the uppermost section of the Outer Wall. The pottery in the trench indicated a 9th/8th century B.C. date for the construction of this uppermost section.

Thus the picture provided by Square 21, in terms of trenches, pottery chronology, and architectural phasing, is identical to that of Macalister's "Tower VI," which is immediately to the west. The earliest phase of the wall in this section dated to the 10th century,

[19]See Y. Yadin, *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible* (New York, 1975), pp. 149-154.

[20]Recent geological studies indicate that the modern town of Ramla (near Gezer) has experienced numerous earthquakes. See E. J. Arieh, "Seismicity of Israel and Adjacent Areas," *Ministry of Development Geological Survey Bulletin No. 43* (1967): 1-14.

while a later phase could be dated to the 9th/8th century B.C. It appeared possible that lower courses could exist below the 10th century portion of the wall. It was obvious from the section in the western balk, however, that they would have been set directly into the Middle Bronze glacis, thus making an accurate dating impossible. Therefore, excavation in this probe was discontinued.

In a final attempt to ascertain whether there was any stratigraphic evidence to substantiate the claim that the Outer Wall was initially constructed *prior* to the Iron Age, Square 22 was opened along the outer face of the Outer Wall just opposite (to the north of) Square 21 (**Plate 4**). After penetrating destruction debris from the Hellenistic period and the 8th century B.C., the top of the Outer Wall was reached. The same two construction phases that were revealed along the inner face of this section of the wall (in Square 21) could be detected in the outer face, although only a single course of four stones survived from the 8th century B.C. These rested upon six courses of the 10th century B.C. wall (dated by both the 10th century B.C. foundation trench in Square 21 and the 10th century fills running up to the base of the bottom course in Square 22).[21]

It was thought that the bottom of the 10th century B.C. wall was reached when a plastered surface was found running up against what initially appeared to be the bottom course. However, it was obvious that bedrock had not been reached, so excavation was continued in order to ascertain the nature of the footing of the wall.

It turned out that the 10th century B.C. wall was founded on a lower wall, of which at least seven courses have survived (**Plate 18**). This lower wall was offset from the 10th century B.C. wall by ca. 64 cm. At least two fills with 10th century B.C. pottery ran up and over the top of this lower wall, while another three 10th century fills ran up against its upper three courses. However, below these 10th century fills was a series of layers which contained *pure* LB IIB pottery (none later than 1200 B.C.). The total thickness of the LB IIB material (which appeared to be the result of *natural* accumulation rather than fill brought in from elsewhere) was over a meter and it ran down to the bottom course of the lower wall section. This material would seem to provide the most likely date for the initial construction of this lower wall. On bedrock were found, not surprisingly,

[21]The 10th century wall apparently continued in use until sometime in the 8th century (probably prior to the earthquake), because it had been replastered on its outer face sometime during the 9th/8th century B.C.

some mixed Early Bronze and Middle Bronze Age sherds (along with later material) from earlier periods of the tell's occupation.[22]

Thus the history of the Outer Wall, as revealed in Squares 21 and 22, appears to be as follows. The lower wall was originally built in the LB IIB, sometime in the 13th century B.C. What caused this wall to go out of use is unclear from the data available in the probe, although a 10th century surface halfway up this wall indicates that it remained in use until the middle of that century.

[22]Some visiting archaeologist colleagues suggested that the entire Outer Wall, as revealed in Square 22, was built as a single unit sometime in the early Iron II period. This seems unlikely for three reasons. First, there are three distinctive styles of masonry, which would suggest three distinct building phases. The lowest section is built of large boulders of fairly uniform size laid out in uniform courses (see **Plate 18**). The boulders of the middle section, on the other hand, are more irregular in size. The upper section is built of smaller boulders neatly and tightly laid together (see Square 21, **Plate 17**).

Second, visual analysis of the construction technique indicates that the top of the lower section does not appear to have been level when the courses of the middle section were laid. Rather, it appears that the builders of the middle section found the uneven stump of the lower section, the upper course of which had been partially dislodged, and decided to use it as a foundation without adequately leveling it. That this decision resulted in a poor footing for the middle section is confirmed by the fact that the middle section later bulged outward, while the lower section, founded directly on bedrock and mostly buried, was unaffected.

The third reason also relates to construction technique. That is, the middle section of the wall is clearly inset from the bottom section by ca. 64 cm. Those who would argue that both sections were constructed at the same time as one architectural unit have to explain why the ancient engineers would deliberately design a horizontal "shelf" along the outside of a city wall. It might be argued that this section was built this way and then immediately buried so that the shelf was not exposed. However, it seems strange that the ancient masons would have been more careful in constructing the foundation, which would by then be buried, than in building the upper section. Also, the stratigraphy on the outside of the wall indicates a gradual, natural accumulation of debris during LB II *below* the line of the shelf, rather than indicating fill brought in from elsewhere.

Thus it seems clear that the lower section of the wall was not built at the same time as the upper section. Rather, the lower wall was built prior to the upper section. The fact that the upper section can be clearly dated to the 10th century indicates that the lower wall must precede that period. The accumulation of LB IIB pottery over a long period of time along the outer face of the wall indicates that it was originally constructed no later than that period.

One other suggestion we received is that the lower wall was originally built as a retaining wall for the Middle Bronze Age glacis and wall which exist upslope. While this idea seems plausible from an architectural point of view, the occurence of pure LB II pottery makes this suggestion unlikely.

During the latter part of the 10th century, engineers rebuilt this stretch of the Outer Wall along the stub of the LB IIB wall. This new wall was out of line with the earlier wall by ca. 64 cm., and not as well built. In order to cover up the awkward shelf along the outer face of the wall, the 10th century engineers brought in fill from earlier 13th-10th century levels. This wall continued in use until sometime in the 9th/8th century B.C., when the outer face was replastered. Finally, the upper section of the 10th century wall was rebuilt in the 8th century B.C.

4. *Summary and Conclusions*

The results of the 1990 season at Gezer indicate that the four-entryway gate in Field III can still be described as Solomonic. It, along with the casemate wall, was constructed on "built-up foundations." The fills of these foundations consisted of fresh mudbrick destruction debris and contained unburnished red-slipped ware, but no wheel-burnished red-slipped ware. Based on the studies of Stager, Holladay, and others, this material should be dated to the latter part of the 10th century B.C. The destruction debris, therefore, is probably from the Egyptian destruction of Gezer mentioned in 1 Kgs 9:15-17 (possibly by Pharaoh Siamun). After the destruction, the four-entryway gate was constructed, probably by King Solomon.

After undergoing three building phases, the gateway showed evidence of a destruction, probably by Pharaoh Shishak (ca. 926 B.C.). Excavations in the casemate wall showed evidence of a later destruction in the 8th century B.C., most likely by the Assyrian King Tiglath-pileser III (ca. 734/733 B.C.).

Evidence was also found for the existence of the Outer Wall to the south of (and below) the Solomonic gate, in the so-called "gap." Two architectural phases were discerned, the earlier of which may have included the corner of a pre-Solomonic tower or a gate.

In Field XI clear evidence was found to support Macalister's claim that the "Egyptian Governor's Residency" was built after the MB IIC Inner Wall. There is no reason to doubt his Late Bronze Age dating of the building.

The two "inserted" ashlar "towers" which were examined (Macalister's "Towers VI and VII") appear to be offsets rather than towers and appear to have been added to the wall during the 9th/8th century B.C. After destructions in the 8th century B.C. (an earlier one by an earthquake and a later one by the Assyrians), the wall was

remodelled during Hellenistic times. While no evidence was found to suggest that Macalister's "Towers VI and VII" were Solomonic "inserts," it is not impossible that such structures exist elsewhere. Only future excavations may be able to answer that question.

Several soundings along both the inner and outer faces of the Outer Wall suggest that it was built earlier than the offsets. Different sections indicate construction by at least the 10th century, and probably as early as the 13th century B.C.

The divergent dates for different sections of the Outer Wall are undoubtedly due to the fact that the wall had a long and complex history. While the line of the wall was maintained from the time of its original construction, it appears that various sections were destroyed and rebuilt at different times. The destruction in some cases may have been the result of attacks from foes; in other cases it was probably the result of a remodelling project. The wall at times was dismantled to bedrock; on other occasions only the upper courses were affected. The net result was a complex architectural history. This complexity has undoubtedly led to the difficulties scholars have had in interpreting a few isolated findings in their attempts to date the whole wall.

The results from this season would suggest that those scholars who have argued for an Iron Age date for the Outer Wall are partially right, as some sections were rebuilt from bedrock up at that time. It also appears, however, that other sections of the wall were built as early as the LB II. As with other architectural features, a true understanding of a structure's history may require more data than is generally available. Undoubtedly, future excavations of the Outer Wall will reveal additional chapters in its already complex history.

Plates 1-19

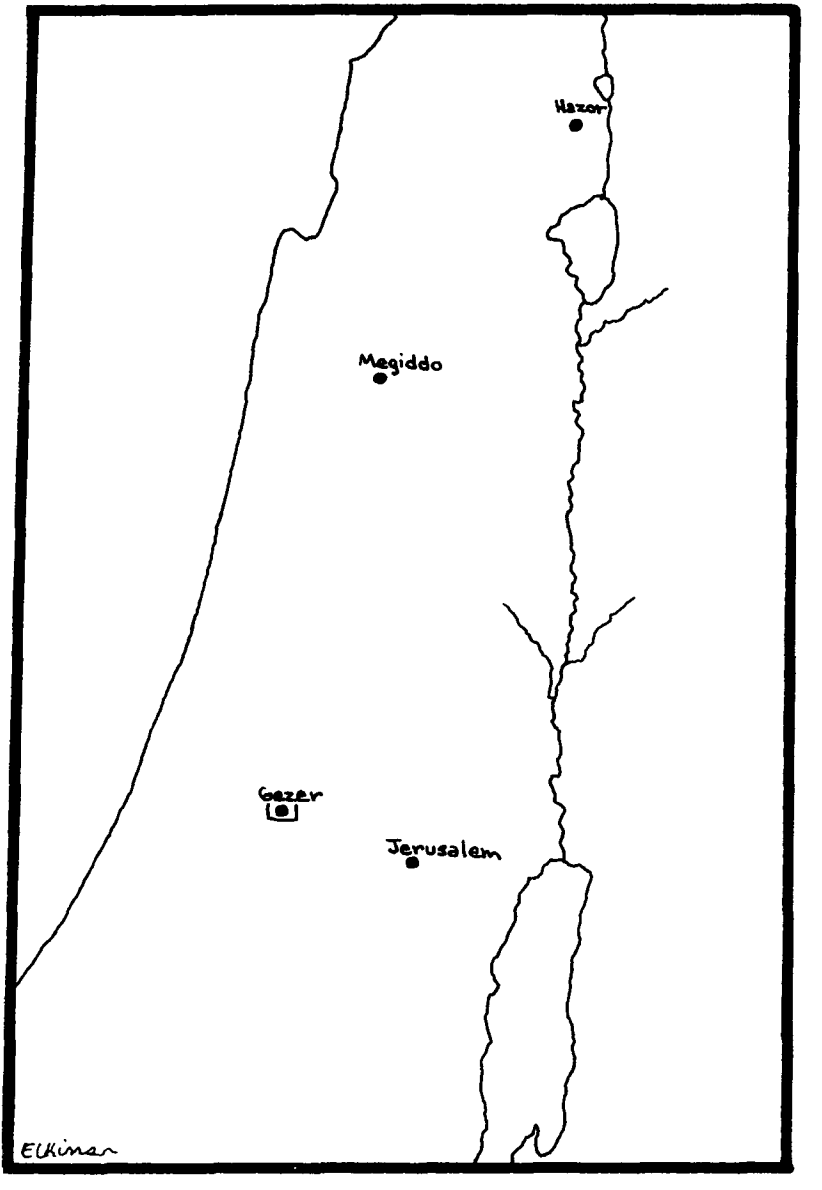

Plate 1. Map of Israel, showing location of Gezer.

Plate 2. View of Tel Gezer from the North.

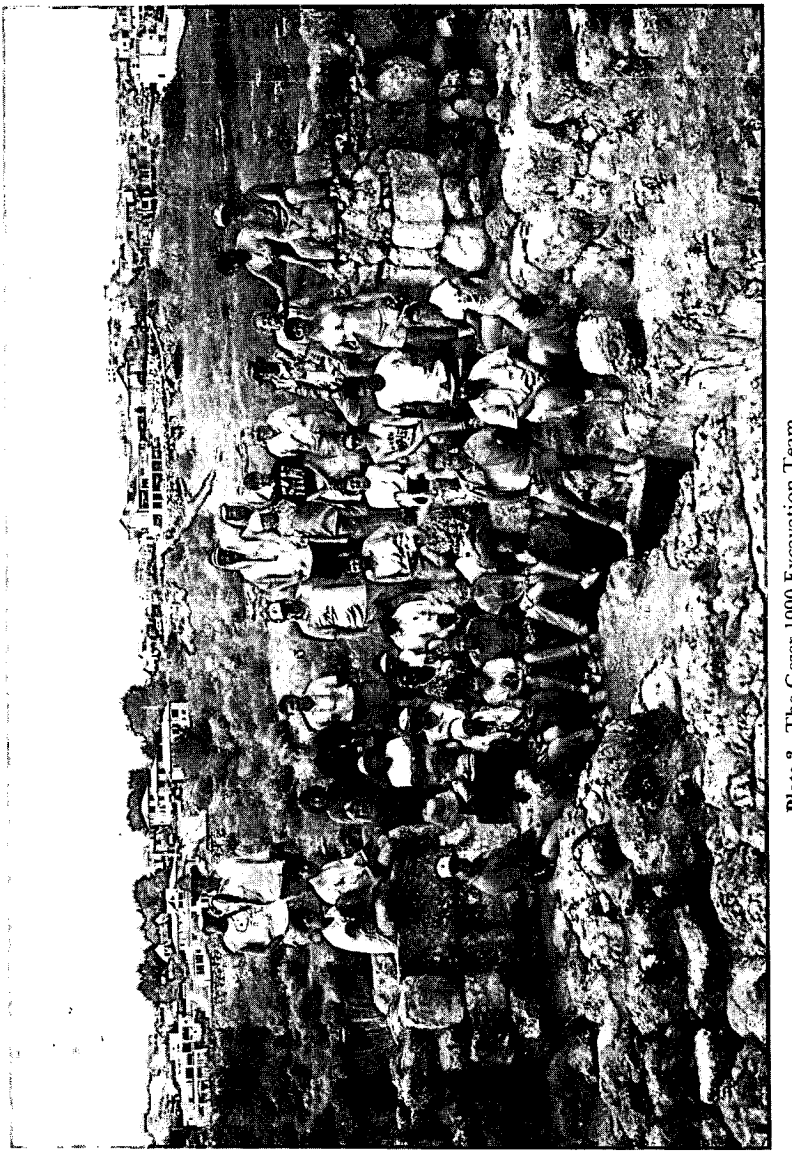

Plate 3. The Gezer 1990 Excavation Team.

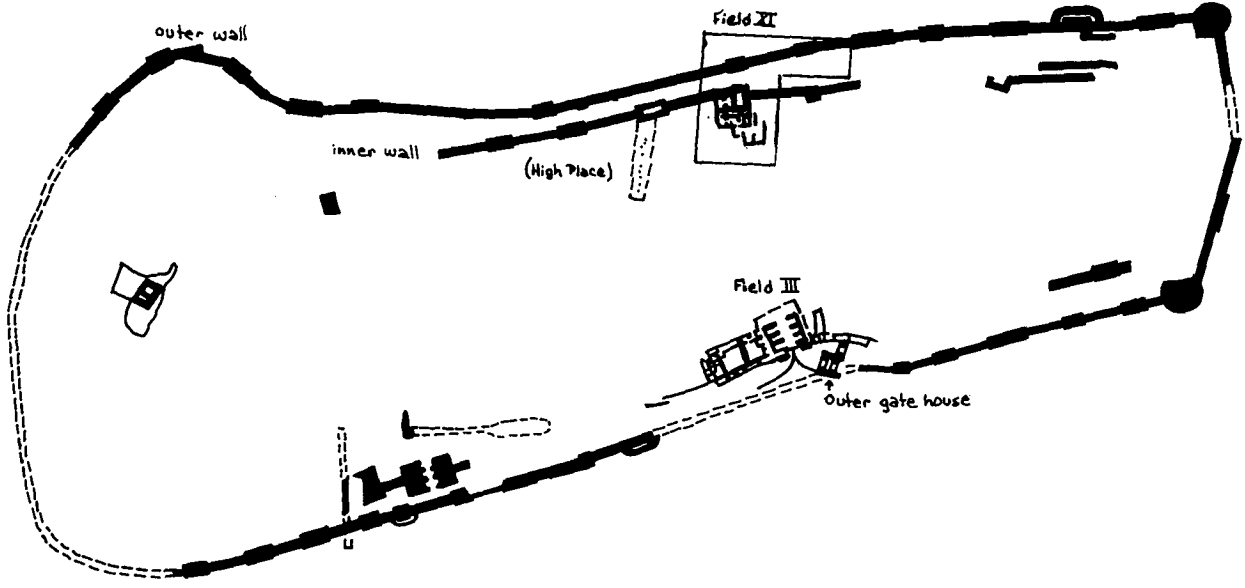

Plate 4. Plan of Tel Gezer.

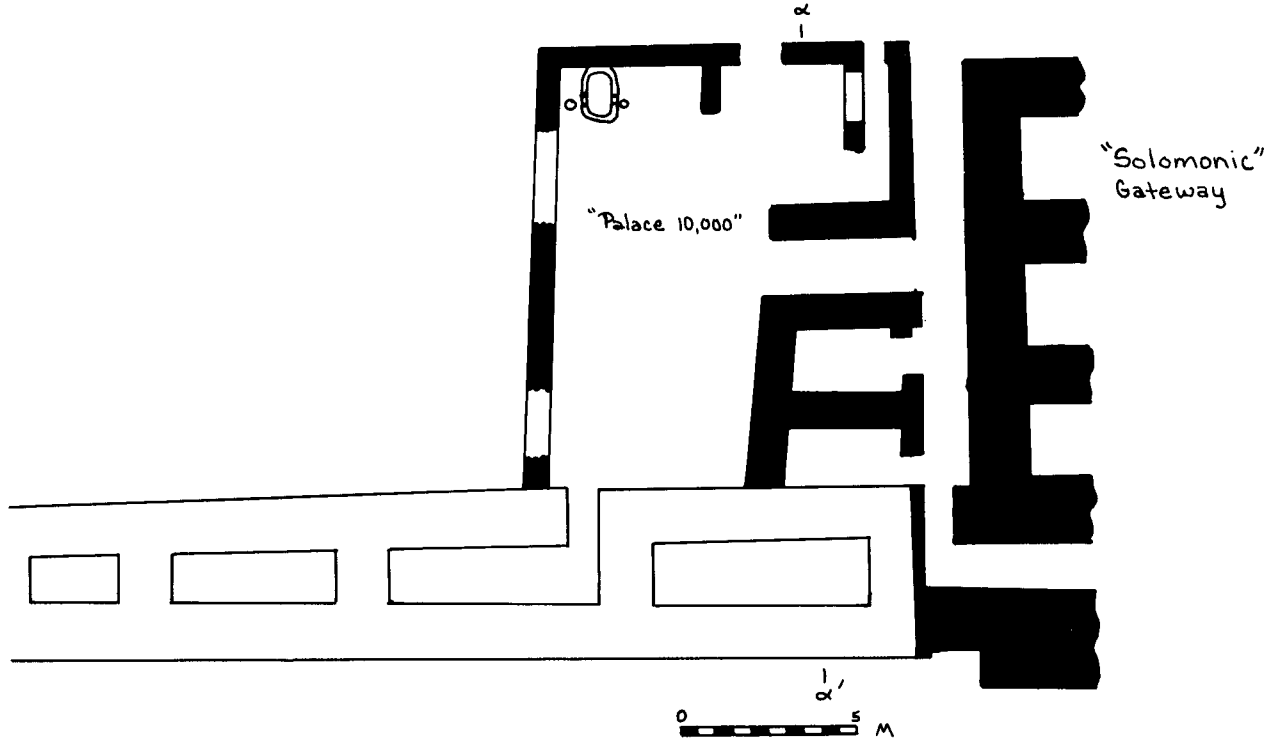

Plate 5. Plan of Field III—"Solomonic" Gateway and "Palace 10,000."

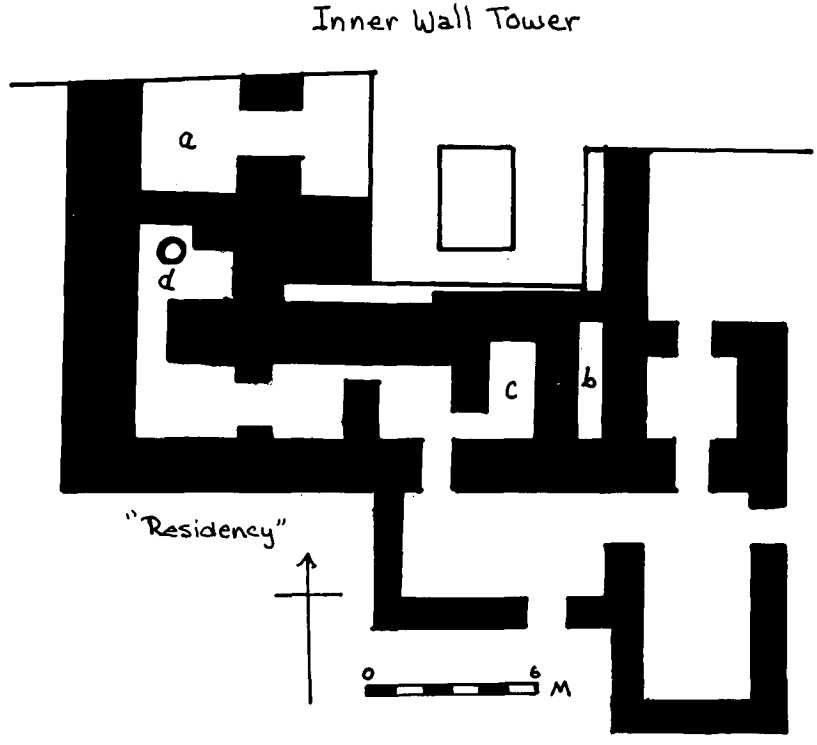

Plate 6. Plan of "Egyptian Governor's Residency" (Field XI).

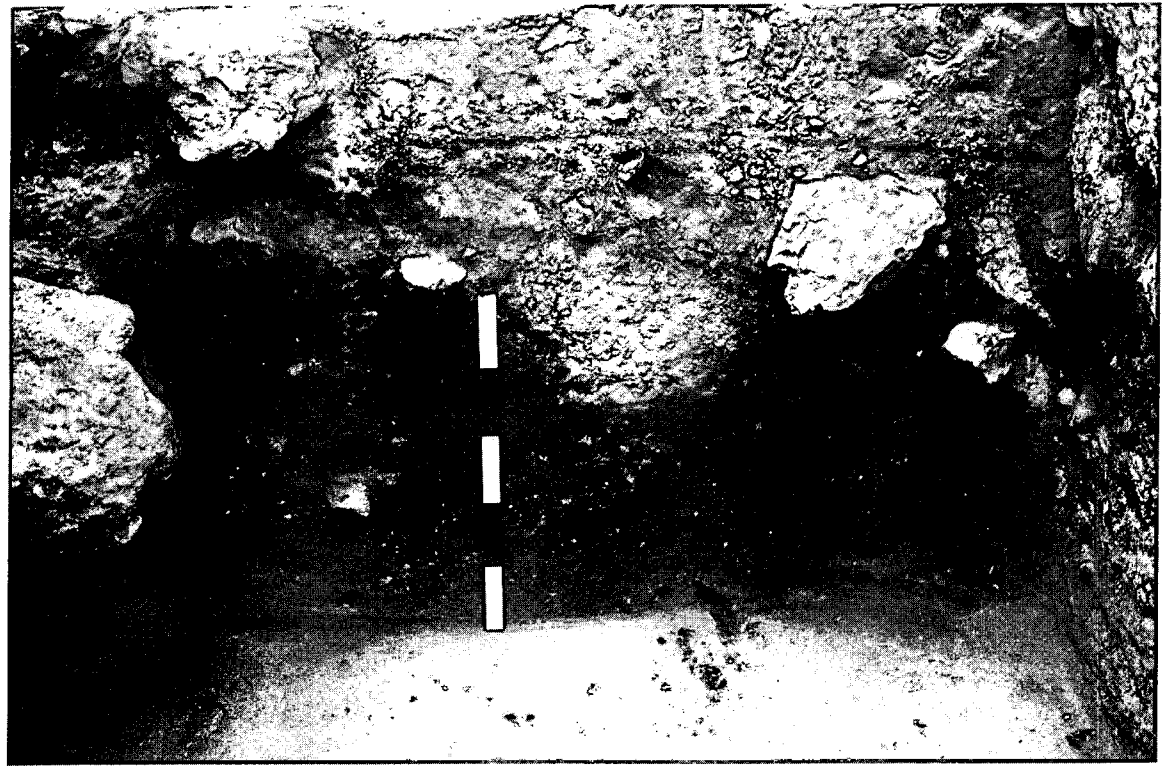

Plate 7. Backfilled destruction debris *below* the "Solomonic" Gateway foundation.

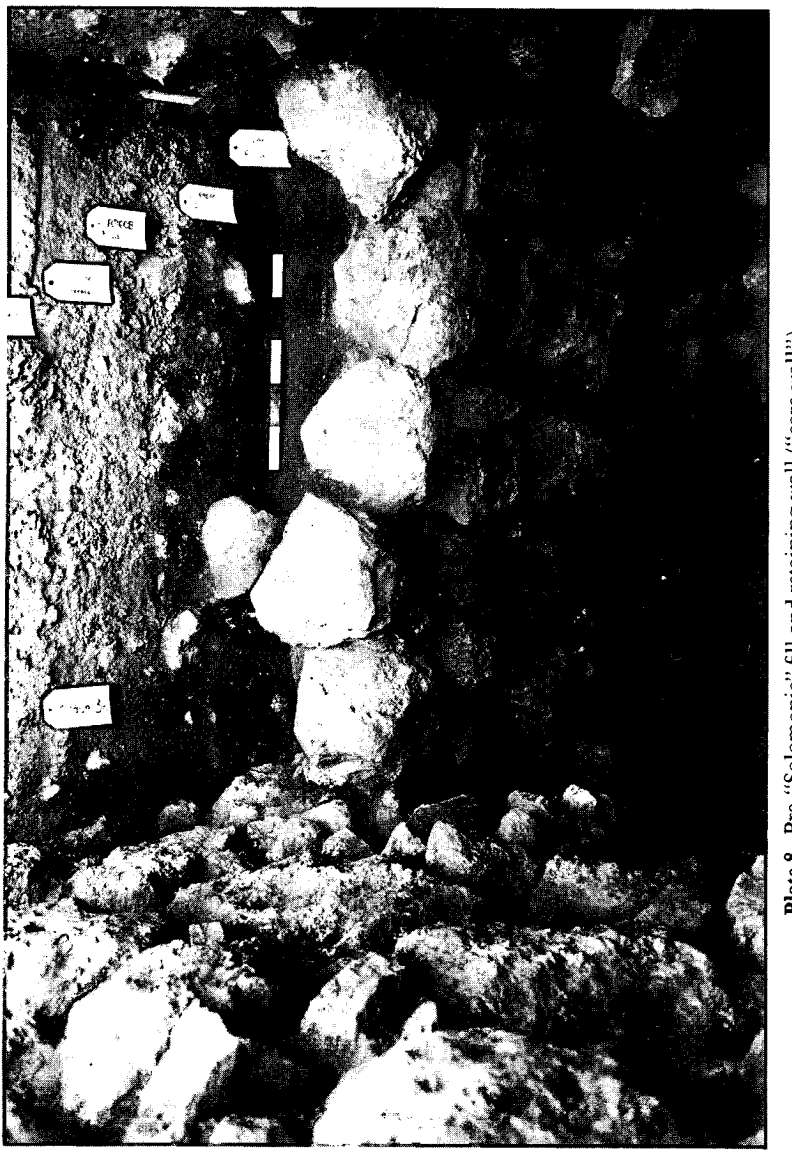

Plate 8. Pre-"Solomonic" fill and retaining wall ("core wall").

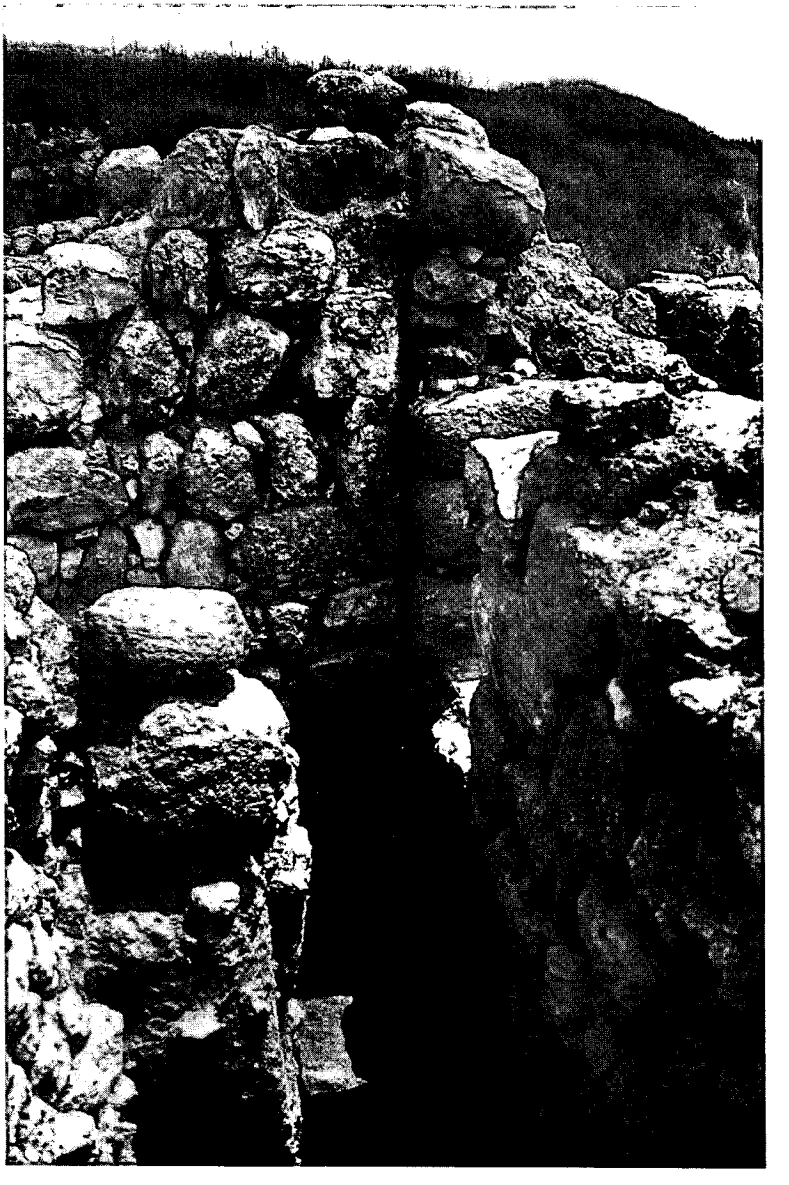

Plate 9. Join of the gate complex (left) and casemate wall (right).

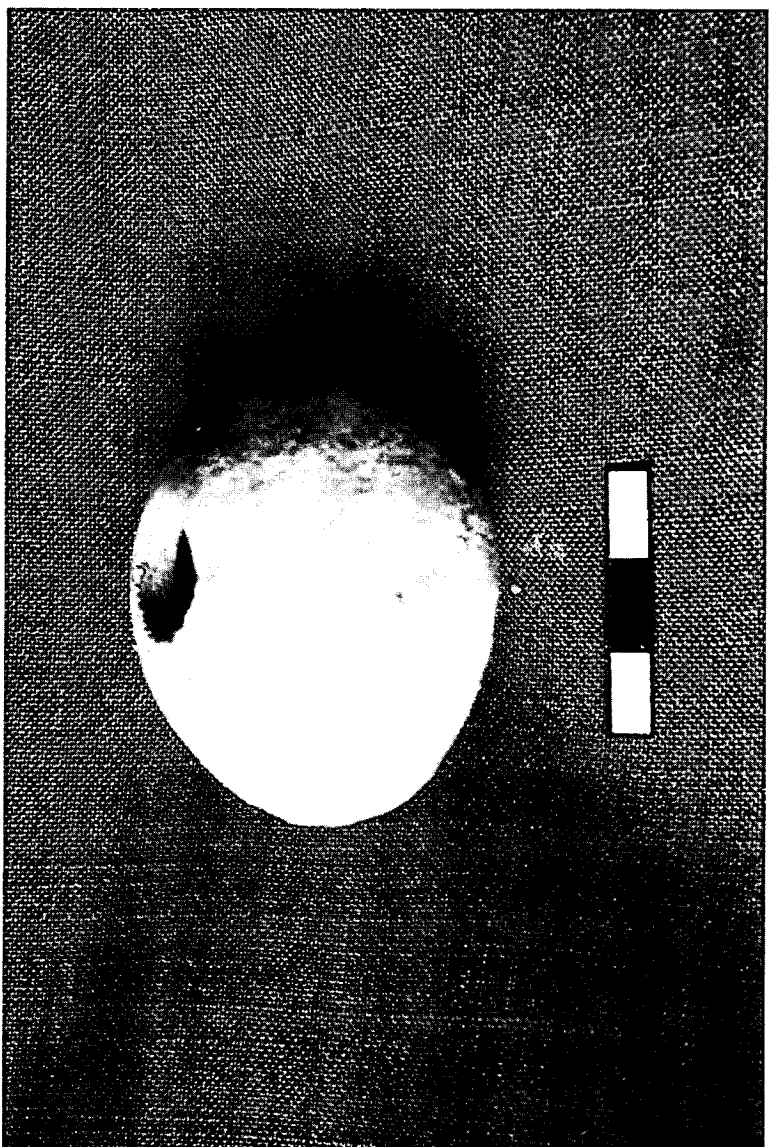

Plate 10. Possible inkwell from 8th cent. B.C. casemate wall.

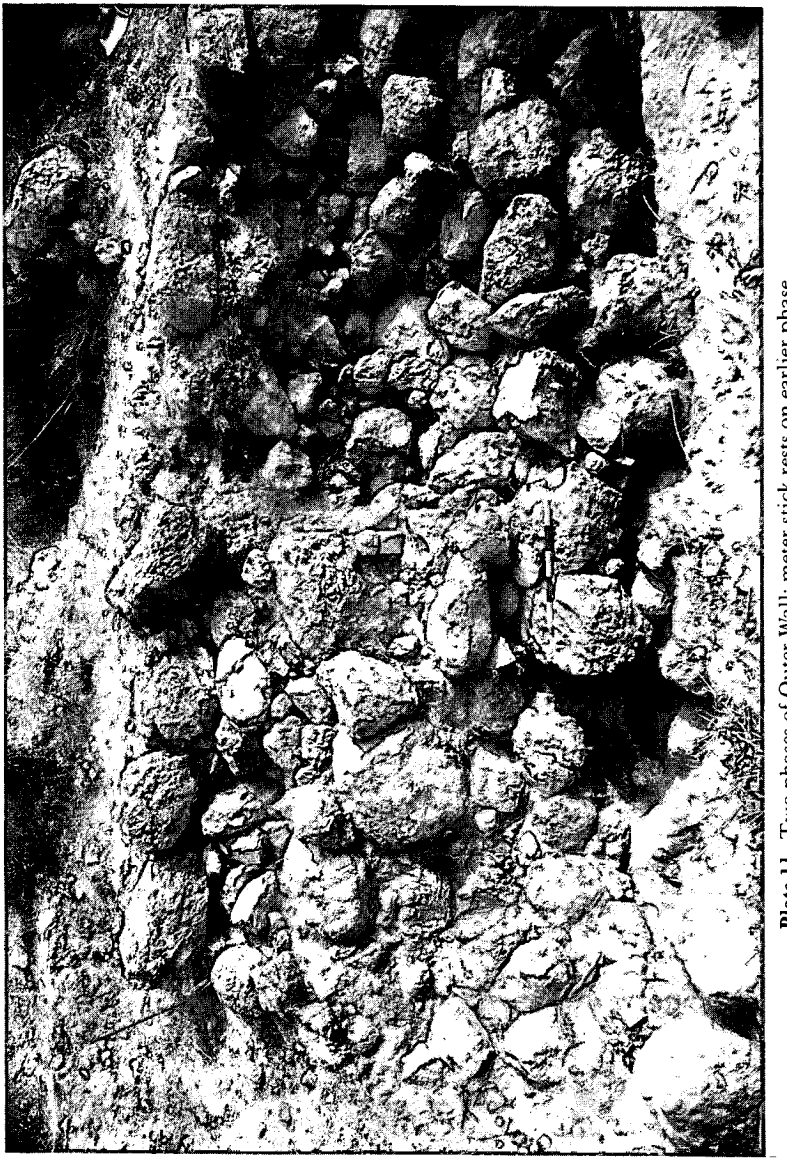

Plate 11. Two phases of Outer Wall; meter stick rests on earlier phase.

Plate 12a. (See caption for **Plate 12b.**)

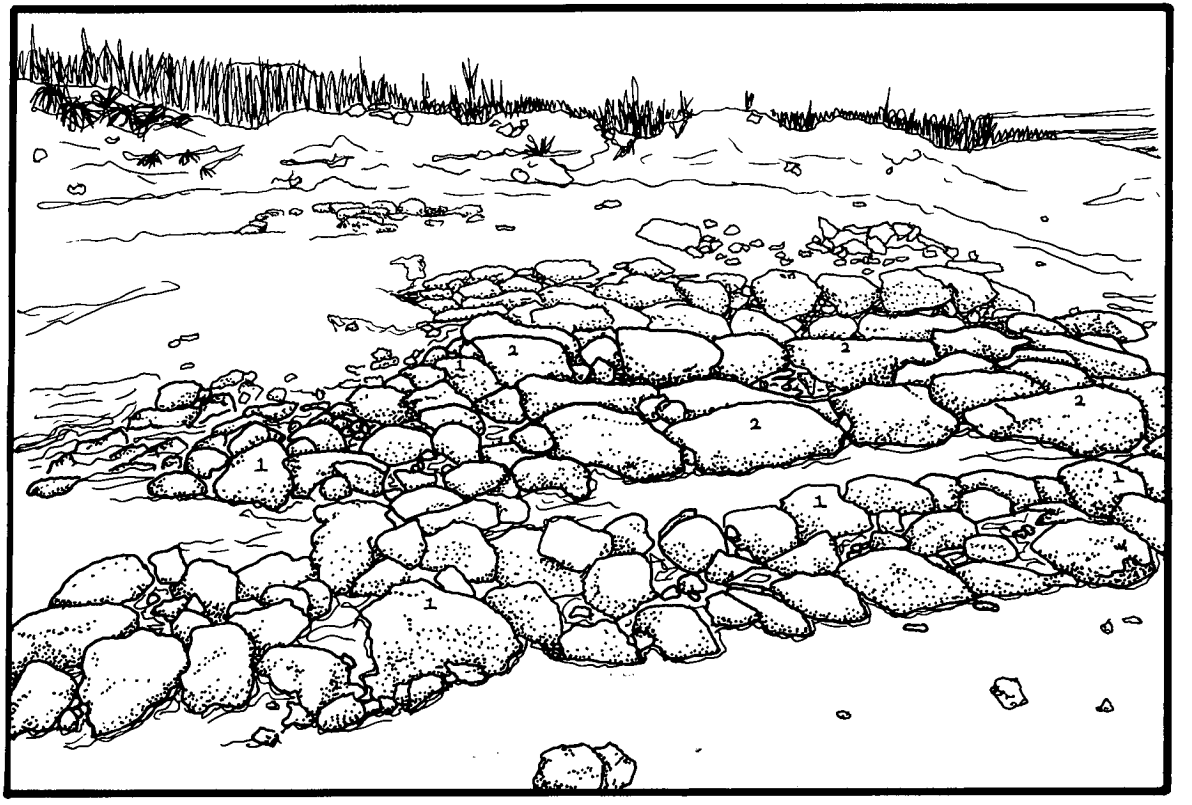

Plate 12b. (1) Late Bronze Age "Residency"; (2) Middle Bronze Inner Wall Tower.

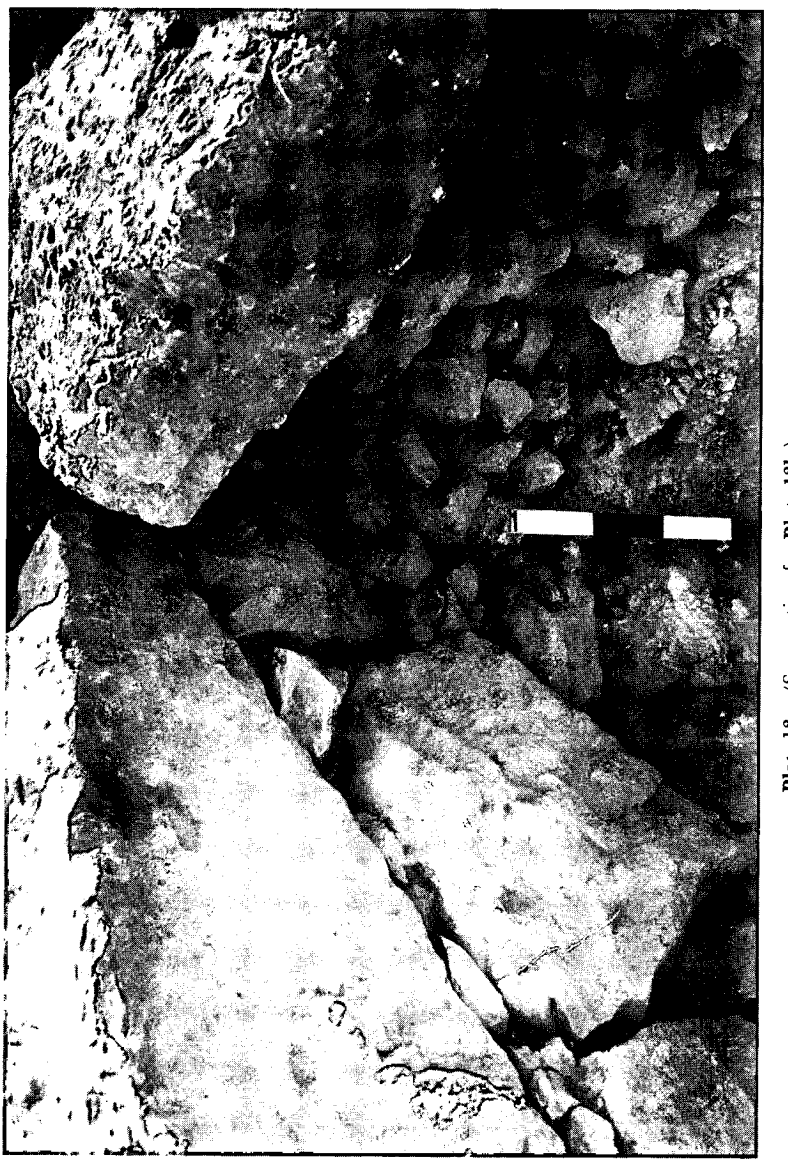

Plate 13a. (See caption for **Plate 13b**.)

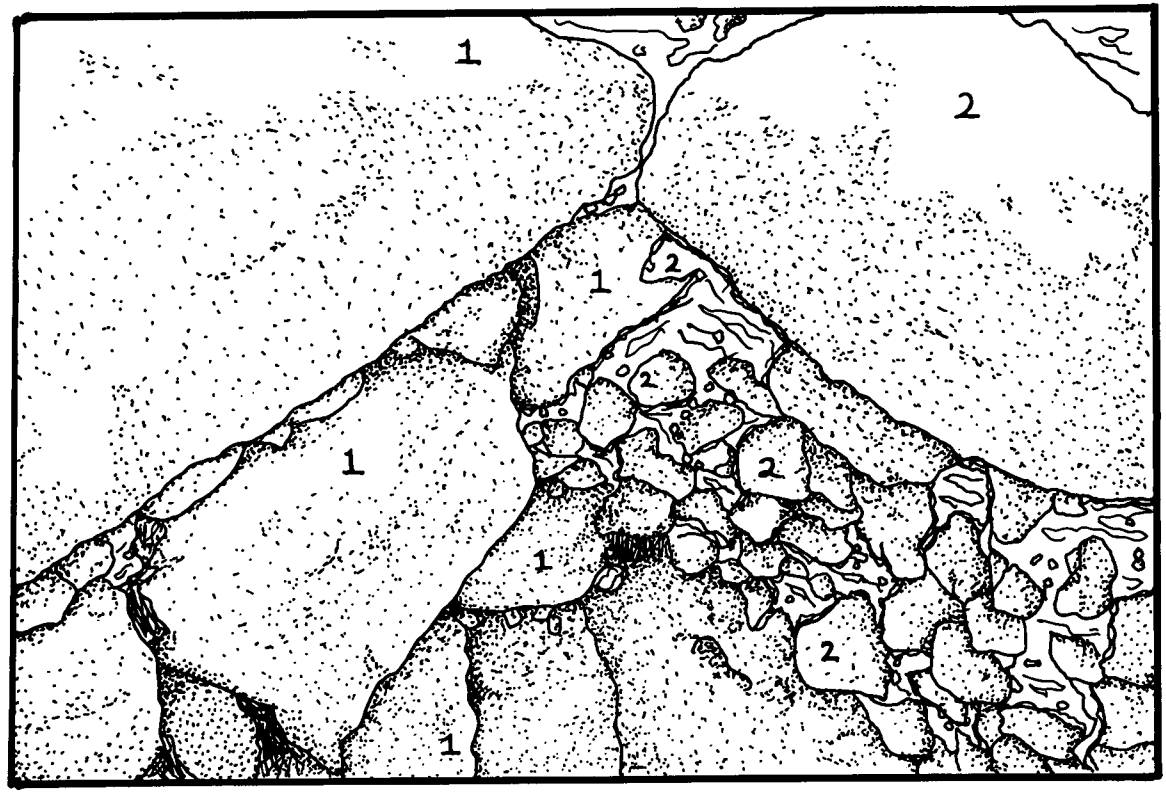

Plate 13b. (1) Middle Bronze IIC Inner Wall abutting (2) Late Bronze Age "Residency."

Plate 14a. (See caption for **Plate 14b.**)

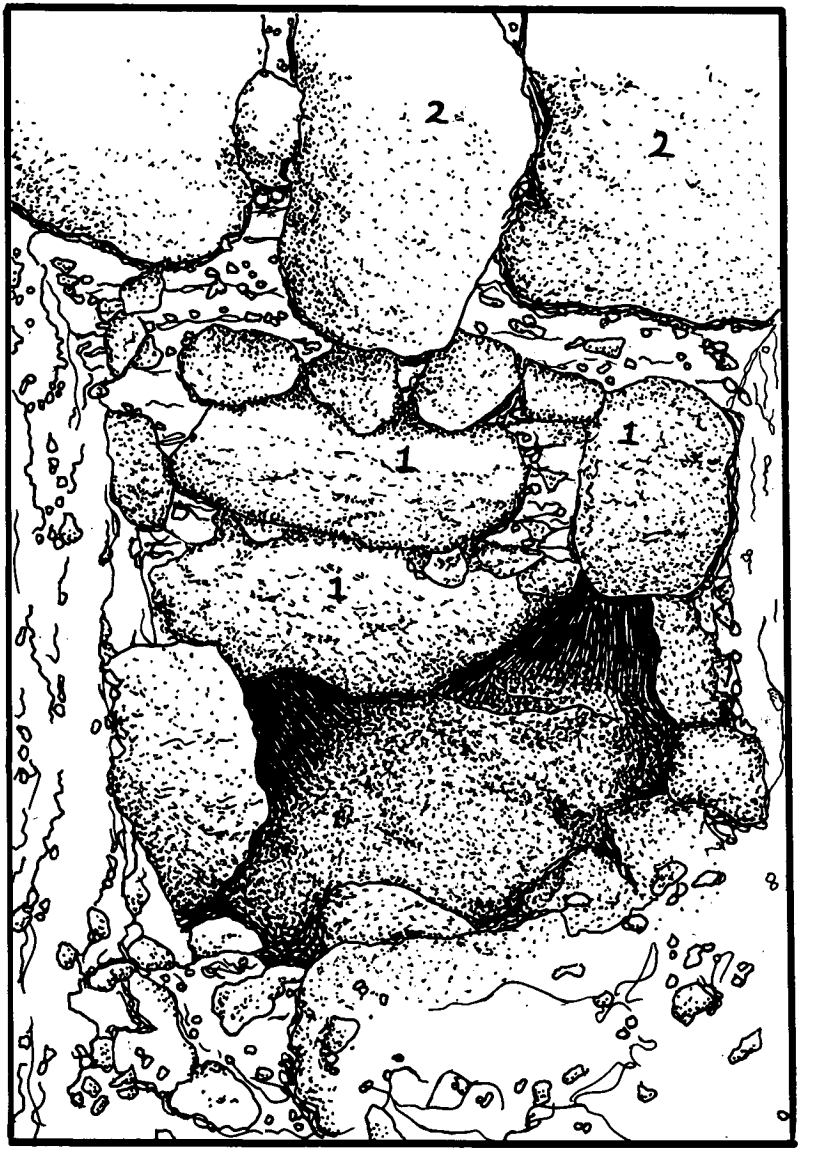

Plate 14b. (1) Inner face of Outer Wall founded in 8th cent. B.C.; (2) rebuilt in Hellenistic times.

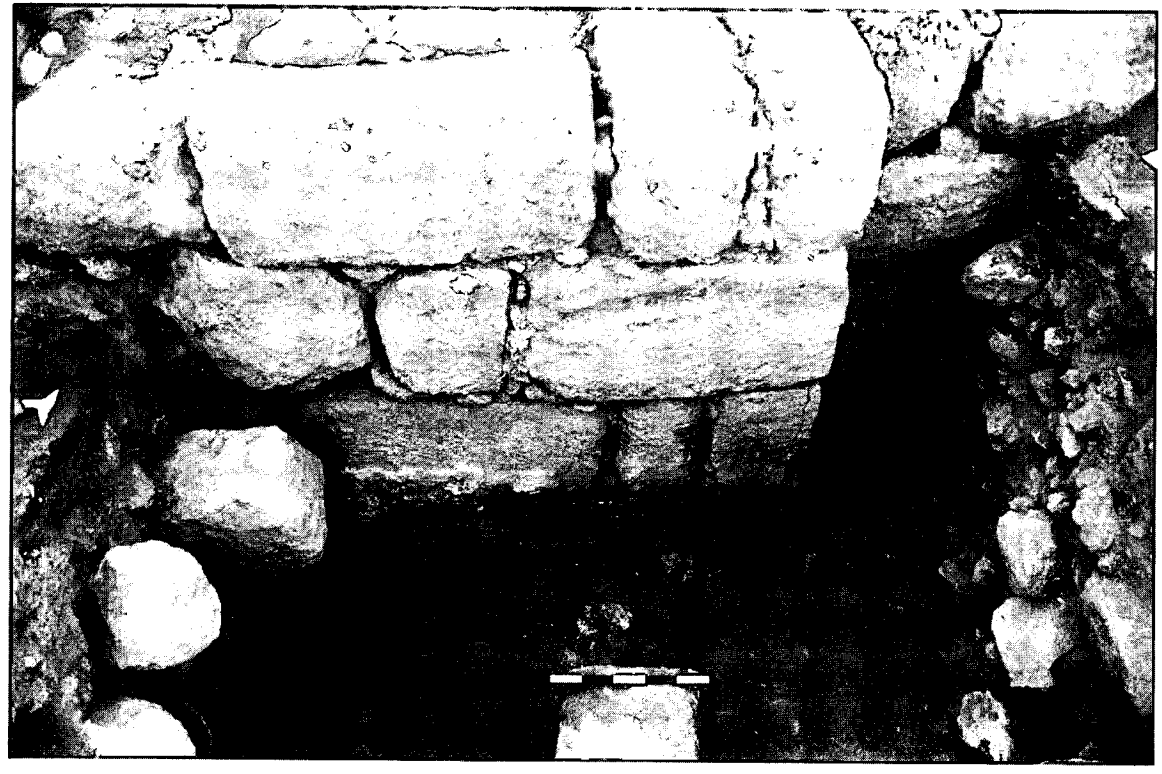

Plate 15a. (See caption for **Plate 15b.**)

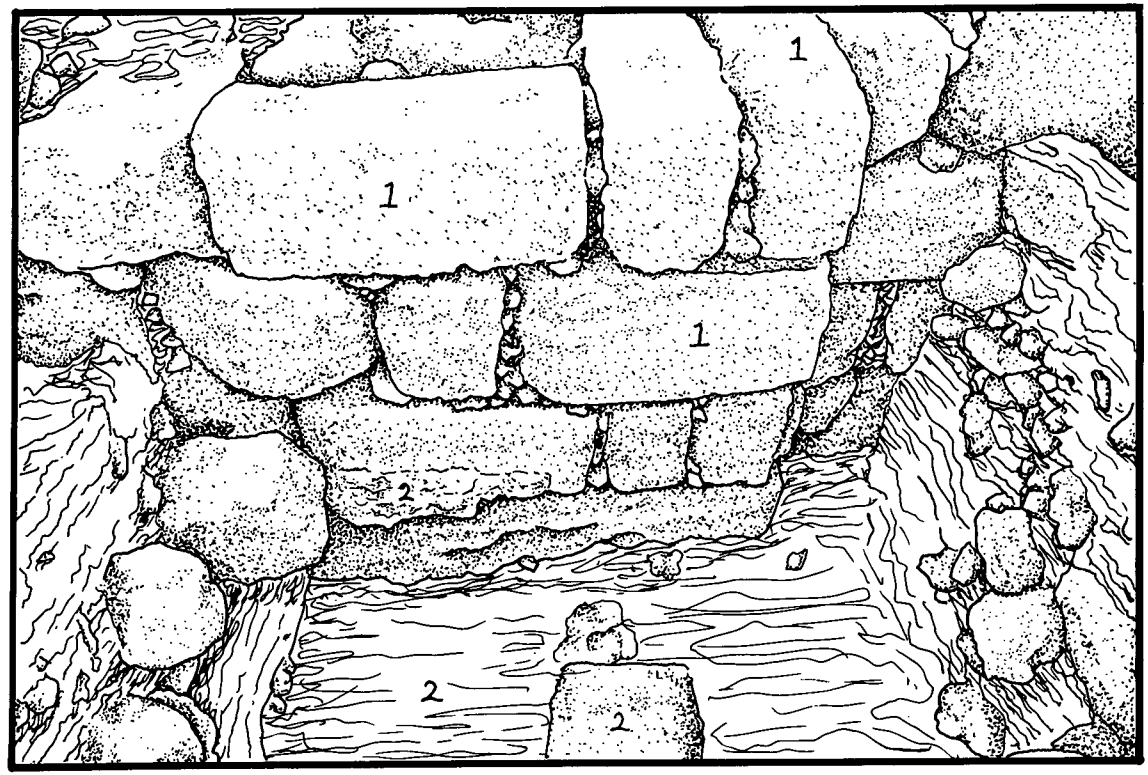

Plate 15b. (1) Outer face offset of Outer Wall built in 10th cent. B.C.; (2) 8th cent. B.C. destruction layer.

Plate 16a. (See caption for **Plate 16b.**)

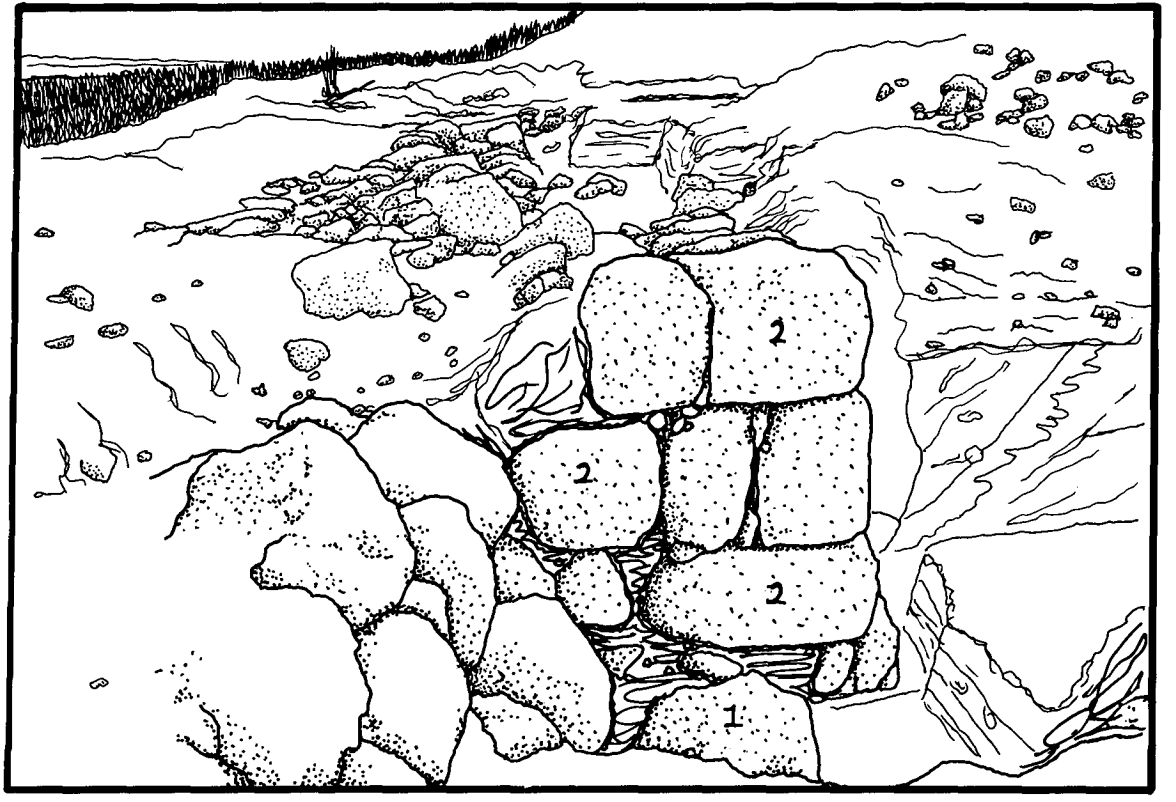

Plate 16b. (1) Inner face offset of Outer Wall (Macalister's "Tower VII") founded in 10th cent. B.C., (2) remodelled, and destroyed by earthquake in 8th cent. B.C.

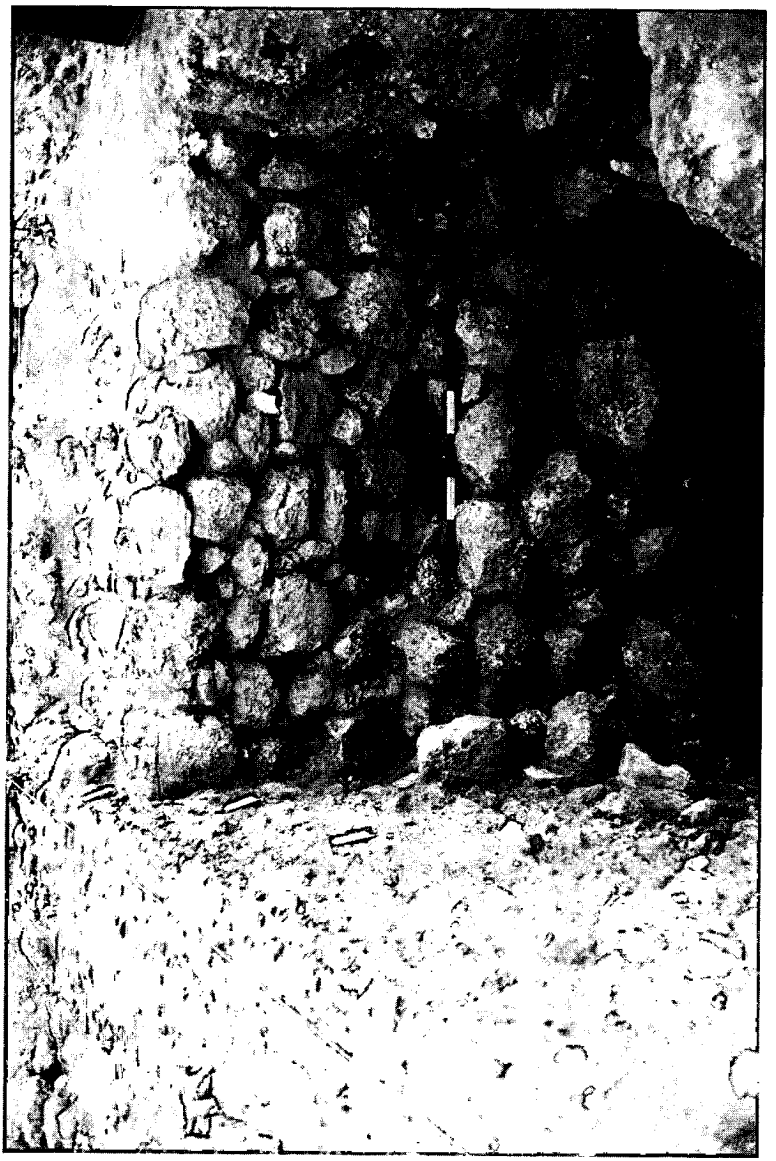

Plate 17a. (See caption for **Plate 17b**.)

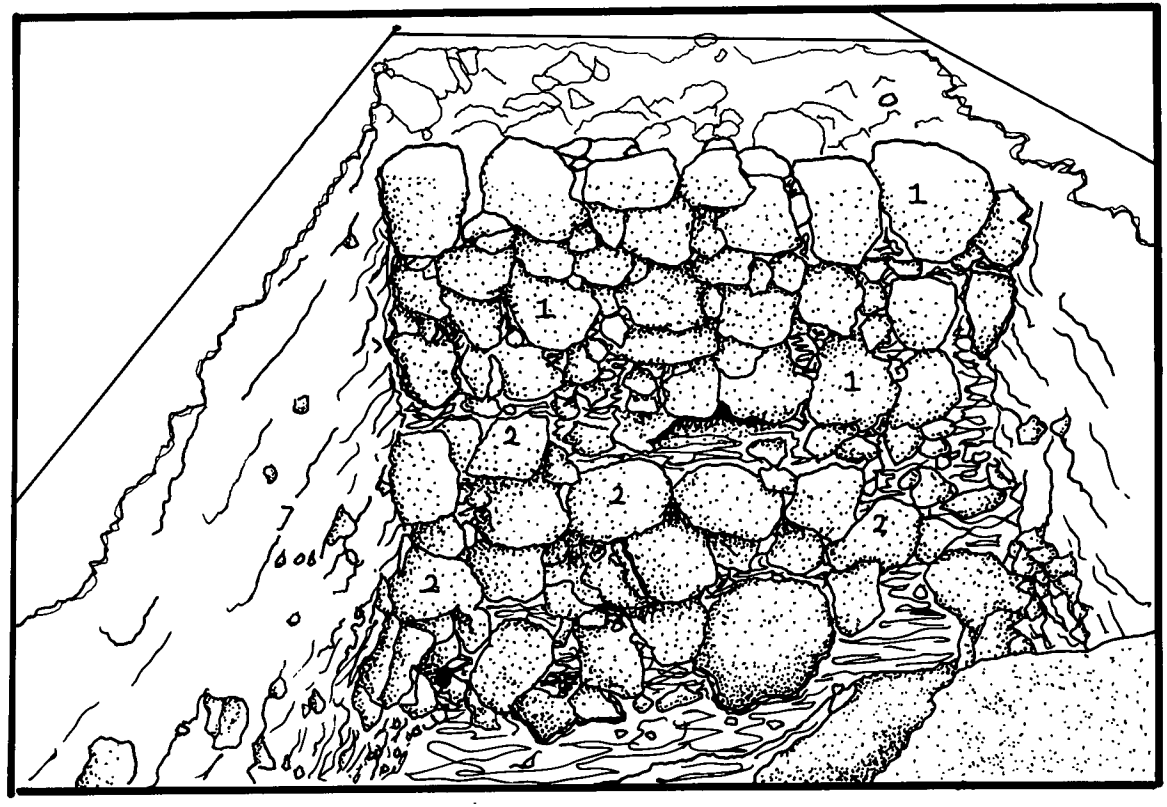

Plate 17b. Two phases of Outer Wall—(1) upper, 9th/8th cent. B.C.; (2) lower, 10th cent. B.C.

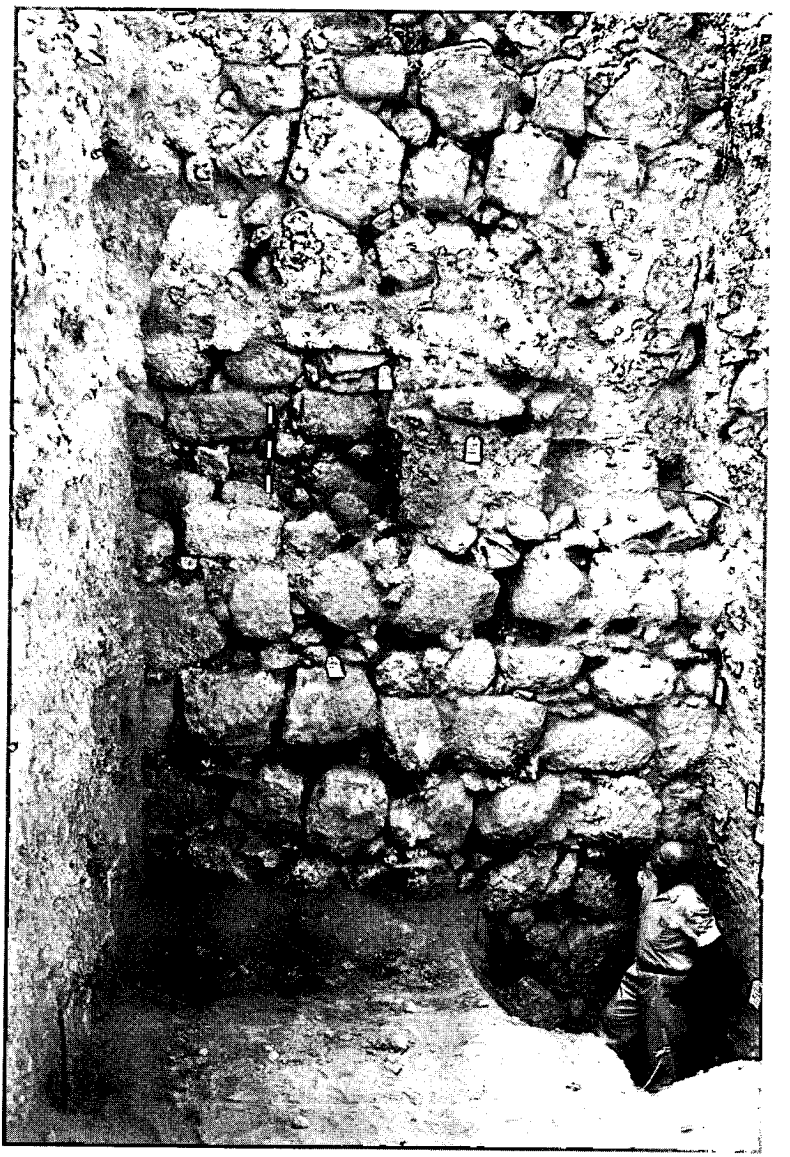

Plate 18a. (See caption for **Plate 18b.**)

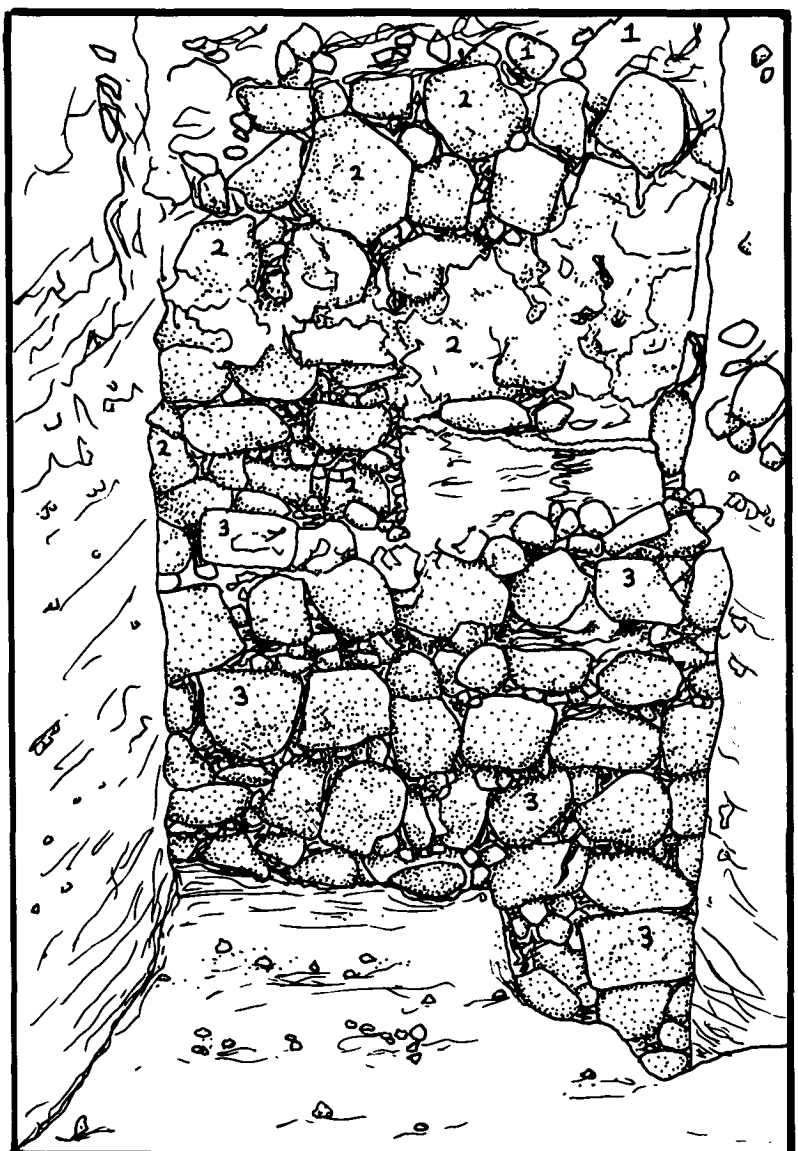

Plate 18b. Three phases of outer face of Outer Wall—(1) upper, 9th/8th cent. B.C.; (2) middle, 10th cent. B.C.; (3) lower, LB IIB.

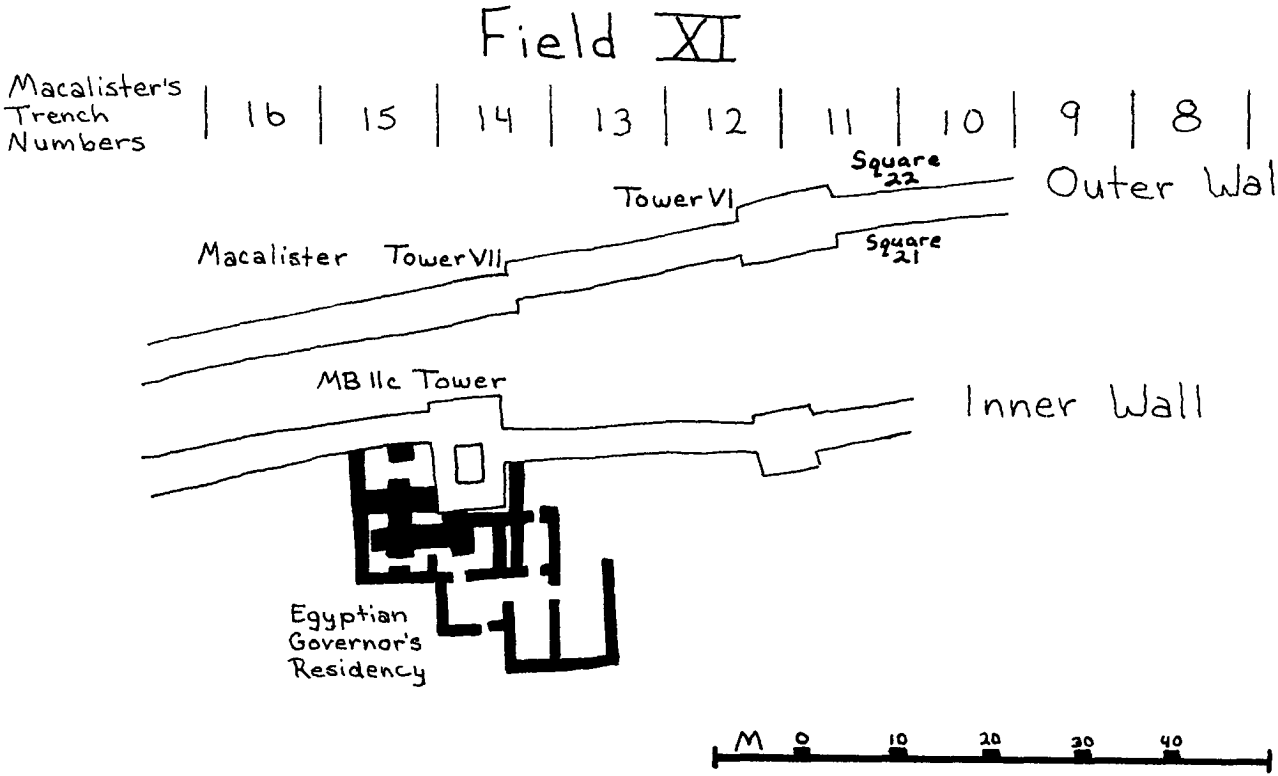

Plate 19. Detail of Field XI (after Macalister). Note approximate locations of Squares 21 and 22.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Spring 1991, Vol. 29, No. 1, 61-69

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE NEW REVISED STANDARD VERSION

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The New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) was published under the authority of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America in 1989. The particular volume from which I am working is Zondervan's NRSV Reference Bible, which contains various types of previously published helps. My comments will be restricted to the text of the NRSV.

Bruce Metzger, writing on behalf of the translation committee, set forth in his preface some of the changes made in this revision. The directive to the committee was "to continue in the tradition of the King James Bible, but to introduce such changes as are warranted on the basis of accuracy, clarity, euphony, and current English usage" (p. ix). More specifically, the committee sought to eliminate masculine-oriented language in keeping with modern societal attitudes, to remove the archaic second-person singular pronouns and their corresponding verb forms, and to bring the version into line with current English usage.

Let us look in more detail at these changes.

1. *Revisions Highlighted in the NRSV's Preface*

The Elimination of Masculine-oriented Language

The first category deals with the elimination of masculine-oriented language. This has been accomplished in several ways, depending on the context.

The word "man" (or "men"), for example, has been substituted for in some of the following ways: "humankind," Gen 1:26, 27; "human beings," Ps 8:4; "those," Eccl 11:8; "everyone," Eccl 12:13; "mortal," Mic 6:8; "one," Matt 4:4; "others," Matt 5:19; "people," Mark 1:17, Luke 1:25, John 1:4; "human," 1 Cor 3:4; and "human leaders," 1 Cor 3:21. In addition, "human heart" replaces "heart of

man," "what is truly human" replaces "a man's thoughts," and "human spirit" replaces "spirit of the man," 1 Cor 2:9, 11.

In other cases a plural pronoun is used, a noun referred to in the context is substituted for the masculine-oriented language, or the clause is rephrased to a passive. Examples of the first case are found in the following passages: 1 Cor 2:14, "those who are unspiritual" replaces "the unspiritual man"; Matt 5:12, "in the same way they persecuted" replaces "so men persecuted"; Ps 1:1, "happy are those" replaces "blessed is the man." An example of the second case is 1 Cor 3:10, where "each builder must choose with care" replaces "let each man take care." Examples of the third case are Prov 6:27, where "can fire be carried in the bosom" replaces "can a man carry fire in his bosom"; and 1 Cor 3:14, where "if what has been built" replaces "if the work which any man has built."

Where the words "father(s)" and "son(s)" have a broader meaning, they are replaced by "parents" (Exod 20:5; Luke 1:17) and "ancestor" (Matt 3:9) or "ancestors" (Luke 1:55). In a similar manner, "heavenly beings" is used for "sons of God" (Job 1:6), "children" and "people" are used for "sons" in Matt 5:45 and Luke 1:16 respectively, and "mortal" or "mortals" for "son of man" (Ezek 23:2; 24:2; Ps 8:4). "Son of Man" as a title for Jesus continues to be used in the Gospels.

Where "brother" and "brethren" have broader reference, they are replaced by "brother or sister" (Matt 5:22-24) and "brothers and sisters" (Matt 5:47). The third person masculine pronouns "he" and "him" also have been changed where the RSV used them in a general way (e.g., Ps 8:4-6).

The Removal of Archaic Second Person Forms

The second category of change aimed at by the translation committee was the removal of archaic second person singular pronouns. Most of these had previously been dropped from the RSV, except for those places where God was addressed. In this revision, however, all archaic forms in every context have been eliminated. Those who have been accustomed to the traditional wording, especially in the Psalms, may not appreciate the change, but the RSV has been lagging behind other modern versions in this regard.

Bringing the RSV up to Current English Usage

The third major area of change, as noted in the preface, was to bring the RSV up to current English usage in a more general

manner than in the two previous categories. While the NRSV is still limited by its deliberate continuation of the KJV tradition and by not opting for a fresh translation in modern speech, it has departed from that tradition in being more paraphrastic than literal in its move away from masculine-oriented language. Other changes in this area have been more conservative.

Professor Metzger points out in the preface (p. xv) that the contrast in "the more stately English rendering of the Old Testament with the less formal rendering adopted for the New Testament" is deliberate. This is due to the fact that the OT represents the classic form of the Hebrew, while the NT represents the more colloquial Koine Greek.

Some examples of changes in current English usage are now provided. The following words and expressions from Gen 1-3 have been replaced in the NRSV: "firmament" by "dome," "heaven" by "sky," "behold" by "see," "midst" by "middle," "beguiled" by "tricked," "seed" by "offspring," "pangs" by "pain," "put forth" by "reach out."

Other changes noted in areas checked are: "graven image" to "idol," "bow down" to "worship," "visiting the iniquity" to "punishing . . . for the iniquity," "take in vain" to "make wrongful use of," "manservant" and "maidservant" to "male or female slave," "sojourner who is within your gates" to "alien resident in your towns," "ass" to "donkey," "afar off" to "at a distance," "peace offering" to "offering of well-being," "parts the hoof and is cloven-footed" to "has divided hoofs and is cleft-footed," "swine" to "pig," "girdle" to "sash" or "belt," "made an end of" to "finished," "garments" to "vestments" (in the context of ceremonial garments), "solemn rest" to "complete rest," "continual offering" to "regular offering," "kinsman" to "relative," "maidens" to "young women," "merry" to "contented," "whence" to "where . . . from" or "from where," "rent" to "tore" or "torn," "brought forth in iniquity" to "born guilty," "sluggard" to "lazybones," "give ear" to "listen," "dwell" to "live," "esteemed him not" to "held him of no account," "betrothed" to "engaged," "call his name" to "name him," "ascertained" to "learned," "and lo" to "and there," "they rejoiced exceedingly with great joy" to "they were overwhelmed with joy," "preach" to "proclaim" (in the context of the gospel), "is at hand" to "has come near," "begone" to "away with you," "gospel" to "good news" (in the Gospels and Acts), "ministered to" to "waited on," "astonished" to "astounded," "a great while before day" to "while it was still very

dark," "advanced in years" to "getting on in years," "it fell to him by lot" to "he was chosen by lot," "from his mother's womb" to "before his birth," "perceived" to "realized," "regarded the low estate" to "looked with favor on the lowliness," "exalted those of low degree" to "lifted up the lowly," "tenth hour" to "four o'clock in the afternoon," "truly, truly" to "very truly," "folly" to "foolishness," and "it pleased God" to "God decided."

2. *Revisions Made Due to the Selection of Textual Readings from the Original Language*

The textual changes in the NT are due to the fact that the translation is based on the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*, third edition, corrected in 1983. The changes listed below result from this fact. However, it will be noticed that a few of these changes had already been made in the revision of the NT made in 1961. What is surprising is to note the extent of the changes made as a result of the adoption of the UBS text. One observes also that the brackets around a word or words in the *Greek New Testament*, which indicate disputed passages, simply disappear in the translation. The result is to give these disputed variants greater certainty than they deserve, and the translation results in favoring a more conservative approach to the text, i.e., it tends to add more than omit.

Matt 12:47—This verse was omitted previously but has now been added.

Matt 26:20—The NRSV omits "disciples," which was in the first and second NT editions of the RSV.

Matt 27:16-17—The NRSV adds "Jesus" to "Barabbas."

Mark 2:4—The NRSV takes the reading "bring him to Jesus" instead of "get near him."

Mark 7:3—The word "thoroughly" has been added, with the explanation in the footnote that the meaning of the Greek word is uncertain.

Mark 7:35—The NRSV adds "immediately" to the text.

Mark 16:9-20—In the first NT edition of the RSV this "longer ending" of Mark was placed in a footnote in small print, with the "shorter ending" following it in the note. In the second NT edition, vv. 9-16 were restored to the text, separated by a blank space and accompanied by informative notes describing the various arrangements of the text, including the "shorter ending," in the ancient

authorities. In the NRSV it is placed in the text enclosed in double brackets but preceded by the "shorter ending," and another addition after v. 14 is provided in the explanatory footnote.

Luke 11:33—The NRSV follows the papyrus manuscripts in omitting "or under a bushel."

Luke 22:19b-20—This Western non-interpolation was added in the second NT edition of the RSV and has been retained in the NRSV.

Luke 22:43-44—In the first NT edition of the RSV these verses appeared in the text without brackets; in the second NT edition they were placed in a footnote; now they again are included in the text, but within double brackets.

Luke 24:5—The last portion of the verse, "he is not here, but has risen," was formerly omitted but now has been restored.

Luke 24:12—This verse previously was omitted but now has been restored.

Luke 24:36—"And said to them, 'Peace be with you' " had been omitted but now has been restored.

Luke 24:40—This verse was omitted in the RSV but now has been restored.

Luke 24:51—"And was carried up into heaven" was added to the text in the second NT edition of the RSV and has been retained in the NRSV.

Luke 24:52—The NRSV adds "worshiped him, and."

John 1:18—The NRSV chooses to include "God" in the second clause, so it reads "God the only Son" instead of "the only Son."

John 4:1—The NRSV replaces "the Lord" with "Jesus" in the opening clause.

John 7:39—The NRSV omits the word "given."

John 7:53-8:11—The same thing has happened here as in Mark 16:9-20. This passage was placed in a footnote in small print in the first NT edition of the RSV. In the second NT edition it was restored to the text, separated by a blank space before and after, with a footnote describing the arrangement of the text in various ancient authorities. In the NRSV it is retained in the text but is placed within double brackets.

John 8:16—The NRSV replaces "he" with "the Father."

John 10:29—The NRSV chooses the reading in which "greater than all else" refers not to the Father but to what has been given to Jesus.

John 14:14—The NRSV adds "me" after "ask."

John 16:23—The NRSV connects "in my name" with "ask" rather than with "give."

John 16:27—"God" replaces "the Father" at the end of the verse.

Acts 13:48—"The Lord" replaces "God."

Rom 8:21—The NRSV replaces "because" with "that."

Rom 8:28—Previously the text read, "in everything God works for good." In the NRSV the word "God" has been dropped, so that it reads as in the KJV, "all things work together for good."

Rom 8:34—The NRSV omits "from the dead."

Rom 11:17—The NRSV substitutes "rich root" for "richness."

Rom 11:31—The NRSV adds "now."

Rom 15:19—The NRSV substitutes "spirit of God" for "Holy Spirit."

1 Cor 2:1—The NRSV has selected the word "mystery" here instead of "testimony."

1 Cor 5:5—"Jesus" is omitted after "Lord."

1 Cor 7:15—The NRSV replaces "us" with "you."

1 Cor 10:9—The NRSV replaces "the Lord" with "Christ."

1 Cor 13:3—The NRSV has "so that I may boast" instead of "to be burned."

2 Cor 3:2—"Your hearts" has become "our hearts."

2 Cor 8:7—"Our love for you" has replaced "your love for us."

Gal 1:3—The NRSV connects the word "our" with "Father" instead of with "Lord Jesus Christ."

Gal 4:28—"You" replaces "we."

Gal 6:2—The indicative mood replaces the imperative in the second clause.

Eph 1:1—The words "in Ephesus" have been introduced into the text.

Eph 4:8—The NRSV omits "and."

Phil 1:14—The NRSV omits "of God" after "word."

Phil 3:3—The NRSV has "in the Spirit of God" instead of "God in spirit."

Col 1:7—The NRSV has "on your behalf" instead of "on our behalf."

Heb 1:12—The expression "like clothing," previously omitted, has been added.

Heb 4:2—The NRSV has "because they were not united by faith with those who listened" instead of "because it did not meet with faith in the hearers."

Heb 6:2—"With" is omitted before "instruction."

Heb 11:11—The RSV has Sarah as the subject, but the NRSV makes Abraham the subject, using masculine pronouns to point to the same subject as in vv. 8-10.

Heb 13:21—The NRSV has "working among us" instead of "working in you."

Jas 1:12—The NRSV has "the Lord" instead of "God."

1 Pet 3:18—The NRSV has "suffered" instead of "died."

1 Pet 5:2a—The NRSV adds "exercising the oversight."

1 Pet 5:2b—The NRSV adds "as God would have you do it."

2 Pet 2:4—The NRSV has "chains" instead of "pits."

2 John 8—"You have worked" has been changed to "we have worked."

Jude 5—The NRSV has "the Lord" instead of "he."

Jude 22—The NRSV has "have mercy on" instead of "convince."

Rev 15:3—The NRSV has "nations" instead of "ages."

3. *Revisions Made Due to Ambiguities in the Original Languages*

Some interesting changes also have been made in ambiguous passages—that is, passages which have used the same Hebrew or Greek text but can be translated in different ways. This may be due either to the fact that a word can be understood in two different ways or to different punctuation possibilities.

Punctuation-related Changes

One classic example of this is Rom 9:5, where a difference in punctuation either identifies Jesus Christ as God or makes a distinction between the two. In the RSV the text reads: "to them belong the patriarchs, and of their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ. God who is over all be blessed for ever. Amen." The NRSV reads: "to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen." Notice the difference in punctuation and the difference in meaning that it makes.

Another such passage is John 1:3-4. The expression "that was made" (RSV) or "what has come into being" (NRSV) can be connected either with the previous clause, as in the RSV, or with the next clause, as in the NRSV. Notice the theological difference in meaning. The RSV renders the passage as "without him was not

anything made that was made. In him was life." The NRSV translates the same text as "without him not one thing came into being. What has come into being in him was life."

Meaning-related Changes

Examples of passages changed in the NRSV due to the ambiguity of the meaning of the original (rather than to the possibilities of punctuation) are the following:

Gen 1:2—The RSV has "the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters," while the NRSV has "a wind from God swept over the face of the waters." Here the problem is the ambiguous Hebrew word *ruach*, which could mean either "spirit," "breath," or "wind."

Ps 45:6—The RSV has "your divine throne endures for ever and ever," but the NRSV has translated it as "your throne, O God, endures forever and ever." (Cf. Heb 1:8.)

Matt 1:1, 16-18—Here and elsewhere, where the Greek word *christos* is not a name but a title, "Messiah" is used instead of "Christ."

Matt 2:2, 8, 11—Referring to the visit of the wise men, the RSV translated the word *proskyneō* as "worship," but the NRSV translates it as "pay homage to." This is hardly due to current English usage.

Matt 2:16—In the NRSV the ones that Herod killed are referred to simply as "children," while the RSV had "male children." The word *pais* could be either male or female. Though this word has the masculine article, the fact that it is plural permits ambiguity as to gender because the masculine plural is used when both genders are included. However, the RSV rendering, while interpretive, is to be assumed, since Herod was intent on eliminating a possible rival king.

1 Cor 7:16—The issue here is Paul's view of the likelihood of a spouse saving her or his partner should she or he remain in the relationship. Notice the difference. The RSV follows: "Wife, how do you know whether you will save your husband? Husband, how do you know whether you will save your wife?" The NRSV: "Wife, for all you know, you might save your husband. Husband, for all you know, you might save your wife."

1 Thess 4:4—The Greek word *skeuos* could refer here to either one's own wife or one's own body in a figurative sense, al-

though its basic meaning is "thing," "object," or (most often in the NT) "vessel." The RSV interpreted it as "wife," but the NRSV uses "body."

Heb 2:7-9—There are several interesting things about this passage as it is translated in the NRSV. First is the fact that because the translators sought to avoid masculine-oriented language, they translated "man" as "human beings" and "son of man" as "mortals." With "man" and "son of man," the passage was sufficiently ambiguous to leave open the possibility that the author had in mind Jesus Christ specifically as the "son of man." The NRSV has removed that possibility. In Psalm 8 the passage seems to refer to the human race in general; but with the masculine singular term "son of man," which Jesus used to refer to himself, a NT writer could treat this passage as a messianic prophecy.

4. *Conclusion*

In conclusion, the NRSV loses some of its more literal translation by its removal of male-oriented language, but it will gain by this more inclusive language in Bible translation. Readers will also benefit from its current English usage. In most cases, textual changes and changes in ambiguous translations make the NRSV more acceptable for conservative readers. There will always be differences of opinion over the selection of readings and over the best translation of ambiguous passages. In some cases I would disagree with the choices of the NRSV committee.

While this revision is an improvement over the RSV, I believe that this version should no longer be revised but that it should become a fresh translation, as were the NEB, JB, and NIV. Then it can be further revised as they have been or will be. It is ironical that the culturally conservative British have gone to a fresh translation of their own "English" Bible, while the culturally liberal Americans are continuing the tradition of the KJV, which comes from the British.

Andrews University Seminary Studies, Spring 1991, Vol. 29, No. 1, 71-72

RESEARCH NOTE

"YOUNG LION" OR "HE FORGIVES"?: A NOTE ON THE NAME *KPR*

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The inscription *lkpr*, "belonging to *KPR*," appears on two Phoenician seals.[1] Although most scholars interpret this name as "Young lion," based on the Hebrew noun *kᵊpîr*,[2] there exists another possibility, namely, that it is a *D*-stem verbal hypocoristicon, */kip-pir/*, meaning "He forgives."

[1]One was originally published as Ammonite by R. Hestrin and M. Dayagi-Mendels, *Inscribed Seals, First Temple Period: Hebrew, Ammonite, Moabite, Phoenician, and Aramaic* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1978), no. 99, and as a result it was included in W. E. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*, Ancient Near Eastern Texts & Studies, vol. 4 (Lewiston, KY, 1989), no. 107. However, as Aufrecht notes, the Ammonite identification of this seal has recently been questioned by F. Israel, "Les sceaux Ammonites," *Syria* 64 (1987): 141-146, esp. p. 145, no. VSE 441, who has suggested that it may be Phoenician. Indeed, the *kap*, with its "y"-shaped head, is more typical of Phoenician than it is of Ammonite, since Ammonite *kaps* are characterized by a triangular or "v"-shaped head (see, e.g., Aufrecht, Pl. I, no. 3; Pl. VIII, no. 26; Pl. XVII, no. 54; Pl. XVIII, no. 55c; Pl. XIX, no. 56; Pl. XXII, no. 62; Pl. XXVII, no. 74; Pl. XXXII, nos. 84, 85; Pl. XXXIII, no. 86; Pl. XXXV, no. 93; Pl. XXXVII, no. 98; Pl. XXXVIII, nos. 101, 102; Pl. XL, nos. 112, 113; Pl. XLIV, nos. 129a, 129b; Pl. XLV, no. 132; Pl. XLVI, nos. 133, 134.

The other seal was originally published by M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen mit aramäischen, phönizischen, althebräischen, himjarischen, nabathäischen und altsyrischen Inscriften erklärt* (Breslau, 1869), pp. 29-30, Taf. II.14, without a photograph. For a photograph, see E. Gubel, "Art in Tyre during the First and Second Iron Age: A Preliminary Survey," pp. 23-52 in *Studia Phoenicia I-II*, ed. E. Gubel, E. Lipínski, and B. Servais-Soyez (Leuven, 1983), fig. 12.

[2]See Aufrecht, no. 107, and references there.

The name *kfrʾl*, "*ʾEl* forgives," occurs on two Taymanite inscriptions;[3] and *ṣmkfr*, "*Ṣalm*[4] forgives," on yet another.[5] These occurrences suggest that the concept of atonement is not unimaginable as an element in Semitic personal names.

Indeed, the root *kpr* denotes "young lion," to my knowledge, only in Hebrew, while it is associated with the meaning "to atone, cover, wipe away" in nearly all of the Semitic languages.[6] Thus, "He forgives" may be the more reasonable rendition for *KPR*.

[3]One was originally published as Thamudic by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 2 vols. and atlas (Paris, 1909-1914), p. 604, no. 521 (Pl. CXLVII, no. 521), and later reclassified by F. V. Winnett, "The Arabian Inscriptions," pp. 67-138 in *Ancient Records from North Arabia*, ed. F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed, Near and Middle East Series, vol. 6 (Toronto, 1970), p. 104, discussion of no. 26. The other was published by Winnett, p. 107, no. 41 (Pl. 20, no. 41).

[4]For the frequent contraction of the divine name *ṣlm* to *ṣm*, see Winnett, p. 90, n. 19.

[5]Winnett, p. 104, no. 26 (Pl. 20, no. 26), and Pl. 22, photo of nos. 25-27.

[6]See, e.g., F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1951), p. 497; J. C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect*, Harvard Semitic Studies, vol. 25 (Chico, CA, 1981), pp. 250-251; I. J. Gelb et al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, vol. 8 (Chicago, 1971), pp. 178-179; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. 1 (London, 1865), pp. 2620-2622; and R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, vol. 1 (London, 1879), cols. 1797-1798.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Aland, Kurt, and Aland, Barbara. *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, 2d ed., rev. and enl., trans. Erroll F. Rhodes. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989. xviii + 366 pp. $32.50.

Since the original edition of this book in both English and German has been extensively reviewed, this review will primarily summarize the main reactions to the earlier edition and attempt to assess whether the revised edition succeeds in overcoming its weaknesses.

To call this edition "revised and enlarged" is an overstatement. While the revisions are many, they are largely limited to details of wording. The only substantial additions are a brief discussion of the recent synopses of the Gospels by Orchard, Boismard/Lamouille, and Swanson (pp. 263-265) and chap. 8 (pp. 317-337), which is essentially a paper read by Barbara Aland at a 1987 conference in Birmingham on textual criticism.

NT textual criticism is both an art and a science. The consensus in reviews of the original edition is that the Alands' book has made a tremendous contribution to the science of NT textual criticism but is seriously flawed in attempting to describe its art. (The reader will appreciate the summary of issues and the citation of reviews provided in the article by Eldon Jay Epp, "New Testament Criticism Past, Present, and Future: Reflections on the Alands' *Text of the New Testament*," *HTR* 82 [1989]: 213-229.) Among the strengths of both editions are the descriptive lists of papyri, uncials, many minuscules, and the church fathers; the introductions to the use of the critical editions edited by Kurt Aland; and the listing of working tools for the practice of NT textual criticism. Reviewers have considered these usable, reliable, and to some degree indispensable for work in the discipline. By themselves these scientific achievements are worth the price of either edition.

The main criticisms of the original edition can be grouped into four general areas. (1) There is a perceived arrogance on the part of the authors, resulting in what has been called a "revisionist history" of the development of NT textual criticism—a history calculated to highlight the work of the Alands and their institute at the expense of other contributions to their discipline. In particular, the work of British and American text-critical scholars is disparaged or ignored. (2) There is a circularity of reasoning by which manuscripts are evaluated on the basis of an assumed "original text" (apparently the critical text produced by the Münster Institute), although

the exact procedure is unclear. The traditional text types are, as a result, replaced by two systems of categorization that are neither self-consistent nor clearly explained. (3) In a book intended for the use of beginners, there is a remarkable lack of basic explanation and pedagogical skill. (4) There is a failure both to clarify the theoretical principles which underlie text-critical decision-making and to give the novice some inkling that there are other methods by which text-critical scholars make such decisions.

Apparently the Alands read and considered the reviews of their earlier edition. The "outrageous untruth" regarding the International Greek New Testament Project, pointed out by Birdsall, has been corrected as called for, although without apology (J. Neville Birdsall, *BT* 39 [1988]: 340; cf. Aland and Aland, rev. ed., p. 24. It could be argued, of course, that the Alands would have corrected it anyway.) More significantly perhaps, the revision eliminates an incorrect statement about Greeven's synopsis that only a determined critic like Elliott would have discovered (J. Keith Elliott, *TZ* 39 [1983]: 248; cf. Aland and Aland, rev. ed., pp. 260-263.)

How well does the revision address the four issues summarized above? A multitude of minor changes certainly could indicate a concern to eliminate or modify both self-important assertions and unnecessarily derogatory remarks about other efforts in the field. To cite some examples: The use of "standard text" to refer to Nestle-Aland[26] is consistently changed to "new text"; the derogatory remark about the International Greek New Testament Project is dropped (p. 24); instead of "textual critics" ignoring the role of church history in textual study, "many NT scholars" do so (p. 52); the "Caesarean text" is based on an "uncertain" foundation rather than a "dubious" one (pp. 66-67); other editions of the Greek NT are granted a level of importance (pp. 222-223); and "this is helpful" is added to highlight an aspect of Greeven's synopsis (p. 261). In spite of numerous changes of detail, however, the chapter on the history of textual criticism remains essentially unchanged, and British and American authors fare little better than in the original. Thus the fundamental objection to the first edition has not been dealt with satisfactorily in the revision.

In the second place, the danger of circular reasoning remains in the revision, although chap. 8 argues with considerable cogency that the Alands' approach is an improvement upon its alternatives as a meaningful evaluation of the huge mass of NT manuscripts. (Still, the lack of a description and critique of alternatives, such as the Claremont Profile Method, continues to be a weakness.) The circularity arises from the fact that manuscripts are considered to be of high textual quality to the extent that they read like the text of Nestle-Aland[26], which to a large degree was determined on the basis of judgments regarding textual quality. But the danger is considerably alleviated by two factors: (1) collations are made according to test passages in which the original reading is reasonably self-evident, at least on the basis of the Alands' "local-genealogical" method; (2) these test passages are fully

available for examination in Kurt Aland, ed., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, I: Die Katholischen Briefe, 3 vols. (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, vols. 9-11 [Berlin/New York: 1987]). Any who disagree with Nestle-Aland[26] can modify the evaluations on the basis of the objective collational evidence collected at Münster. A major improvement in the revision, therefore, is the full clarification of the basis for the evaluation of uncials and minuscules into five categories and the papyri into four.

The categories themselves, however, remain a mixture of "apples and oranges." Categories 1 through 3 represent judgments on the textual quality of manuscripts (although most category 1 manuscripts would be classified as Alexandrian), while categories 4 and 5 represent the "D Text" and Byzantine Text, respectively. Categories 2 and 3 represent a dumping ground for manuscripts (some 10% of the total) whose text type is uncertain at this time. Since all the early papyri are placed in category 1 by definition, they are distinguished as "free," "normal," or "strict," depending on the degree to which they agree with Nestle-Aland[26]. Even here there is inconsistency, however, since three very early papyri that exhibit a "D Text" are placed in category 4. While these inconsistencies call for some tinkering, the system as a whole is clearer and more useful in the revised edition.

The book, however, is no more helpful to the beginner than before. The crucial new chap. 8 is obviously written for specialists, thus making the book even more difficult than the previous edition for the novice to comprehend and use. Since the Alands have their hands full with a multitude of projects, it would be wise if someone like Bruce Metzger would be permitted to rewrite the book in a format more directly helpful to the beginner.

Those unhappy with the chapter on the praxis of NT textual criticism will remain unhappy, as no significant changes or clarifications are forthcoming in the new edition. Thus it continues to leave the impression that the "local-genealogical" method of the Alands is "the only game in town." Those interested in other ways to play the game will want to consult Eldon Jay Epp, "Textual Criticism," in Eldon Jay Epp and George W. MacRae, eds., *The New Testament and Its Modern Interpreters* (The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters, vol. 3 [Philadelphia/Atlanta, 1989]), pp. 75-126; and Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 2d ed. (New York, 1968), pp. 156-185.

The above criticisms need to be tempered by the reality that the revision was performed in haste. The occasion was the rapid sellout of both German and English versions of the first edition (p. vi). Thus it must be considered a transition document requiring considerable modification before it can be called a finished and polished product.

The revised edition, nevertheless, should be purchased by those who specialize in the NT, despite these shortcomings. The addition of chap. 8 is of crucial importance. Beyond that, the lists of manuscripts are helpfully

updated, a list of recently discovered lectionaries is added on p. 170, and a synopsis of the sigla used in various Greek NT editions for the correctors of manuscripts is added on p. 108. These and other additions make the revised edition well worth the price.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Andersen, Francis I., and Freedman, David Noel. *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 24A. New York: Doubleday, 1989. xlii + 979 pp. $30.00.

This contribution by Francis Andersen and David Noel Freedman to the Anchor Bible is an important one for students of Hebrew prophetic literature in general and of Amos in particular. The authors, by devoting over 1,000 pages to the nine short chapters of Amos, have followed the series' current practice of providing expansive treatments of biblical books.

In keeping with the format of the Anchor Bible, the Amos volume begins with an original translation that is fresh and creative, while at the same time is characterized by an odd capitalization here and there (e.g., She, Girl, Fire, and Pestilence) and a few constructions that, although following the Hebrew word order, are clumsy in English (e.g., 5:7b, 12b).

The introduction section is fairly complete, covering the basic questions surrounding issues of background, authorship, textual considerations, Amos' geopolitical terminology (a forty-two page treatment), and—most importantly for the authors, it seems—the initial expression of their proposed four phases for the prophet's ministry (see below). Unfortunately, literary features, so rich in Amos, receive little mention here. On the other hand, the select bibliography is certainly adequate.

In structuring their notes and comments, our authors divide the book of Amos into four parts: 1) The Book of Doom (1:1-4:13), 2) The Book of Woes (5:1-6:14), 3) The Book of Visions (7:1-9:6), and 4) the Epilogue (9:7-15). According to Andersen and Freedman, nearly the entire book comes from the eighth century. The commentary's final fifty-three pages consist of subject, author, lexical, and scripture indices.

The most prominent feature of this commentary, and one that governs interpretation throughout, is a proposed four-phase ministry for the prophet which, over time, shifts in attitude from tempered optimism through unmitigated pessimism to glorious anticipation for the future. By interfacing segments from chaps. 7-9 in loose chiastic fashion with portions of chaps. 1-6, Andersen and Freedman reconstruct Amos' ministry in the following way: Phase 1 is expressed in the first two visions of chap. 7 (vv. 1-6), with their openness to God's turning based on Israel's repentance, in conjunction with chaps. 4 and 5, which likewise focus on repentance and include other thematic ties as well. Opportunity still exists to "seek Yahweh and live."

The third and fourth visions, separated from each other by the encounter with Amaziah, constitute Phase 2 (7:7-8:3). By this time the decision for judgment is irrevocable; amnesty is no longer an option. Chaps. 3 and 4, with their devastating announcements of doom, represent the prophet's preaching after the third vision, preaching which prompted Amaziah's bitter retort to and dismissal of Amos. Chaps. 1 and 2 relate to the fourth vision.

Phase 3, not to be distinguished too sharply from Phase 2, comes to focus in 8:4-9:10. Here the national leaders, recipients of divine wrath, confront warnings of cosmic convulsions and military setbacks in a punishment which is irreversible; there is no escape.

The final phase (4), renewal and restoration, found in the text in 9:11-15, stresses the point that in the end Yahweh will not leave Israel dead. God intends a better outlook for the survivors from among his people. Anticipations of restoration and renewal promise improved times and an ideal future.

Although very creative, innovative, and helpful in addressing some of the vexing problems attending the study of Amos, the reconstruction suggested by this commentary also poses new perplexities. In spite of a commitment to approach the book as we now have it, a perspective shared by numerous commentators today, the authors repackage it entirely. To understand its message, they assert, we must discover the prophet's original, sequential phases of oral ministry and development of thought. That may be an appropriate process in its own right, but it is one which here seems to overlook and contravene the organizational principles of whoever left the book to us in its present shape. If, as Andersen and Freedman suggest, Amos superintended the editing of the book at least to some degree, why the reorganization?

Also important to this discussion are the assumptions undergirding the reconstruction of Amos' prophetic work as recommended in this commentary. What rationale motivates *this* development of thought? How do our modern logical and theological categories relate with ancient Hebrew ones? Outside the five vision reports in 7:1-9:6—reports which rhetorically lead from the slightest sense of hope (based not on Israel's repentance but on Amos' intervention) to a thorough unraveling of hope—where else in the book could we see the proposed phases with any clear definition? With any reconstruction there will always be fuzzy edges, an untidiness that precludes easy and completely satisfying placement of loose ends. But one must probe further into the basis for some of the details of this reconstruction, such as an imprisonment and/or martyrdom of the prophet, and the polemic directed against the leaders in Phase 3.

Overall, the volume deserves our attention and careful analysis. Its proposals, coming from a more conservative side of the spectrum, will intrigue and challenge readers of all persuasions. It represents an informed

reading of Amos governed by the wish to mediate the message of this extraordinary human being "whose words still speak, whose thoughts still have currency" (p. viii).

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Barbour, Ian G. *Religion in an Age of Science.* San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. xv + 297 pp. Paperback, $16.95.

Religion in an Age of Science is Ian G. Barbour's first series in the prestigious Gifford Lectures delivered during the fall of 1989 in Aberdeen, Scotland. (His complementary second series, scheduled for publication in 1990-91, is entitled *Ethics in an Age of Technology.*) Having authored several influential books dealing with the relation of science and religion, such as *Science and Secularity* (New York, 1970), *Issues in Science and Religion* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966), and *Myths, Models, and Paradigms* (New York, 1974), Barbour is equal to his ambitious goal of exploring the place of religion in an age of science and presenting an interpretation of Christianity that is responsive to both the historical tradition and contemporary science.

The underlying value of this work may rest in the evaluation that this single book may well represent the distillation of a lifelong career dedicated to a study of the methods and theories of physics, astronomy, and evolutionary biology in relation to philosophical and theological theory.

As Schleiermacher did with his *Glaubenslehre,* Barbour opens *Religion in an Age of Science* with an in-depth study of method, which in Barbour's case forms part one of a three-part work. In this section the author trenchantly discusses (1) the methods of science as they impact on the connection between science and religion, and (2) the roles of models and paradigms. Part two deals with religion and the theories of science in the areas of physics, astronomy, and evolutionary biology, and their philosophical and theological implications. Part three turns to philosophical and theological reflections concerning human nature, process thought, and models of God's relationship to nature.

Unfortunately, the limitation of space imposed on Barbour constitutes an injustice to the enormous amount of rich analytical detail covering essentially every aspect of the current discussion of the relation of science and religion which he offers in this work. He briefly and astutely evaluates the contributions of nearly all the important figures in the current discussion. In this sense his work is analogous to such works as Gerhard Hasel's *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982). Thus the reader receives not only helpful analyses of Manfred

Eigen's research on the origin of genetic material and Ilya Prigogine's challenging reflections concerning the Second Law of Thermodynamics, but also a sensitive treatment of biblical literalism, in which Barbour allows that "creationists could rightly object if an atheistic philosophy, such as that of Dawkins, were taught in the biology classroom" (p. 179).

One cannot miss the deep earnestness, straightforwardness, and spirituality of the author. After considering all the possible alternatives for relating science and religion, Barbour ends his book with the affirmation that even though he believes that the process model, in combination with critical realism, may be the best approach, no method is complete or adequate, and only in worship can we acknowledge the mystery of God and the pretensions of any system of thought claiming to have mapped out God's ways (p. 270).

On the down side, Barbour could have strengthened a few of his presentations. In his discussion of Sir Fred Hoyle and Chandra Wickramasinghe, Barbour fails to mention one of their latest and most important collaborations: *Why Neo-Darwinism Does Not Work* (Cardiff, Wales, 1982), which is imperative reading in this area. Furthermore, I find no mention of either of the following key works or their authors, who are important critics of the "Modern Synthesis": Michael Denton, *Evolution: A Theory in Crisis* (London, 1985), and Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution* (Garden City, NY, 1959).

These few and relatively minor negative reflections are not intended to diminish the value of Barbour's book. On the contrary, Barbour has again placed the academic community in his debt by offering what seems to this reviewer to be a lastingly significant contemporary summarization and evaluation of the entire theological and philosophical task of responsibly addressing the relation of science and religion at all levels of discourse. In this respect the volume would serve well as either a collegiate or graduate text in a course on science and religion. Thus Barbour's work is a most beneficial contribution by which the concepts of anyone interested in this subject should be informed.

Andrews University JOHN T. BALDWIN

Cassirer, Heinz W., trans. *God's New Covenant: A New Testament Translation.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989. xxvii + 494 pp. $19.95.

Translations of the Bible continue to be published. The raison d'être for this translation is to share with others one man's attempt to clarify for himself the meaning of the NT. There are several things that make it more than just an ordinary translation. First, the translator was not a NT scholar

but a philosopher and classicist, a professor who had taught at Glasgow University and at Oxford for many years. (His famous father, Ernst, also had been a professor at Oxford.) Second, he had not read a word of the Bible before he was forty-nine years of age. Third, he came from a non-English-speaking family of liberal Jewish background that had fled Germany in 1934 during Hitler's dictatorship. After discovering the Bible at the age of forty-nine, he was convinced of "God's ultimate self-revelation in Jesus Christ" (p. x, Ronald Weitzman, "Introducing the Translation and Its Translator"), which led to his being baptized into the Anglican Church in 1955. One might be excused for being curious as to what kind of translation a person with such a background would produce.

The translation is based on a comparison of three Greek texts: Eberhard Nestle, Erwin Nestle, and G. D. Kilpatrick, *Hē Kainē Diathēkē* (British and Foreign Bible Societies, 1952); Eberhard Nestle, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1952); and K. Aland, et al., *The Greek New Testament* (United Bible Societies, 1966). Basically the text is a modern critical text.

One finds here the gamut of types of translations. There are some excellent passages, some not so good, and some which may appear a bit interpretive. The translation is not for the common people. The vocabulary is generally not the problem, but rather the way Cassirer phrases his sentences. He lived in an academic environment, and his translation indicates that fact, although as a whole it is clearly written.

The best way to get a bit of the flavor and nature of the translation is to provide some examples. The following are excellent:

Matt 23:24—"straining out the gnat yet gulping down the camel"

Luke 15:13—"there he frittered away what he had on a life of dissipation"

John 11:39—"the smell of death must be about him by this time"

Rom 5:15—"the gracious favour is out of all proportion to the trespass"

Heb 1:2—"in the person of one who is his son"

Heb 1:3—"precise counterpart."

One would expect some fresh translations from a translator such as Cassirer. The following are examples of these:

Matt 5:3—"a blessing rests on those whose spirit makes them think but poorly of themselves"

Matt 5:6—"that right may be done"

Rom 2:13—"not those who merely listen"

1 Cor 8:7—"through the force of habit still clinging to them concerning the idol"

1 Cor 13:12—"at present our sight of things is one through a mirror which throws them into bewildering confusion"

1 John 2:21—"truth can never give birth to a lie"

Rev 13:18—"this is where ingenuity comes into play."

There are passages that may appear a bit interpretive, such as the following:

Matt 7:6—"meat which has been consecrated"

Luke 11:24—"tarnished spirit"

John 1:1—"the Word was by the side of God, and the Word was the very same as God"

John 11:43—"Lazarus, come forth; here to my side!"

1 John 1:8—"truth being a stranger to us"

1 John 2:22—"arch-liar"

Rev 22:2—"down the middle of the city's main street."

Some translations appear awkward, and among these are the following:

Matt 5:40—"go to law with you with a view to obtaining your tunic"

Matt 7:12—"whenever there is something you wish other people would do for you, it is your duty that, acting in the same way, you should do it for them"

Rom 3:19—"so that everyone should be deprived of the power of opening his mouth by way of justifying himself"

Rom 14:1—"one whose faith shows a lack of vigour"

Eph 2:3—"deserving of God's anger"

1 John 2:23—"has no grasp of the Father"

Rev 2:22—"as for those lending themselves to adulterous relations with her, I shall bring great distress upon them, unless they come to be repentant of practices such as she engages in."

Some translations by one individual, such as those of Goodspeed, Moffatt, Knox, and Phillips, have caught on; but because of the academic nature of the language of this translation, one would not expect the same kind of acceptance. Cassirer's translation, however, is still helpful, since he had a unique background. It is of interest and value to see how a Jewish Christian classicist and philosopher handles the NT text.

Chico, CA 95926 SAKAE KUBO

Cohen, Norman J., ed. *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: A View from Within; A Response from Without.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1990. xiii + 266 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

The contributions published in this work were originally presented at a conference sponsored by the Starkoff Institute of Ethics and Contemporary Moral Issues, held at Hebrew Union College in November 1988.

The work is laid out in two distinct sections: (1) various historical, sociological, and political descriptions of "fundamentalism" from different perspectives, and (2) the liberal response. The contributors are eminent and predictably helpful, with the most important contributions being George Marsden's "Defining American Fundamentalism"; his respondent, Clark Pinnock ("Defining American Fundamentalism: A Response"); and the

outstanding sociological analysis of James Davison Hunter ("Fundamentalism in Its Global Contours").

One of the book's recurring themes is the need for a workable, historically accurate, and non-pejorative term to describe the phenomenon popularly known as "fundamentalism." Possibly the expression "militant orthodoxy" would serve better, but it is doubtful that "fundamentalism," as an expression to describe a particular type of religiously motivated reaction, will easily depart the terminological scene.

Particularly vexing to some is the application of the term "fundamentalism" to other religious movements unrelated to North American Protestantism. The presentations of both Riffat Hassan ("The Burgeoning of Islamic Fundamentalism: Toward an Understanding of the Phenomenon") and Leon Wieseltier ("The Jewish Face of Fundamentalism") stoutly deny that the term can be applied to the Islamic and Judaic traditions. While one can appreciate the discomfort that both Jews and Muslims have with terms that have a pejorative Christian (and North American) provenance, it does seem that militant Shiism and Gush Emunim do resonate very well with the essential spirit of American fundamentalism. Such resonance is succinctly articulated in George Marsden's helpful definition, which captures the core of the fundamentalist spirit: A fundamentalist is a person "militantly opposed to modern liberal theologies and to some aspects of secularism in modern culture" (p. 22). If it can be agreed that fundamentalism is militant opposition to modern liberalism and secularism, then it seems consistent to apply the expression to religious phenomena outside of the North American evangelical tradition which share its spirit of militancy—Hassan and Wieseltier notwithstanding.

The only truly disappointing contribution was that of Mortimer Ostow ("The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: A Psychological Perspective"). First of all, the antagonistic spirit of his presentation is quite at odds with the general spirit of the entire symposium. His efforts can be characterized, at the very least, as an important missed opportunity (it seems that there is a distinctive psychological profile for "fundamentalism" that needs articulation) and, at worst, as a blatant attack on all serious religiosity. His proposal that the "destruction-rebirth pattern" possesses a "psychodynamic mechanism that would account for this entire syndrome" will not stand (p. 104). Such a pattern is so universal in religion that it does not prove helpful in achieving a workable profile of "fundamentalist" uniqueness. It is sadly apparent that Ostow is (by his own admission) very short on clinical experience and sadly restricted in his academic research (p. 100). With such a paucity of background, it is surprising how long he is on questionable interpretation.

The editor's introduction clearly lays out the goal of the conference, which was to "analyze the phenomenon of fundamentalism and the response of liberals to it in order to foster greater understanding and dialogue"

(p. xiii). While the essays provide insightful and helpful analysis, one is not sure that the hoped-for dialogue will ensue.

For one thing, the work purports to be a view "from within," but the only participant in the conference who comes close to being a genuine "fundamentalist" is Clark Pinnock. While the papers represent some of the best historical and sociological scholarship available on the subject, the work is mainly "a response from without." Even though the "without" responses are mainly irenic in tone, the goal of dialogue and deeper understanding could have been greatly enhanced if there would have been at least one genuine, "card-carrying" fundamentalist represented on the agenda. In the spirit of the conference, many of the liberal responses cry out for "fundamentalist" respondents.

The book can serve two important functions. (1) It will be a good primer for one who is seeking a helpful introduction to the study of "fundamentalism." (2) The hoped-for dialogue will be greatly enhanced if "fundamentalists" will seriously grapple with the liberal critiques, especially those of James Dunn, Eugene Borowitz, and Preston Williams.

Andrews University WOODROW W. WHIDDEN II

Comfort, Philip W. *Early Manuscripts and Modern Translations of the New Testament.* Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1990. 235 pp. $19.95.

Philip Comfort is senior editor of the Bible Department at Tyndale House Publishers and a visiting NT professor at Wheaton College.

The major purpose of the book is to show the extent to which the papyrus manuscripts of the NT have affected modern translations. Before Comfort does this in detail in section 3 and gives a final assessment in section 4, he presents first (in section 1) an introduction to the early papyri of the NT, a discussion of their effect on critical editions of the Greek NT, and a method of analyzing their effect both on modern English translations and on the Greek text underlying the English translations. Section 2 lists and describes all papyrus manuscripts dating to the fourth century or earlier, including their content, date, place of discovery, date of publication, location, bibliography, first inclusion in a Greek text, textual character, and significance for text and translations. This is a most helpful section for reference. In it are listed fifty-seven papyrus manuscripts and an additional five uncials (vellum or parchment) dated in or before the third century.

Comfort's method for determining the extent of the influence of the papyrus manuscripts on modern versions is to compare the translations of modern versions with that of the American Standard Version, since the latter, published in 1901 but based on the 1881 NT of the English Revised

Version, did not have available the many important early papyrus manuscripts discovered since that time. The RSV had twenty readings differing from the ASV which were due to the influence of papyrus manuscripts. Comfort mentions at this point that the NEB had more readings from the papyri than the RSV, but he discounts this because it had also adopted readings not supported by the papyri. The NASB, however, contained only five such instances beyond what we find in the RSV, although it had available more papyrus manuscripts, including p^{66}. The NIV improved over the NASB fourteen additional readings influenced by the papyri, since the translators had p^{72} and p^{75} plus ten additional papyrus manuscripts. The TEV is nearly identical to the NIV in its selection of readings from the papyri. That is not surprising, since they both based their text on the first edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek text. At the end of the book, Comfort sets forth a list of 115 changes (and/or additions) to the ASV based on manuscripts discovered during this century. As Comfort indicates (p. 213), this number is not "phenomenally high" because the text of the papyri is largely confirmed by Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, which are already reflected in the ASV translation.

It is unfortunate that Comfort published his book before he could incorporate into it the readings in the Revised English Bible and the New Revised Standard Version, which were published soon after his work. These have made some rather significant changes based on revisions in the Greek text.

While it is obvious that the author does not consider a reading genuine simply because it is found in an early papyrus manuscript, sometimes one seems to get the impression that he does. Somewhere he should have set forth his basic text-critical principles for selecting readings in which the papyri are involved, assuming there are such.

One also wonders why the author selected for specific consideration the RSV, the NASB, and the NIV, though the NEB, the TEV, and the NJB are included somewhat in the comparisons since they are included in section 3. I am sure that he had good reasons for this, but it would have been helpful if he had set them forth.

In some instances in section 3 (Eph 1:14; Heb 12:3), the author does not include the readings of certain translations, especially that of the NEB. He does not explain why he sometimes excluded the NEB, though it was probably due to the NEB's free translation, which sometimes makes it difficult to know which reading it is following. It would have helped, nevertheless, to have indicated this so that the reader would not be left to wonder why its readings are not consistently included.

Another difficulty with the book is that it has no index. Although the need for such in a book of this sort is not great, it would be helpful to have an index of NT passages and papyrus manuscripts. In spite of that problem, the book will fill the need for a handy source to refer to the papyrus

manuscripts and to show how they have affected modern translations. Section 3 will give scholars a quick way to check which papyri-supported readings were selected by modern translations.

Chico, CA 95926 SAKAE KUBO

Dunn, James D. G. *Romans*. 2 vols. Word Biblical Commentary, vols. 38A and 38B. Dallas: Word Books, 1988. lxxii + 976 pp. $24.99.

Since, by the author's own admission, the book of Romans has attracted more commentaries than any other NT book, it is understandable that Professor Dunn looked upon his assignment in this continuing series as a "daunting undertaking" which he almost declined (p. xiii). On further reflection, however, he concluded that there were two areas in which he could make a further contribution to the study of Romans: 1) in previous commentaries, the movement of Paul's thought is often lost in the maze of details, such as word studies and alternative readings, and 2) most commentaries do not do justice to the historical context.

In the format of this series, the exegetical "Comment" sections are followed by less technical sections of "Explanation." Dunn suggests that such a format is ideal for meeting his objectives, particularly the first one. In fact, he feels that his explanations provide clear insights into Paul's flow of thought and should be read before the "Comment" sections. Hence, the person who does not want to pursue the technical issues and approaches of exegesis can simply read the "Explanation" sections and thereby get Dunn's reconstruction of Paul's reasoning. Since the "Explanation" sections provide a "full exposition" of Paul's argument, Dunn advises that the "Comment" sections be consulted only after first reading the "Explanation," if the reader wants to do more than "consult specific verses or issues" (p. xv). It is a helpful format for the non-technical reader.

Dunn's second objective, doing justice to the historical context, seems less auspicious, since it is hardly a new or unusual goal. But in spite of the formidable body of historical background information already available in many excellent exegetical commentaries, Dunn does make a contribution here. In his research and writing he has spent considerable time on Christianity's early history, and this commentary reflects his interest and expertise in that area.

In his introduction, Dunn appears to be writing more for the popular reader than for the scholar, as his language is quite non-technical. Also, he is true to his objective of showing the relationship between Paul's setting or situation and his subject matter. When he occasionally comes to a controversial or technical point, rather than marshal the evidence pro and con, he refers the reader to sources where such evidence can be found.

Dunn is unusually thorough in his introductory treatment of the political/historical background material as he reconstructs the history and setting of the Jewish community in Rome out of which the Christian community sprang. Still, because of the earlier expulsion of the Jews from Rome, Dunn is convinced that the bulk of Paul's readership was Gentile-Christian.

The commentary argues not only for the internal coherence of the letter but also for the inclusion of chap. 16. The author feels that the christological emphasis throughout the letter ties together not only the main body of the document but also the introduction and conclusion.

Dunn's final section of introduction deals with Paul and the law. Here Dunn argues against the long-held view that Paul, in his negative thrust against the law, was protesting against Pharisaic Judaism as a coldly legalistic system of earning salvation through the merit of good works, with little or no room for the free forgiveness and grace of God (p. lxv). After extensive comment Dunn concludes that there was more involved in Paul's use of *nomos* than a simple concept of salvation by works. Rather, he feels that Paul was doing battle with a broader misuse of law—a belief that the law represented a kind of "privileged distinctiveness" (p. lxxii). He holds that the law had become too narrowly equated with "boundary-marking" and nationalistic zeal.

Consequently, only when the law is freed from that kind of nationalistic narrowness can the reader of Romans do justice to both the positive and negative thrusts of Paul's treatment of law in Romans. Thus Dunn concludes that "the law still has an important part to play in the 'obedience of faith'" (p. lxxii).

Even though Dunn is convinced that the bulk of Paul's readers are Gentile in background, he still spends much time showing that Paul's thoughts and expressions are parallelled only in early Jewish sources. Given this paradox, at some point it seems that Dunn should discuss how and to what extent Jewish forms of thought would impact a Gentile audience. In other words, it seems that Dunn either overstressed the Gentile background of Paul's audience or spent too little time explaining why Paul used so many Jewish expressions and addressed so many Jewish-Christian concerns.

This is a helpful commentary that will benefit the beginning student by its almost narrative style in the "Explanation" sections, and the expert by its dialogue with the most recent research on Romans. However, Dunn's treatment of recent research, while it reflects his impressive awareness of a formidable body of literature, contributes to an awkward style in the "Comment" sections, as he is constantly inserting references in support of the various lines of thought. Paradoxically, Dunn's concern that in other commentaries Paul's thought is often "lost in a maze of detail" (p. xiii) is frequently weakened by his own maze of references and conflicting arguments in his "Comment" sections.

While it should not replace such classic works as those by Cranfield and Barrett, Dunn's commentary is an excellent up-to-date resource that is both thorough and, for the most part, readable. Volume one covers Rom 1-8, and volume two treats chaps. 9-16. The preface, abbreviations, and general bibliography of volume one are repeated nearly verbatim in the second volume.

Andrews University WILLIAM RICHARDSON

Ferch, Arthur J., ed. *Towards Righteousness by Faith: 1888 in Retrospect.* Wahroonga, Australia: South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists, 1989. viii + 131 pp. Paperback, $6.00.

Towards Righteousness by Faith is composed of five papers presented at the South Pacific Division of Seventh-day Adventists' commemoration of the centennial of the historic 1888 Minneapolis General Conference session. The meeting took place at Dunmore Lang College, Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, on September 25-26, 1988.

The year 1888 stands large in the development of Adventist theology. Up to that time the church had emphasized its distinctively Adventist doctrines (e.g., seventh-day Sabbath, heavenly ministry of Christ, his premillennial advent, and so on) to the detriment of those truths it held in common with other Christians. The 1888 General Conference session saw a challenge to that historical trend as two young editors from California (A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner) uplifted Christ and his saving righteousness. Their "new" teaching was seen by denominational leaders G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith to be a threat to the sacred place of the law and obedience in Adventist theology. Thus the conference was one of dissension.

Because of the importance of the Minneapolis General Conference session, a large literature has developed around it. In fact, that meeting probably has had more written about it than any other event in Seventh-day Adventist history. Unfortunately, the literature is just as ideologically divided as were the participants in the 1888 meetings themselves (see my *Angry Saints: Tensions and Possibilities in the Adventist Struggle over Righteousness by Faith* [Washington, DC, 1989]). One of the latest contributions to this growing body of literature is Arthur Ferch's volume. The editor's preface captures the central significance of the meetings when he writes that "one of the elements which has made the Minneapolis meetings memorable was the exaltation of Jesus" in a religious body in which many had "lost sight" of him (p. 3).

The volume's first paper is by Arthur N. Patrick, who hypothesizes that the 1888 crisis was in essence a struggle between the stabilizing influences of the older leaders, with their desire for continuity, and the "second-generation

'progressives'," with their felt need for innovation (p. 15). Thus at least part of the meaning of the event for Patrick is that the meetings provide an excellent case for those interested in the study of sociological and intellectual change in a religious body and the dynamics of authority in that process. That provocative theme is certainly one that could be developed into a monograph or a Ph.D. dissertation.

One of the most valuable contributions of *Towards Righteousness by Faith* is that by Norman H. Young. Young examines Adventist exegesis of Gal 3:19-25 (the biblical storm center of the conflict) in both the 1888 meetings and historically up through the modern period. The interpretive struggle at Minneapolis focused on the "historical" (Smith and Butler's position) versus the "individual" (Waggoner and Jones' position) understanding of the law in Galatians. Young found that subsequent to the Minneapolis meetings the Waggoner/Jones position became the dominant one for several decades. On the other hand, Young concluded that while most modern Adventist exegetes do not agree fully with either polar interpretation, most lean toward many of the positions taken by Butler and Smith.

Two of the papers treated the theology and contributions of the protagonists at Minneapolis. Milton R. Hook examined "The Message of E. J. Waggoner," while Kerry H. Hortop explored the contribution of A. T. Jones. Hook used a method in reconstructing Waggoner's 1888 teachings similar to that being independently utilized at the same time in the United States by Clinton L. Wahlen in a Master of Divinity thesis at Andrews University entitled "Selected Aspects of Ellet J. Waggoner's Eschatology and Their Relation to His Understanding of Righteousness by Faith" (1988). While Hook and Wahlen had almost diametrically opposed purposes and presuppositions, both utilized the same methodology and covered some of the same ground. Of the two treatments, however, Wahlen's casts a broader net and goes into much greater depth. Unfortunately, apparently neither scholar knew that the other was working on the project.

The major problem in *Towards Righteousness by Faith* is that the papers by Hook and Hortop are seriously flawed by uncritically building on the faulty thesis undergirding such treatments of the Minneapolis issues as those of Geoffrey J. Paxton (*The Shaking of Adventism* [Grand Rapids, MI, 1977]) and David P. McMahon (*Ellet Joseph Waggoner: The Myth and the Man* [Fallbrook, CA, 1979]). All four of these Australian authors overplayed the importance of justification by faith while underplaying the role of sanctification. Coupled with a misunderstanding of both the classical Reformation (e.g., confounding the views of Luther with those of certain of his followers) and the Council of Trent (which included sanctification within its definition of justification), they imply the nonbiblical view that justification and sanctification can be separated in the experience of an individual and thus in one's definition of righteousness by faith. While they

can be separated for purposes of theological definition, the NT does not teach experiential separation—one is either "in Christ" or out of Christ; the person who is justified is also being sanctified.

Beyond that problem, Hook and Hortop follow the lead of Paxton, McMahon, Desmond Ford, and the later Robert Brinsmead (all strong influences in Australian Adventism) in overemphasizing the importance of justification to the detriment of other NT concepts. Justification, after all, is merely one of many NT word pictures of salvation. In addition, contrary to the generally-accepted Adventist restorationist interpretation, these authors apparently see the Reformation as a static event that took place in the sixteenth century, rather than as a progressive historical process. Beyond those difficulties, both Hook and Hortop, as might be expected (given their presuppositions), tend to view Wesleyanism, with its emphasis on obedience and sanctification, in a pejorative sense. Such a treatment implies a serious lack of knowledge of the Wesleyan roots of Adventist theology—a problem that affects several strands of contemporary Adventist theological thought, especially the theology of those Adventist writers who dichotomize justification and sanctification and of those at the other end of the Adventist soteriological spectrum who seek to understand Ellen White's Wesleyan usage of the word "perfection" in Calvinistic terms.

Ferch's volume closes with a very helpful treatment by Robert W. Olson of Ellen G. White's teachings on righteousness by faith before, during, and after the 1888 meetings. Olson demonstrates that Ellen White's position did not change significantly across that time frame. His essay also serves as a corrective to those by Hook and Hortop. Olson's findings indicate that "Ellen White included both justification and sanctification under the rubric of righteousness by faith" (p. 103). Thus she reflected both the biblical perspective and her Wesleyan upbringing. True also to her Methodist roots was her treatment, as set forth by Olsen, of "perfection" and the life of victory.

Overall, *Towards Righteousness by Faith* is a helpful addition to the ongoing soteriological discussion within Adventism. That is particularly true of the essays by Young, Olson, and (to a lesser extent) Patrick.

Andrews University GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Finegan, Jack. *Myth & Mystery: An Introduction to the Pagan Religions of the Biblical World.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 335 pp. $24.95.

Jack Finegan is well known for his works on archaeology and its relation to the Bible. Now he has produced an encyclopedic work treating various religions of the biblical world and their relationship to the Bible. The subtitle is something of a generalization, as not all of the religions

treated are "pagan." The vast majority of the Gnostic literature extant, for instance, is distinctly Christian, although it was judged "heretical" by the leaders of the early Christian church.

Myth & Mystery is quite ambitious in its coverage. There are chapters treating Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, Canaanite, Greek, Roman, Gnostic, Mandaean, and Manichaean religions. The coverage, however, is not even. The chapter on Zoroastrianism, for example, is at least twice as long as most of the other discussions (only the chapter on Gnosticism comes anywhere close to it, and that chapter is noticeably shorter). The discussions, while informative, are basic, approximating lengthy encyclopedia articles. Thus one is often left with questions.

The book also has other deficiencies. Finegan tells us that each of the Mesopotamian gods is "perceived in terms of" a "visible reality" (p. 22); yet he gives only one example, that of Imdugud portrayed as a great black bird with outstretched wings, whereas he gives a quite detailed list of the animal portrayals of the Egyptian gods (p. 43). In the same way, one could wish for at least a summary listing of the content of the Mesopotamian law codes, especially since Finegan points out that they represent a formal parallel with biblical law.

The bibliography in the back helps offset some of these shortcomings, although its entries are not as up-to-date as one would expect, given the date of publication. The latest edition of *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (1988) is not listed, nor is Bentley Layton's masterful *The Gnostic Scriptures* (1987). *Myth & Mystery* contains a few tables that are useful for summarizing and assimilating the data, but one wishes for more.

There are a number of inconsistencies and errors in the text. On p. 104 Ecbatana is equated with Hamadan (as is correct), but two separate locations are indicated on the map on p. 66. On p. 126 מִצְבָּה should be מַצֵּבָה. Hermes is referred to as ψυχοηομπός and ψυχαγαγός on p. 161; the terms are incorrectly rendered and should read ψυχοπομπός and ψυχαγωγός. On p. 171 νάρθηζ should be νάρθηξ. There are a couple of problems in the spelling of English as well. The new capital city built by Akhenaten is spelled "Akhetaten" on p. 57, but in the map on p. 41 it is "Akhetaton." The sacred fire dedicated to Verethraghna is spelled "Atash Vahram" on p. 113, while on pp. 114 and 115 it is spelled "Atash Bahram." These errors may be attributed to insufficient editorial oversight or poor typesetting, but the work appears to have been rather hastily put together.

The book is also characterized by the excessive generalization inherent in introductory and general works. In such synthetic descriptions, the differences found in the original sources often disappear; the earliest accounts of these religions can present a bewildering variety that often loses its complexity in abbreviated treatments. The myth of Osiris presents us with a clear example. The relationship among the main characters is not the same in all accounts. In some cases Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Seth are all

brothers and sisters, while in other cases Seth and Osiris do not appear to be related. Furthermore, the conflict between Horus and Seth is not always set directly in the context of the Osiris myth. Finegan's treatment fails to represent this complexity, mainly because Finegan's procedure is to describe and summarize the contents of one main presentation.

In a work like this, published by Baker and referring to "the Biblical World" in the subtitle, one expects more than a description of these religions. Finegan does indeed give brief, helpful sections treating their connections to the Bible and biblical history, but only for Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, and Canaanite religions. These sections, however, are scanty and inconclusive. This is particularly the case when it comes to the discussion of Canaanite religion. This reviewer wanted more than a statement about Israelite derivations of the alphabet and architecture from the Canaanites and the utilization of "many themes of Canaanite mythology" (p. 153); a further explication of what these themes were and how they were used is needed.

Despite these shortcomings, this work is a helpful text for undergraduate students. It provides informative introductions to the various religions discussed and basic bibliographies for further research. On the other hand, advanced students would do well to read the primary sources for themselves, though even for them Finegan provides a good starting place for exploring new fields of study.

South Bend, IN 46625 MATTHEW M. KENT

Goldingay, John E. *Daniel.* Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 30. Dallas: Word Books, 1989. liii + 351 pp. $24.99.

John Goldingay, principal of St. John's College in Nottingham, England, reveals in his introduction the philosophical presupposition underlying this commentary. He believes that God "is capable of inspiring people to write both history and fiction, both actual prophecy and quasi-prophecy, in their own name, anonymously, or—in certain circumstances—pseudonymously" (p. xxxix). In regard to the book of Daniel, he contends that "whether the stories are history or fiction, the visions actual prophecy or quasi-prophecy, written by Daniel or by someone else, in the sixth century B.C., the second, or somewhere in between, makes surprisingly little difference to the book's exegesis" (p. xl). Yet the questions of origin and authorship of the book, which are dealt with in the conclusion (pp. 326-329), are viewed only from the historical-critical standpoint. The stories, Goldingay believes, suggest a setting in the eastern dispersion in the Persian period; the visions, on the other hand, presuppose a setting in Jerusalem around 160 B.C.

Each of the commentary's chapters is broken down into six parts: (1) a bibliography germane to the chapter; (2) a fresh translation by the author; (3) critical notes; (4) a section on form, structure, and setting; (5) comments; and (6) explanations. The comments emphasize exegesis; the explanations, history and theology.

In his exposition of Dan 2, Goldingay does not follow the standard historical-critical interpretation, which identifies the four empires as Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece. Similarly to B. D. Eerdmans and a few expositors before him, Goldingay suggests that these empires are to be equated with individual reigns, which he finds to be those of (1) Nebuchadnezzar, (2) Belshazzar, (3) Darius the Mede, and (4) Cyrus (p. 51). Yet, in Dan 7 he sees the first beast as Babylon and the fourth one, which he believes is an elephant, as Greece. He does not identify the second and third empires, since in his view Daniel is not really interested in the second and third kingdoms (p. 176).

The rest of the visions of Daniel, according to Goldingay, deal primarily with the history of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He is the little horn in Dan 7 and 8 (pp. 187, 209); the details of Dan 9:24-27 fit the events of the Antiochene crisis in the second century B.C. (p. 267); and Dan 11:21-45 describes in detail the career of this Seleucid king (pp. 299-305). Thus "the time of the end" in Dan 8:17; 11:35, 40; and 12:4, 9 does not refer to the Christian age or to the end of human history but to the termination of the Antiochene persecution and the restoration of the sanctuary (p. 216).

The resurrection in Dan 12:2 is seen as the "imaginative portrayal" of the author, which "should not necessarily be taken as an attempt at literal prediction" (p. 307). Goldingay, however, does believe that a bodily resurrection is in view, but only for the martyrs and the apostates, persecutors, and blasphemers of 11:30-45 (pp. 307-308). No indication is given as to when this resurrection should have taken place or will take place.

As we have seen, Goldingay fairly consistently follows the historical-critical interpretation of the book of Daniel. All the prophecies are considered to be *vaticinia ex eventu*, i.e., prophecies written after the events they portray, since "it is not the nature of biblical prophecy to give a literal account of events before they take place" (p. 305).

From the historical-critical point of view, this book is one of the best commentaries on the book of Daniel to appear in recent decades. It is well-researched, scholarly, and exhaustive. Goldingay provides many excellent insights into the biblical text and has a number of homiletical applications providing valuable sermon ideas scattered throughout the book. The large amount of bibliographic information throughout this commentary, as well as the indices of authors, subjects, and biblical and other ancient sources, makes this volume a veritable gold mine for any biblical student.

Evangelical scholars will be somewhat disappointed with Goldingay's book, since, despite its appearance in what is supposedly an evangelical series, and despite Goldingay's claim to believe that God is capable of

knowing future events and thus of revealing them, there is not a single place in the book of Daniel where he believes predictive prophecy actually occurred. The visionary part of the book was written with the Antiochene crisis in mind. Later applications of individual texts to Christ, the pope, or the Antichrist, says Goldingay, can only be made by way of reapplication or appropriation rather than exegesis (p. 221). For example, he sees "a typological relationship between the events and people of the Antiochene crisis and deliverance and those of the Christ event and the End we still await" (p. 268).

This book's usefulness would be enhanced if the many Hebrew terms were either transliterated or consistently translated, so that a person without a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet could use this volume with maximum benefit. There are still a few misprints which escaped the proofreaders. For example, one finds "ha some" instead of "had some" (p. 48), "caputred" instead of "captured" (p. 50), the name "Schüssler" misspelled as "Schlüssler" (p. 334), and the date of Antiochus IV's death given as 164 B.C. on p. 218 and as 163 B.C. on p. 296.

The book is a valuable addition to the literature on Daniel, and no serious student of the book of Daniel can afford to neglect it.

Los Angeles, CA 90025 GERHARD PFANDL

Malherbe, Abraham J. *Paul and the Popular Philosophers.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989. xvi + 192 pp. $19.95.

Abraham Malherbe undoubtedly has established himself as one of the most knowledgeable readers of the literature of classical Rome. He has taken to heart Johannes Weiss' insistence that students of the NT should have a good firsthand acquaintance with the writings of Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Lucian, Musonius, Marcus Aurelius, and Cicero. Unlike Weiss and his students, who read these authors to gain a firm grasp on their language and style in order to be more sensitive to the language and style of the NT, Malherbe does so in order to appreciate their arguments and the social reality in which they were valid.

Malherbe's study of these authors is now bearing fruit, allowing him to make significant contributions to our understanding of the social environment of the early Christian movement. Christians, like the many others who tried to gain moral guidance from the popular philosophers, at times found themselves confused by the competing claims of rival teachers. These teachers, on the other hand, found themselves arguing heatedly on behalf of their own views and attacking personally anyone who differed. Malherbe's attention has been focused on the battleground shared by those who wished to offer moral exhortation to the larger public, an undertaking he calls "this protreptic endeavor" (p. 3).

As a book, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* is somewhat repetitive and lacks cohesion. What is offered here is a reprinting of essays published in sundry places between 1968 and 1986. That they are brought together between hard covers is an indication of their enduring value and of the new interest in the exploration of the non-Jewish literary context of early Christianity on the part of NT scholars. One could question the need for this publication, arguing that scholars interested in these matters have access to the original publications. It can be argued also, however, that these essays, in spite of their scholarly seriousness, do read very well, and nonspecialists will find profit and delight in them. Their publication in this more accessible form, therefore, is most welcome, even if scholars in the field will find here nothing new.

With Malherbe, the reader enters primarily the social world of the Cynics with its "hard" and "soft" philosophical versions and its locales at street corners and classrooms in well-to-do homes. Most of the essays deal with rather innocuous phrases, like Paul's *mē genoito* ("God forbid," "by no means," or some other idiomatic equivalent), his war and siege metaphors (2 Cor 10:3-6), his claims to have "fought with beasts at Ephesus" (1 Cor 15:32), or his declaration to have been "gentle . . . , like a nurse suckling her own children" at Thessalonica (1 Thess 2:6-7). Two of the essays represent fundamental studies for the forthcoming commentary on the pastoral epistles, which Malherbe is writing for the Hermeneia series. They explicate the polemical stance of these letters. One essay takes up Paul's claim, in his own defense (Acts 26:26), that Agrippa should already be well aware of his activities, since Paul had not carried out his ministry "in a corner."

This book does not give us a broad, sweeping argument for understanding Paul—and the disciples who defended his heritage—in a brilliant new way. Rather, we are given most balanced and careful studies of significant pointers to a more nuanced understanding of the most misunderstood Christian apostle. Anyone who is intent on coming to a better understanding of Paul's role in the early Christian movement is indebted to Malherbe for these exquisite distillations of his scholarly research.

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Mann, C. S. *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 27. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1986. xxv + 715 pp. $20.00.

The merits of the Griesbach hypothesis, as revived by W. R. Farmer (that the Gospel of Mark was written after Matthew and Luke, and that it used them as written sources), have been vigorously argued for at least the

last twenty years. While it has been steadily attracting more adherents, it is only now that commentaries which use this hypothesis as their underlying assumption are appearing. C. S. Mann's commentary on Mark openly and enthusiastically espouses the Griesbach hypothesis, although the commentary is written in a manner that does not exclude readers who do not share Mann's position on the Synoptic problem.

For Mann, the Gospel of Mark should be interpreted against the background of the rising political tensions which eventually bore fruit in the first Jewish revolt of A.D. 66. He dates the first draft of the Gospel to approximately A.D. 55 (p. 76). As he believes that Mark used both Matthew and Luke as written sources, it will not surprise the reader that Mann acknowledges a great debt not only to William Farmer and Bernard Orchard (prominent advocates of the Griesbach hypothesis), but also to John A. T. Robinson (famous for his redating of the NT documents to dates prior to A.D. 70). For Mann, "the evangelist was confronting not a false christology but a gnawing and growing doubt in a steadily deteriorating situation, as to the legitimacy of the new faith and the ability of Jesus to save" (p. 83). The Gospel is consequently written with a great sense of urgency, an urgency which led to the elimination of the long teaching discourses of Matthew and many of the parables of both Matthew and Luke. Jesus is presented in conflict with, and victorious over, all evil powers.

As in the other commentaries in the Anchor Bible series (including the one which Mann, together with W. F. Albright, wrote on the Gospel of Matthew), there is a comprehensive introduction followed by a commentary which is divided into comments and notes. Each section of the introduction is provided with a bibliography, and there are a few additional bibliographies scattered at points throughout the commentary section, in addition to the general bibliography which precedes the introduction.

Aside from the bibliographies, the introductory section is probably the most valuable part of the commentary. Mann's comments range over the whole field of Gospel studies: he provides a short introduction to the Synoptic problem; discusses the period of oral transmission and the disciplines of form, redaction, and tendency criticism; and looks at such issues as the historical value of the Gospels (which he rates highly), the dating of Mark, and Mark's theology. In the commentary proper, the comments sections generally give brief introductions to the different subdivisions, and most of the space is taken up in the detailed comments of the notes sections. notes sections.

Mann's commentary is not always easy reading. One does not, for example, find here the clarity of expression which characterizes Raymond Brown's commentaries on the Johannine corpus. Overall, though, it does make a significant contribution to the study of Mark. The long-term importance of the contribution will depend to some extent on the future acceptance or rejection of the Griesbach hypothesis. Whatever happens,

Doubleday is to be congratulated for publishing this commentary, which will further add to the reputation of the Anchor Bible series as one in which innovative and exciting commentaries may be found.

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ROBERT K. MCIVER

Mazar, Amihai. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000-586 B.C.E.* New York: Doubleday, 1990. xxx + 572 pp. $30.00.

Until the publication of this volume by Amihai Mazar, currently one of Israel's leading archaeologists, the most prominent books available as introductions to Syro-Palestinian archaeology were W. F. Albright's *Archaeology of Palestine* (rev. ed., Gloucester, MA, 1971), K. M. Kenyon's *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (4th ed., London/New York, 1979), and Y. Aharoni's *Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (Philadelphia, 1982).

While each of these earlier books was written by a leading scholar of the time and remains a classic in its own right, these works tended to interpret the archaeology of Palestine largely from the perspective of the authors' own excavations without always making the reader aware of alternate interpretations. For beginning students this could be confusing and frustrating. While Mazar is inevitably influenced by his own field work (what field archaeologist is not?), his book does a better job of alerting the reader to key issues and alternate interpretations than previous treatments, both within the text and in notes at the end of each chapter.

Chronologically the book spans the archaeology of Palestine from the Neolithic to the Iron II period (ending with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.). Each chapter focuses on a specific archaeological period and is organized into various sections discussing such items as pottery, architecture, fortifications, technology, burial practices, weapons, art, and so on, although the same sections do not appear in each chapter, nor are they covered in the same order.

Space does not permit a comprehensive review of Mazar's stimulating and sometimes provocative viewpoints, but some of his opinions on current topics of debate and interest to biblical scholars include the relationship of the archaeology of the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3100-2000 B.C.) to the biblical traditions. As a specific example, Mazar notes the attempts by some scholars (such as van Hatten and Rast) to relate the archaeological remains at sites such as Bab edh-Dhra^{c} and Numeira, southeast of the Dead Sea, to the biblical "cities of the plain." Although Mazar does not endorse any specific theory of integrating the archaeological data with the biblical material, he does allow for two possible models: first, the possibility that a "severe catastrophe," which destroyed these five cities, was "remembered and trans-

mitted orally in legendary form" down to the first millennium B.C., when it was "adapted to its final form by the author of the Book of Genesis" (p. 144); second, that later peoples, such as the Israelites, simply observed these ancient ruins and "invented etiological legends" about them (ibid.). Although other models could be suggested, Mazar correctly implies that the currently available archaeological data cannot conclusively decide the issue. At the same time, however, he cautions that "attempts to relate Genesis narratives to Early Bronze Age features cannot be completely excluded" (p. 143).

Of related interest is Mazar's view on the patriarchal narratives and the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1550 B.C.). After noting the recent trend of several scholars, such as T. L. Thompson and J. Van-Seters, who have attempted to place these traditions as late as the Iron Age (ca. 1200-550 B.C.), Mazar argues that he finds "the similarities between the MB II culture and that illustrated in the Genesis stories too close to be ignored" (p. 225). While Mazar would allow that the narratives may have been written down for the first time during the period of the United Kingdom of David and Solomon, he cautions that "we should note the many details which do not correspond to the period of the Israelite settlement and monarchy" (p. 226). Thus, these views on the archaeological background for the patriarchal period would seem to place Mazar more within the "Albright school," which has traditionally taken the historicity of these narratives more seriously than have some other interpretative perspectives.

As for the emergence of Israel in Canaan, Mazar believes that, even though the lack of archaeological evidence at certain key sites mentioned in the conquest narratives raises questions about their historical value, that difficulty "does not exclude the possibility that the stories echo individual historical events which may have occurred during the process of the Israelite settlement" (p. 331). With regard to the actual nature of Israel's acquisition of the land, Mazar maintains that "even if the Israelites were the invaders of certain cities, the devastation was not carried out in one sweep during the same military campaign; rather, such destruction was a result of a drawn-out process of regional wars" (p. 334). Although Mazar's discussion leaves a lot of questions unanswered, and the data from some of the sites he discusses can easily be interpreted in other ways, he does appear carefully to avoid an exclusive and simplistic endorsement of any of the current models on Israel's emergence—such as Albright's military conquest, Alt's peaceful infiltration, and Gottwald's sociological models. The actual taking of the land was undoubtedly a complex process that involved elements of all of the above theories—elements which can also be seen as clearly reflected in the various relevant biblical texts when properly understood.

While Mazar's discussions on the topics noted above will be of interest to the specialist, there is much also for the beginning student. Particularly useful in this regard are Mazar's introductory chapter on archaeology in

Palestine, his final chapter on Israelite material culture, and, scattered throughout the book, his discussions of terminology. The latter item is especially helpful for beginning students, since archaeological terms have different meanings, depending on the scholars who are using them (e.g., Middle Bronze I equals Early Bronze IV for some scholars but is the same as Middle Bronze IIA for others). The historical background given for each archaeological period is also useful. Sources used are authoritative and up-to-date. Citations are as recent as 1988—not bad for a book published in 1990.

The illustrations are generally of good quality, numerous, and conveniently located throughout, rather than grouped together in plates in the center or at the end of the book. The tables correlating contemporary strata from different sites will also be helpful to the beginner. The only negative reaction this reviewer had was to the distracting, pasted-on look of the map labels. Overall, this book is probably the best general work on the archaeology of Palestine currently produced and will provide a first-rate introduction for the beginner and serve as an excellent reference for the scholar.

Andrews University RANDALL W. YOUNKER

Mazzaferri, Frederick David. *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective.* BZNW, vol. 54. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1989. xix + 486 pp. $102.00.

Frederick Mazzaferri's contribution to the discussion regarding the genre of the Apocalypse is based on a dissertation produced under the guidance of Ruth Edwards at the University of Aberdeen. After a survey of introductory issues (chaps. 1 and 2), he reviews the literature on the subject of genre within biblical criticism (chap. 3). He then defines the genres of classical prophecy and "apocalyptic," Christian prophecy and "neo-apocalyptic" (chaps. 4-8). The last half of the book evaluates Revelation on the basis of his definitions of prophetic and apocalyptic genre. Mazzaferri argues that Revelation is not an apocalyptic book but is a "proximate classical prophecy" that is modeled on the classical prophets of the OT, particularly Ezekiel.

The book's most critical assumption is that the author of Revelation at times employs sources with "generic intent" (pp. v, 58, 379, passim)—in other words, as a pointer to his self-understanding of the kind of book being written. If one can define the genre of documents used in such "generic" fashion, one can determine the genre intended by the author. Mazzaferri believes that John never uses apocalyptic sources "with generic intent" but often does so when quoting prophetic sources, Ezekiel in particular. John thus identifies himself with the classical prophets rather than with the apocalyptic writers.

A number of problems arise, however, on the way to Mazzaferri's conclusion. Since "generic intent" or purpose on the part of the author of Revelation is so critical to his thesis, one would expect a clear definition of generic intent and a clear outline of the criteria and procedures by which one can determine whether an author is using a source generically or not. But neither is produced. The closest one comes is on p. 58, where John's "generic purpose" in the use of OT sources is evidenced by the quantity of such use and the assertion that John often "mimics classical Hebrew." But these two characteristics in themselves are not unique to prophetic literature.

Since Mazzaferri attempts to break new literary ground, a survey of the principles of "generic criticism" as applied to English or European literature would have provided assistance in making his case for Revelation. However, not a single such literary-critical work is cited in either footnotes or bibliography. Thus, Mazzaferri is operating not on clearly defined and accepted principles of literary and generic criticism but on assumptions regarding John's generic self-understanding. But even if one grants that John understood himself to be in the line of the classical prophets, it does not settle the issue of genre. The genre of Revelation may have been far more influenced by contemporary usage of the OT than John himself was aware of. Furthermore, it remains to be demonstrated that John had a clear understanding of what "genre" is all about in the modern sense. Statements such as "John offers no hint whatever that he accepts any apocalyptic concept with generic intent" (p. 256) are probably anachronistic.

A further issue is whether Mazzaferri has correctly understood the significance of genre within the current debate. However, since that problem has been thoroughly dealt with by John J. Collins' review of Mazzaferri in the *Critical Review of Books in Religion: 1990,* it need not be dealt with here. Due to such misunderstandings and to the significant differences between Revelation and the prophets which Mazzaferri has either overlooked or underplayed, it is doubtful that scholarship on the Apocalypse will consider his work to have settled the issue of the genre of Revelation. The evidence remains problematic, but it is to be hoped that Mazzaferri's work will stimulate further refinement on both sides of the issue.

A number of strengths in the book should be noted. Mazzaferri is at his best when working directly with the biblical text. He calls attention to a number of significant literary features of the classical prophets which find parallels in Revelation. Even more helpful is Mazzaferri's exegetical work on Revelation, particularly on chaps. 5, 10, and 11. Although the implications he draws for his central thesis are often questionable, his observations stimulate the reader to see various associations in the book in a fresh light. Mazzaferri has also provided extremely helpful indexes to key words, subjects, and quotations from biblical and other ancient literary sources. Since the book is filled with multitudes of cross-references, the indexes are essential in order to get an organized grasp of most of the exegetical arguments.

Besides problems in the central thesis of the book, a major irritation is the author's cavalier attitude toward the labors and opinions of those whose views disagree with his. He confidently and decisively settles such issues as the structure of Revelation and the OT text tradition of its author without offering persuasive evidence that he has grasped the complexities involved. Most unfortunate and unnecessary is a blistering eight-page attack on the rough draft of an unpublished work by A. J. Ferch written for a nonscholarly audience, causing one to wonder about the motives behind the whole enterprise. If the overt humility of the foreword had been continued in the body of the text, the book might not strike one as negatively as it does.

In conclusion, this is a book that offers many rewards to the serious student of Revelation, but one whose author is not consistently fair either with the text of Revelation or with those whose writings preceded his.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Oliver, Barry David. *SDA Organizational Structure: Past, Present, and Future.* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 15. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989. xii + 433 pp. Paperback, $16.95.

This is the second recently published dissertation on the development of Seventh-day Adventist church polity. Barry Oliver builds on Andrew Mustard's exposition of the initial stage of Adventist organization, which extended from 1844 through 1881 (reviewed in *AUSS* 28 [Spring 1990]: 99-100).

Oliver first describes the historical developments related to Adventist organization between 1888 and 1903. He then analyzes the theological premises that characterized the conflicting views of A. T. Jones and A. G. Daniells and their allies in 1901 and 1903.

Jones, E. J. Waggoner, and others (including W. W. Prescott until 1901) constructed their ecclesiology from the starting point of individual salvation, righteousness by faith, the priesthood of believers, and the sole headship of Christ (pp. 220-223). By 1901 they taught a strongly individualistic and congregational view of church organization. Waggoner came eventually to the conclusion that when the church reached spiritual maturity all human organization would "be left aside as the toys of childhood" (pp. 234-236).

Oliver describes this view as Christocentric and applauds its emphasis on what the church *is* over what the church *does*. It was one-sided, however, in its "failure to recognize that the church is not wholly, nor only, a theological entity," but also a "sociological entity" (p. 239).

A. G. Daniells and his allies (notably W. C. White and, after 1901, W. W. Prescott) based their approach to organization on an eschatological-missiological model (pp. 240-266). This approach was practical, but it erred in rejecting the valid contributions of Jones and Waggoner's more theological approach (pp. 262-265).

Ellen White took a median position, with a "dipolar ecclesiology" expressed as "unity in diversity" (pp. 266-270, 297). By this means she was able in 1901 to unite those who preferred a "congregational form of organization with diversity as its greatest value" and those who favored a "hierarchical form of organization with unity as its greatest value" (p. 270).

After the break with J. H. Kellogg in 1902 (over somewhat different issues), Daniells continued to hold the theory of "unity in diversity," but his practice shifted toward a more authoritarian maintenance of "unity" that de-emphasized "diversity" (pp. 295-296).

Oliver's dissertation is a well-balanced exposition which achieves a high degree of objectivity in analyzing conflicting views. He acknowledges the strengths of both Jones and Daniells without defending their weaknesses. Beyond comprehensive reporting, Oliver has wrestled extensively with the theological issues and has synthesized opposing views to suggest creative conclusions.

The work is well written and readable, nicely seasoned with concise quotations. It affords sympathetic insight into the ecclesiology of Jones and Waggoner, as well as some fascinating glimpses of Daniells' early administrative style.

Finally, this is a timely work for the present situation in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Oliver denies any intention "to define new structures" for the church or even "to suggest that the existing structures should be changed." Rather, he has sought to show from the reorganization process that climaxed in 1903 "that change is integral to the very formulation of the structures themselves." When changes become necessary, however, principle should take priority over form (p. 331), and "mission" should be the "organizing principle" which determines the direction future change should take (p. 357).

It is tempting to see Oliver's study as justification for the kind of programmatic specifics set forth in Robert S. Folkenberg's "Church Structure—Servant or Master" (*Ministry*, June 1989, pp. 4-9). Both authors call for structures and policies that are "mission-driven, rather than tradition-driven" (Folkenberg, p. 9).

As a contribution to a current debate, this dissertation will be of interest not only to historians, administrators, and pastors, but to all who desire an in-depth look at the dynamics that operate when a church seeks to alter its form of organization.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103 JERRY MOON

Olsen, V. Norskov, ed. *The Advent Hope in Scripture and History.* Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987. 245 pp. $29.95.

This collection of essays is the companion volume to *The Sabbath in Scripture and History* (reviewed in *AUSS* 21 [Summer 1983]: 184-188). Each work was developed to set forth one of the two basic doctrines that led to the formation of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

The book is a collection of essays in which ten Adventist scholars investigate the "Advent Hope" throughout history. It begins with a survey of the OT view and closes with a contemporary perspective. Niels-Erik Andreasen deals with the OT and apocalyptic literature; Harold E. Fagal, with the NT; Paul J. Landa, early Christianity; Richard K. Emmerson, the Middle Ages; V. Norskov Olsen, the Reformation; Bryan W. Ball, the English Puritans in the seventeenth century; Godfrey T. Anderson, the second advent awakening (1831-1844); Norval F. Pease, the Seventh-day Adventist Church since its beginnings; Richard Rice, contemporary thought; and Fritz Guy, the meaning of the advent in Adventist theology.

Each essay is well researched and carefully documented, with excellent bibliographies for further research. As one might expect, the essays present a wide variety of stylistic differences and various levels of readability.

One of the more outstanding articles is Landa's on early Christianity. His treatment of the delay of the parousia with which early Christians wrestled is quite helpful. Although he confines himself to history, this subject continues to challenge Christians today. Early Christian explanations for the delay, such as the need for more time (1) for repentance (2 Pet 3), (2) for a worldwide gospel proclamation (Matt 24:14), (3) for the making up of the number of the elect, (4) for prophecy to be fulfilled, and (5) for the completion of the 6,000 years of history, continue to have relevance for today's conservative Christians.

The description of the spiritualization of the second advent by the Alexandrian school is also helpful. The transformation of the "Advent Hope" into realized eschatology, caused by the conversion of Constantine the Great and the resultant cooperation between church and state to establish the millennial kingdom on earth, finds its modern counterpart in Christian movements designed to change the structures of society in order to establish a righteous and just society and to usher in the long-delayed kingdom of God on earth.

Olsen's treatment of the Reformation reveals that eschatology was basic to the Protestant Reformation and its separation from Roman Catholicism. The interpretation of Daniel and Revelation provided the biblical rationale for a philosophy of history that justified the existence of Protestantism within Christianity. Crucial in this important view was an interpretation of the role of the papacy in prophecy.

Olsen's study also brings out the often-neglected distinction between the magisterial reformers and the radical reformers (e.g., Anabaptists). The major difference between the two can be traced to positive or negative views of the post-Constantine Catholic Church.

During the post-Reformation era most of Protestant theology exchanged the emphasis on the soon return of Christ for a concentration on the personal assurance of salvation. It was especially within the Radical Reformation that enthusiasm for the second advent was maintained. The seeds of this thrust were kept alive among the various churches and came to fruition in the second advent awakening of the 1840s, which heritage continues to inspire Seventh-day Adventists throughout the world.

The Advent Hope is a major contribution to the understanding of second advent expectations throughout Christian history. However, its coverage has two major gaps in its historical treatment. First, a discussion of the "Advent Hope" in the eighteenth century is absent. This is unfortunate because an abundance of rich apocalyptic material reveals that cataclysmic events in nature, as well as the significant events surrounding the French Revolution and its conflict with the papacy, had a major impact on people's eschatological expectations.

Second, an account of the "Advent Hope" outside the Millerite movement and the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century is also missing. One only can hope that someone will take up the task of filling this vacuum. It is vital for a historical understanding of Christ's advent.

Finally, while most of the chapters have subheadings, some do not. The readability of those chapters could have been improved through the uniform use of reader-friendly headings throughout the volume.

Despite these shortcomings, this symposium is a must for anyone who desires to understand the significance of the impact of the "Advent Hope" throughout the history of the Christian church.

Andrews University P. GERARD DAMSTEEGT

Scriven, Charles. *The Transformation of Culture: Christian Social Ethics after H. Richard Niebuhr.* Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1988. 224 pp. Paperback, $19.95.

The Transformation of Culture is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation based on H. Richard Niebuhr's landmark study, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1951). In spite of Charles Scriven's critique of Niebuhr's study at several points, he remains at one with Niebuhr in the affirmation of Christ as transformer of culture. However, he argues that the most fitting model for

Christian transformation of culture is to be found in the Anabaptist tradition and not, as Niebuhr affirms, in the Augustinian/Calvinist tradition. This is the variously stated thesis of the study: "Put briefly, the claim is simply this: the true Niebuhrian way is the Anabaptist way" (p. 20).

In the initial chapters of the book, Scriven examines the Anabaptist way of social transformation and Niebuhr's understanding of Christ as the transformer of culture. Having done this, he examines the manner in which nine contemporary moralists understand the relationship of Christians to the authority of Christ and to the wider society. In all of this, it is not surprising that he is most favorable to the answers given by Stanley Hauerwas and the Mennonite J. H. Yoder, and is rather critical of the others for either misunderstanding or not taking the radical authority of Christ seriously enough. In the final chapter, Scriven expounds his own proposals for a revised Anabaptist social ethic.

It is difficult to disagree with Scriven's concern for a social ethic in which the radical authority of Christ is affirmed and in which the Christian community takes its witness to the larger community seriously. In addition, he writes in a clear and engaging manner, which forces the reader to wrestle with the arguments he presents. Whether he carries the day in his arguments with Niebuhr is not entirely clear, however. Neither is it certain that Scriven adequately establishes that the Anabaptist tradition fits the role into which he squeezes it.

Niebuhr's five types are artificial constructs—hypothetical schemes. The entities he uses to illustrate them constitute only typical partial answers, and Niebuhr has the grace to point out that they also have characteristics that more readily fit other types. Scriven seems to harden the fluidity of Niebuhr's types and examples, and his construct builds more upon a particular religious entity than upon Niebuhr's types. Niebuhr understands the concept of culture and its usage in sociological discourse, and he knows that no person lives outside of culture. He uses the word "culture" as a kind of shorthand for the wider society in which the Christian community has its being. This usage is clear to the reader, but Scriven is critical of this and of other ways in which Niebuhr uses the word. Scriven has a point, but seems to build more on that point than is warranted. (Interestingly, the title of Scriven's study is in the form of Niebuhr's use of "culture," of which Scriven is critical.)

The thesis of this work is debatable. Is Niebuhr's overall concept of Christ transforming culture really best exemplified by the Anabaptist model? Even if it is argued that Niebuhr is perhaps too much influenced by Troeltsch's sect-typology in the construction of his Christ-against-culture type, and that this somewhat prejudices the case he makes for the Anabaptist tradition, this does not go far enough to make Scriven's thesis plausible. On the other hand, is Scriven really faithful to the Anabaptist tradition in

elevating it to the model for the transformation of society? Inasmuch as this is the central thesis of his study, it is surprising how little time he spends in explicating the Anabaptist tradition. There is nothing here (except in an obscure footnote) about the Schleitheim Confession or the *Great Article Book* of the Hutterites, and there is no real discussion of the Anabaptist two-kingdoms motif and the idea of radical separation it engenders, nor of the apocalyptic eschatology of that tradition. One can certainly remain highly appreciative of the Anabaptist tradition and yet raise the question as to whether it fits Niebuhr's concept of the role of the church in the transformation of society, even when contemporary reconstructions of that tradition are utilized.

But Scriven's constructive work can stand on its own feet. In fact, it might be better if it were unencumbered by its Niebuhr-related thesis. The modified Anabaptist model developed in the final chapter, with its emphasis on a radical understanding of the authority of Christ in the Christian community and its three subthemes of political engagement, universal loyalty, and nonviolence, is clear, powerful, and compelling and deserves serious consideration. Scriven's study is certainly to be recommended for college and seminary courses in Christian social ethics.

Andrews University RUSSELL STAPLES

Thompson, Alden. *Who's Afraid of the Old Testament God?* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989. 173 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

How should the conservative Christian react to the OT picture of God, particularly as it depicts God as a harsh and vindictive deity? Alden Thompson writes to invite conservative Christians, who are likely to ignore the OT and read only the NT, to rethink this question with the aid of modern biblical scholarship. The study provides a way to come to grips with the OT as part of the Christian canon and thus view God in the OT, not as promoting brutality through word and deed, but as condescending to meet people "where they are." God would have been misunderstood or considered unworthy of worship if he had revealed himself as he does in the NT, because people would have been unprepared for it. When conditions were right, God revealed himself in the person of Jesus.

Why did God let the race get into such a bad spiritual condition? Thompson argues that if God's authority were to be recognized, then the full impact of demonic rule must be allowed to develop. Also, humanity must have the opportunity to respond in freedom to the struggle between good and evil. This discussion leads to a consideration of the Adversary, or Satan, from the perspective of the historical development of the idea. The

stimulus for Thompson's book was the difference between 2 Sam 24:1 and the Chronicler's midrash in 1 Chr 21:1. While 2 Sam 24 depicts God as assuming full responsibility for evil, Thompson interprets the Chronicler's passage to mean that God "allowed" evil, not "caused" it. By this manner of interpreting, Thompson can attribute the "cause" to the demonic and human factor, while understanding God in a condescending or pastoral role.

Thompson's axiology emerges from his interpretation of the NT and is expressed in chapter titles such as "The Worst Story in the Old Testament: Judges 19-21" and "The Best Story in the Old Testament: The Messiah." The "worst story" is a story of anarchy, and Thompson's bias toward the OT monarchy is obvious. That bias causes us to forge links between anarchy and lawlessness, on the one hand, and monarchy and the prevention of lawlessness, on the other. The monarchy is also the most proper context for discussing the "best story," which is really not a story but an interpretation of the messianic prophecies that are fulfilled in Christ. Thus, the title is a little misleading, because the story of the Messiah in the OT actually has no ending.

Thompson also speaks kindly about the idea of law. Selections from the various OT codes serve to demonstrate that external laws are evidence of God's condescending pastoral concern, and Thompson argues that no law is any more permanent than the human condition that makes it necessary. However, the Decalogue apparently represents something more basic. I would submit that it is an expression of a metaphysical reality for Thompson. With Christian maturity, external law becomes less and less necessary. Law is internalized in love; thus love never rebels against or negates law. Thompson maintains that the whole of biblical law is still pertinent today because, by recognizing how God dealt with humanity through law in the past, we can see how he deals with us today.

The book's final chapter treats the Psalms and some passages from Job. Here again the objectionable language of the Psalms does not represent God, but is the result of humanity reacting to a twisted world. The point of praying with the Psalmists and Job is that one can be frank with God. Thompson has defused the terror of the OT God through his interpretation of the condescension to evil realities by God, whose essential self is revealed in Christ as a man of peace. In the process Thompson has opened the door to a discussion of Christian ethics. Is capital punishment permissible today? The answer must come by the leading of the Spirit, but it would be difficult to think of Thompson as condoning capital punishment.

Thompson's rational approach has worked well on objectionable OT texts, but he owes us some comments on the frightful NT statements. For example, what is taking place when Jesus mentions hanging a millstone around the neck of one who destroys faith? Is God accommodating sinful humanity in Christ? In addition, because 1 Chr 21:1 is so important to Thompson's interpretation, how does the whole interpretive process in

Chronicles, of which this text is a part, bear on his subject? Finally, doesn't freedom's possibility limit the effectiveness of a rationally expressed view of God and his acts and words?

Andrews University A. Josef Greig

Waltke, Bruce K., and O'Connor, M. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990. xiii + 765 pp. $37.50.

This massive book is a major achievement and advance in the study of classical (biblical) Hebrew. It is not difficult to understand for anyone who has had a good foundation in Hebrew—it is just detailed and comprehensive, an excellent reference work, as well as one worth careful reading as an intermediate or advanced grammar. The authors make good use of Semitic and other languages for the purpose of comparing forms and structures, helping readers to understand Hebrew. Their translations of Hebrew texts are most fruitful and idiomatic. They make excellent analyses, particularly concerning the verbal system; and their explication of grammar (its philosophy and categories) is outstanding. They are conversant with the recent books and articles in many languages in this field, as well as with the standard older works. Where scholars differ, they list them and state with whom they agree (e.g., at the top of p. 585 regarding the infinitive absolute). The format is open, clean, and attractive; the book is clearly organized, well marked to make it easy to use, and well bound to withstand years of usage.

The first three chapters of the introductory section—"Language and Text," "History of the Study of Hebrew Grammar," and "Basic Concepts"—are especially helpful in their compact presentation of useful background material. Most students need the review of grammatical terms found in chap. 4 as well. Chaps. 5-13 treat nouns; chaps. 14-19 cover adjectives, numerals, and pronouns; chaps. 20-28, verbal stems; and chaps. 29-40, verbal conjugations and clauses. A brief glossary and bibliography follow, then indexes of topics, authorities, Hebrew words, and scripture references.

The authors really advance the understanding of the Hebrew verbal system, long considered enigmatic, by their descriptions of what they term the "suffix (perfective) conjugation," the "prefix (non-perfective) conjugation," and the "*waw*-relative" (instead of *waw*-conversive or *waw*-consecutive) as used with each. They recognize and demonstrate the perfective aspect of the original short prefix conjugation with *waw*-relative (equivalent to the suffix conjugation without *waw*-relative or with *waw*-conjunctive) and the non-perfective aspect of the suffix conjugation with *waw*-relative (equivalent to the original long-prefix conjugation in all its usages).

Another point to be commended is the authors' careful use of nonsexist language in their text and translations. As one example among many, on p. 385, no. 15, for Gen 9:6 we read: "Whoever sheds human blood, by a human shall his blood be shed."

One can find very few typographical corrections, considering the size and complexity of this work. Examples of typographical errors are found on p. 19, where the first *t* of "Peshitta" should be *ṭ*, and on p. 128, no. 9, where the Hebrew word for "princess" should begin with a *sin*, not a *shin*. There are other errors, but their scarcity is evidence of the careful editorial work that went into this volume.

In a few places a small further explanation might have been added. For example, in a footnote on p. 277 regarding Hebrew numbers, mention might have been made of Reckendorf's theory on numbers in Arabic in his *Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (1898), which holds good for all the Semitic languages, as the phenomenon of the "chiastic concord" of the numbers must have arisen in Proto-Semitic. No better hypothesis seems to have arisen, and this one does appear plausible.

On p. 679, concerning the oath idiom, one might have expected a comparison with the oath idioms in treaties of contemporary ancient nations, in which the apodosis contains a list of the gods and goddesses called to witness the vow to do or not to do something and to apply a specific punishment in case the vow was broken. Israelite religion being monotheistic, that clause is usually omitted, but is hinted at in such passages as 2 Sam 3:35, where David says: "The Lord do such-and-such to me, and more too, if I do . . ." or "do not . . . ." This omission of the result clause is what necessitates translating a positive oath as strongly negative and a negative one as strongly positive. In the NT, this Hebrew idiom underlies the Greek in Heb 3:11 and 4:3.

On p. 681, *qôl*, used in Cant 5:2 (with a disjunctive accent) for "Hark!" or "Listen!" (literally, "A voice!"), could be footnoted as occurring also in Gen 4:10; Isa 13:4; Jer 10:22; 25:36; 50:28; 51:54; and Zech 11:3 (cf. especially the RSV).

These and other minor points and suggestions that could have been made do not detract from the tremendous accomplishment of the authors. One can only admire the erudition and diligence that produced this valuable work.

Andrews University LEONA GLIDDEN RUNNING

Yamauchi, Edwin. *Persia and the Bible.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 528 pp. $34.95.

This volume featuring the history of Persia from a biblical perspective is most refreshing. By taking seriously all ancient sources, including the

Bible, and by incorporating the latest archaeological contributions, the writer has produced a work of considerable value.

The approach Yamauchi uses is to survey clues to the origins of the Medes and Persians and then to devote a chapter to each of the Persian kings closely connected to biblical history—Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I, Xerxes I, and Artaxerxes I. Then follow four chapters covering the major ancient sites or capitals of Persia—Susa, Ecbatana, Pasargadae, and Persepolis. There is also a chapter on Persian-Greek relations. The two final sections present lengthy surveys of Zoroastrianism and Mithraism, respectively, with a 25-page discussion of questions concerning the Magi interjected between them. The writer avoids taking dogmatic positions; his general approach is to canvass the opinions of various scholars, often not indicating his own preference. Thus, on the origin of the Old Persian cuneiform script he merely states the conflicting opinions.

Yamauchi has made this book both comprehensive and highly readable by integrating biblical and classical information and allusions with archaeological discoveries. The thorough footnoting and 23 pages of bibliography have great value in themselves. While these collected and integrated resources have not settled the current debate on early Persian history, they do enable a well-informed discussion and provide a basis for further research.

Examples of unresolved issues include the continuing debate over the function of the city of Persepolis. In spite of persistent interpretation of the city as a ritualistic center, alternate concepts which see it as representative of ultimate Persian kingship are being voiced.

Likewise, controversy over the identification of the king and prince on the Persepolis treasury reliefs (found in 1936) persists. The earlier view of them as representing Darius I and Xerxes has been increasingly challenged without a new consensus emerging.

The volume's use of classical sources is cautious but thorough. For example, the evidence of Herodotus is evaluated, and quite frequently his descriptions are confirmed. However, Yamauchi denies that the walls and gates of Babylon were destroyed by Darius I, as Herodotus claimed.

As Yamauchi reaches out for all available information on ancient Persia, he is sometimes only on the periphery of Persian history, but the information is very interesting. Thus there is data on military organization, weaponry, and Greek army and navy ships. Another section deals with worship of the Apis bulls and the Serapeum near Memphis, in order to explain the significance of certain actions by Cambyses. The author also gives details of other Apis inscriptions from the Persian period.

The book has few typographical errors, but there appears, unfortunately, to have been a change in procedure for charts and illustrations during editing or production. Thus there are no identifying numbers below the illustrations. For example, the cross reference to an illustration on p. 360 is given as "chapter 4, fig. 29," but the illustration, which can be found on p. 145, has no figure number.

The photographic illustrations are not as sharp as might be desired, but are numerous and interspersed thoughout the text. The photographs are laid out so that the various panels of the Eastern Stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis can be studied and appreciated by means of a numbered diagram. Thus the details and relationships of the sections of the panels can be studied together. The Behistun relief portrayed on page 132 is unclear, but the pen sketch with annotations on the opposite page is helpful. Maps and archaeological sketches are excellent, but a frontispiece map of the entire country/region of Persia/Iran, showing the relationship of outstanding sites, would have enhanced the book.

The attention paid to religions with roots in Persia is gratifying, since the topic is not unrelated to biblical interests. Yamauchi has done an admirable job of collecting and correlating the many items of information on Persian-biblical relations. The Scripture Index is comprehensive, and reference to new discoveries yet to be elucidated—such as a newly-discovered palace of Cyrus 30 miles from the coast near Bushire—gives promise of future enlightenment. Perhaps the most helpful elements of the book are the topical arrangement, the chapters devoted to the leading kings, and the detailed survey of the four key cities.

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Young, Brad H. *Jesus and His Jewish Parables: Rediscovering the Roots of Jesus' Teaching*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989. viii + 367 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

It was once the fashion in Gospel studies and historical Jesus research to emphasize the discontinuity between Jesus and his Jewish environment, an approach typified by Bultmann's principle of dissimilarity as a criterion of authenticity. We are now seeing the tide running in the opposite direction; this book is one of the ripples in that flow. Young's book is partly a polemic against Joachim Jeremias' wedge driven between Jesus and his Jewish background and partly against Jacob Neusner's neglect of the Gospels as data for early Jewish forms of instruction (p. 3).

The book is based on the author's doctoral dissertation, done under the direction of David Flusser at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The regard Young shows for his mentor, and perhaps even his dependence on him, is evidenced by constant references to Flusser's published works and oral communications, hardly ever dissenting. The result is that this book can be read as an authentic statement from what is now referred to as the Jerusalem school of NT research, exemplified by Flusser and Robert L. Lindsey and their disciples.

Young points out that the story-parable was a genre unique to Jewish Palestine, used only in the teaching technique of Jesus and the Palestinian rabbis. This fact makes Aristotelian literary canons and their application by Adolf Jülicher and his successors, C. H. Dodd and Joachim Jeremias, irrelevant for the study of the parables of Jesus. The nature of this genre and its relation to other genres, such as allegory, is to be determined only by an inductive study. Such a study is made more reliable by enlarging the corpus of specimens through including the large body of rabbinic parables (*meshalim*). Young is further at pains to argue that the eschatological emphasis which contemporary Gospel research places upon the teaching of Jesus and his parables, especially by Jeremias, is greatly overdrawn if not mistaken.

Young devotes a large chapter to a description of the rabbinic *mashal* and its setting in the rabbinic teaching tradition, illustrated with 23 specimens of the genre (18 ascribed to Tannaim, and the rest Amoraic). The discussion indulges in excessive repetition and interesting but diverting excursi. In the process, however, it seeks to establish that the difference between parable and allegory is not to be determined by counting the *tertia comparationis*, and that it is bootless to claim any direction of dependence between Jesus and the rabbis, a matter which Young takes up in a later chapter (pp. 236-281).

Another chapter lays out the Jerusalem school's scheme of Synoptic relationships. Luke has priority among the canonical Gospels, but it is based on earlier Greek sources which mediate a Hebrew *Urevangelium*. Since the other two Synoptic Gospels may draw from the earlier Greek sources, as well as from Luke, one cannot automatically say which parallel version of a pericope or parable is closest to the original; this must be determined case by case. Incidentally, Young favors the view that Jesus normally taught in Hebrew, and in a later chapter he essays a Hebrew reconstruction of several of Jesus' parables.

Young accepts the idea that the parables of Jesus were reapplied and interpreted by the early church, but he does not accept the reconstruction of Jesus' message popularized by Jeremias, which sees most of the parables as having an eschatological thrust. Young is concerned to reduce the distance between Jesus and the rabbis as much as possible by finding rabbinic dicta which sound like Jesus or by excavating the Gospel reports to find a noneschatological substratum. To be more precise, while Young pleads that such excavation should be done, he does not do very much of it himself. In a long chapter on the parables of the Kingdom, he argues that most of them were not originally such, and in those that were, the Reign of God simply meant keeping God's commandments, a teaching fully in harmony with rabbinic Judaism.

At this point Young anticipates the question which begins to gnaw at the reader: Why would Jesus have been crucified if his teaching was so conventional? His brief answer is that "the historian would do better to

search for political rather than theological motives when considering possible reasons for the betrayal and execution of Jesus under Pontius Pilate" (p. 296). Specifically, in a chapter dealing at length with such Gospel parables as the Wicked Husbandmen (Matt 21:33-46; Mark 12:1-12; Luke 20:9-19), Young maintains that Jesus' denunciation was originally directed at the Sadducean establishment which controlled the Temple.

The book appears to be little changed from its dissertation form. German quotations are printed without translation. Hebrew and Greek are sometimes transliterated, sometimes not, without any apparent consistency. Not only is there a substantial quota of typographical errors, but the editors have failed to correct the author's grammatical transgressions and other infelicities of language. (For example, see the mistranslation and fatal lack of punctuation in the introduction to the parable on p. 82: "A parable to a man who . . . .") The editors should also have worked harder to eliminate unnecessary repetition, imperfect organization, and Talmud-like rambling, not to mention some cases of special pleading. Nonetheless, the book has some important things to say and may serve as a corrective to much current thinking about the parables of Jesus. Some readers, however, may decide it is an overcorrection.

Andrews University ROBERT M. JOHNSTON

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

◌ַ = *a*	◌ְ, ◌ֱ (vocal shewa) = *e*			◌ֹ = *ō*	
◌ָ = *ā*	◌ֵ, ◌ֵי = *ê*			◌ֺ = *o*	
◌ֲ = *a*	◌ִ = *i*			◌ֹו = *ô*	
◌ֶ = *e*	◌ִי = *î*			◌ֻ = *u*	
◌ֵ = *ē*	◌ָ = *o*			◌ֻו = *û*	

(Dāgēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR	*Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.*
JAC	*Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum*
JAOS	*Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JB	Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux*
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JMeH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPOS	*Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JRT	*Journal of Religious Thought*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of OT*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSR	*Journ., Scient. Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theol. and Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theol. Studies*
KJV	King James Version
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
LTK	*Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche*
LW	*Lutheran World*
McCQ	*McCormick Quarterly*
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*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT	*Nouvelle revue théologique*
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
NTTS	NT Tools and Studies
ODCC	*Oxford Dict. of Christian Church*
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	*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-Encyl.*
QDAP	*Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.*
RA	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.*
RArch	*Revue archéologique*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RechSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHPR	*Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RL	*Religion in Life*
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*
RPTK	*Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche*
RR	*Review of Religion*
RRR	*Review of Religious Research*
RS	*Religious Studies*
RSPT	*Revue des sc. phil. et théol.*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RTP	*Revue de théol. et de phil.*
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
Sem	*Semitica*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	*Studia Theologica*
TAPS	Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD	*Theology Digest*
TDNT	*Theol. Dict. of NT*, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.
TDOT	*Theol. Dict. of OT*, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.
TEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*
THAT	*Theol. Handwört. z. AT*, Jenni and Westermann, eds.
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
Trad	*Traditio*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	*Theological Studies*
TT	*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*
ZÄS	*Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache*
ZAW	*Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.*
ZDMG	*Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZHT	*Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie*
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.*
ZRGG	*Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.*
ZST	*Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*