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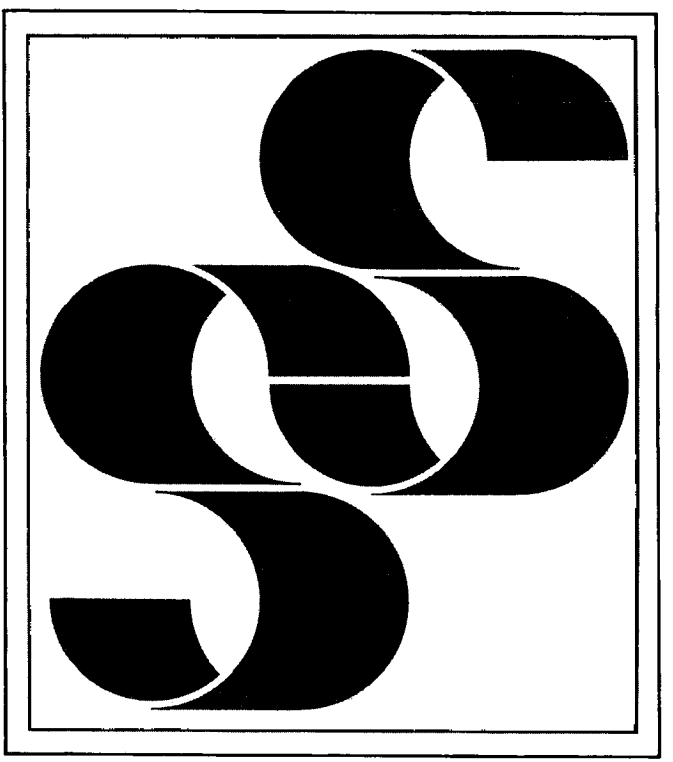

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CERAMIC STAND FROM TELL EL-ᶜUMEIRI

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During the 1984 season at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri four pottery fragments were found in Field A (the Acropolis). They most likely come from the same object, a ceramic stand (**Plate 1**).[1] This may be the first ceramic stand of this type found in Transjordan. To the author's best knowledge it is the first one published.[2]

In Field A, three large buildings from the Late Iron II and Early Persian periods were uncovered. The middle and southern buildings, with thick-walled basement structures, are thought to have served administrative purposes.[3] The remains of the ceramic

[1]Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum, Accession No. 84.0233; Dig Registration Number 84.456 (for all four pieces); Square 7K50, Locus 10, Pail 85, Location 16. Color: Fragment A and part of Fragment B, 5YR7/6 "reddish yellow"; Part of Fragment B, Fragment C and D, 2.5YR6/8 "light red"; core: 2.5YR0/5 "gray". Ware contains a large quantity of white grit.

[2]For other pottery stands and chalices from Transjordan see: G. Lankester Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs from ᶜAmman," *QDAP* 11 (1945): 70, fig. 9; 74, fig. 50; G. Lankester Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs in Amman," *ADAJ* 1 (1951): 39-40, fig. 1:48; Rafik W. Dajani, "An Iron Age Tomb from Amman: Jabal el-Jofeh al-Sharqi)," *ADAJ* 11 (1966): pl. I.2:9, pl. IV:155; Rafiq W. Dajani, "Jabal Nuhza Tomb at Amman," *ADAJ* 11 (1966): pl. XIV.13 (top row, third from the left), pl. XVII:47; Rudolph H. Dornemann, *The Archaeology of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1983), 217, fig. 24:15 (from Madaba); fig. 24:16 (from Madaba); fig. 24:14 (from Tell Deir ᶜAlla); Khair Yassine, *Archaeology of Jordan: Essays and Reports*, (Amman: Department of Antiquity, University of Jordan, 1988), 117, fig. 4:2, pl. 8; William H. Morton, "A Summary of the 1955, 1956 and 1965 Excavations at Dhiban," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, ed. Andrew Dearman (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 245-246; 320, fig. 14.

[3]R. W. Younker et al., "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1989 Season, Including the Regional Survey and Excavations at El-Dreijat, Tell Jawa, and Tell el-ᶜUmeiri (June 19 to August 8, 1989)," *AUSS* 28 (1990): 23. Another possibility is that the south building was an administrative building proper and the middle building was a house of a wealthy family; see John Lawlor, "Field A: The Ammonite Citadel," *Madaba Plains Project 2: The 1987 Season at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies*, eds. L. T. Geraty et al. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, forthcoming).

stand were found in the broad room (Room 2) of the middle building, which seems to be a typical Iron Age four-room house.[4]

Locus 10, where our fragments were found, was designated by the excavator as a "surface." This locus consisted also of "much lower debris." Locus 13, which was arbitrarily separated from Locus 10, could have been, together with Locus 10 (lower debris), a fill layer for Locus 10 (surface). In this fill our fragments were found. In both loci more than a dozen complete or mendable vessels were discovered.[5] This suggests that the fill originated in the administrative/domestic complex of Field A. The vessels, including fragments of the stand, could have possibly fallen from the upper floor during the destruction. Yet, the possibility that they were brought to the area from outside must be left open.

Field Phase 2A, in which the above-mentioned loci were included, is a sort of ephemeral subphase. The stand might have been used in the major previous phase, Field Phase 2B. The latest pottery from these phases dates to the 5th century B.C.[6]

Reconstruction and Description

Although the four pieces do not join, a tentative reconstruction, aiming to present only a general aspect of the object, has been proposed (**Plate 2**). Fragment A evidently belongs to the upper part of the stand, Fragments B and C are presumably parts of the fenestrated pedestal, and Fragment D goes with the lower section, near the base. The reconstruction does not provide any additional details not seen on the sherds. Further details—for example, possible projections and additional decoration—could have existed.

[4]John Lawlor, "Field A: The Ammonite Citadel," *Madaba Plains Project 1: The 1984 ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies*, eds. L. T. Geraty et al. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989), figs. 15.3; 15.10.

[5]Lawlor, *Madaba Plains Project 1*, 238; unpublished locus sheet of Square 7K50, Locus 10.

[6]Lawlor, *Madaba Plains Project 2*, forthcoming. In 1987 this phase was renamed 4A. For a picture of Field Phase 2A (4A in 1987, 6A in 1989), see Lawlor, *Madaba Plains Project 1*, fig. 15.9; for a plan of Field Phase 2B (4B in 1987, 6A in 1989), see ibid., fig. 15.3; for a plan of Field Phase 1B (3B in 1987), see ibid., fig. 15.10. The pottery from Locus 10, according to the unpublished locus sheet, belongs to Late Iron II, Early Iron II, Iron I, Middle Bronze II, Early Bronze. The pottery read as "Late Iron II" in 1984 has also now been reevaluated as belonging to the Early Persian Period.

Because the fragments show a wheel-made manufacture, the principle of symmetry is followed in the reconstruction. The proposed vertical arrangement of the pieces may vary somewhat. An actual shape is difficult to predict since cult stands reveal a large variety of forms.[7] Despite these limitations we can propose a realistic reconstruction.

The height obtained from the reconstruction could have been about 40 cm. or more. A survey of ceramic stands reveals that this is an average height.[8] Since none of the fragments seems to belong to the base, the reconstruction of this part is even more tentative, with the suggested height being merely an estimation.

The upper part was apparently manufactured separately from the pedestal. Viewed from above, the top has a somewhat squared ovoid shape. Four projections, with their continuation along the body, were modeled by hand on the rim (**Plate 3**). A ridge was shaped inside, about 7 cm. from the top, forming a large opening in the basin of the stand, approximately 19 cm. in diameter. A finger-made depression, with one or two rows of tooled impressions in it, encircles the upper part.

The wheel-made pedestal has on its surface four vertical ridges which line up with projections on the rim. These give a squarish appearance to the pedestal. These ridges increase in width and thickness as they flare out from bottom to top. Probably eight ovoid rectangular and/or oval windows arranged in two rows were modeled in the body of the pedestal.

Reconstruction of the base follows the pattern of bell-shaped bases as known from the majority of stands with tubular pedestals.[9]

Parallels and Dating

The form of the stand, as reconstructed, seems to have no identical parallels, but can generally be attributed to the group

[7]Lamoine F. DeVries, "Cult Stands: A Bewildering Variety of Shapes and Sizes," *BAR* 13 July-August 1987: 27-37.

[8]Cf. examples given in nn. 9 and 10.

[9]Cf. Herbert G. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), pls. XIX-XX; DeVries, 36; Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 228, pl. 11; 250, pls. 33-34; Yohanan Aharoni et al., *Investigation at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residence* (Tel Aviv: Gateway Publishers, 1975), pls. 26, 43.

of cylindrical ceramic stands.[10] It is hard to say whether the stand should be assigned to a group which Amiran calls "pedestaled bowls"—e.g., with bowl-like top made together with the pedestal—or to the group of stands with bowls and pedestals made separately.[11] Most probably, as implied by a circular hole in the basin, our stand could also have functioned as a pedestal for a bowl with a pointed bottom.[12]

The upper part, with its projections, is similar to Iron Age horned altars found in many places in Palestine.[13] The horn shape however, may represent a later development. Other pottery stands with the top executed in this way are not known. A pedestaled bowl from EB III in Beth Shean exhibits a similar concept in executing four spouts in the rim.[14]

Fenestration is one of the main features of pottery stands. An object from MB II Nahariya reveals the same concept of windows symmetrically alternating with other devices. As reconstructed, the object from Tell el-ᶜUmeiri has four ridges. The stand from Nahariya has four vertical rows of eight handles; both stands have eight windows arranged in two rows.[15]

As seen above, one can only say that the object from Tell el-ᶜUmeiri fits well into the setting of Palestinian Bronze and Iron Age ceramic stands. The form, apart from the horn-like projections, does not appear to have a significant bearing on the exact dating.

The decoration encompassing the upper part of the stand provides further information on its date.[16] Similar in its motif, but more stylish, is a kind of impression found on vessels unearthed in Palestine and dated to the Persian Period. This decoration, consisting of wedge-shaped impressions, is usually placed on the upper part

[10]Cf. n. 9 above and Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land from its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the end of the Iron Age* (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1969), 304-306, photos 342-345, 349. Rectangular or house-shaped stands generate the other group (Amiran, photos 335, 346-347).

[11]Amiran, 302-304.

[12]May, pl. XX; Aharoni et al., pl. 26:2.

[13]A near parallel in shape of horns is provided by a limestone altar from Megiddo, Stratum IV? [May's question mark], no. 2984 (May, pl. XII:2984).

[14]Amiran, 302, photo 334.

[15]Amiran, 303, photo 336. The fenestration of these stands may place them among a class of "temple models" as suggested by William Dever, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 152-153.

[16]I owe this suggestion to Randall W. Younker.

of the vessels. The ware associated with such ornamentation dates from the end of the 6th century to the end of the 5th century B.C.[17] Our stand, bearing a possible imitation of this pattern, most likely belonged to this period, perhaps the first half of the 5th century, as is also implied by the associated pottery evidence.[18]

Function

We learn of the different uses of ceramic stands from three main sources. Wall reliefs and paintings from Egypt and Mesopotamia show their use. The artifacts themselves shed light on their function; their provenance and form, as well as the presence or absence of burning or discoloration, further suggest how they were employed. Textual sources add information on the topic.[19]

The stands were used for both sacred and profane ends. The stands held different kinds of offerings for the god, such as wine, oil, or food. They also served as incense burners in a variety of rites. They may have been used as libation funnels or cultic flower pots to hold sacred plants. In addition, ceramic stands appear to have been used for distinctly non-cultic functions. They held incense, which was burned for cosmetic purposes or to purify the air. They were alzo braziers for heating. At times, the stands simply supported bowls or lamps. Discarded stands could be reused in other capacities, as is seen in Hazor where a stand was reused as part of a temple's drainage channel.[20] Possibly the same ceramic stand could have served at different times, in both cultic and non-cultic functions.

All of these uses could have been acceptable for our stand, whether it functioned separately or with a pointed bowl.[21] Although our pieces were not found in a cultic context, analogies to other stands suggest at least a non-exclusive cultic role. The horn-like projections could serve not only as possible supports for a bowl, but might have religious meaning as well.

[17]Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.E.* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982), 134-136, figs. 224-226.

[18]Similar impressions appear on an amphora from Dreijat, dated to the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Period (Younker et al., pl. 7).

[19]Cf. Fowler, 183-186 and DeVries, 27-37.

[20]Yigael Yadin, *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of The Bible* (New York: Random House, 1975), 113-114.

[21]Traces of burning in the basin apparently came from the post-depositional fire.

Conclusion

The stand and 36 ceramic figurines, some of which may have actually been parts of similar stands,[22] unearthed at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri in Field A, might suggest that some sort of cultic activity, private or public, went on in the Late Iron II and Early Persian Period administrative complex. This by itself does not prove the existence of a distinct sacred place. However, potential cultic rituals may have been performed in ordinary rooms of this complex or even in a different place on the tell. Nonetheless, a future discovery of a proper shrine of any kind remains a possibility.

[22]Cf. the author's forthcoming report on the figurines in *Madaba Plains Project 3. The 1989 Season at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies*, eds. L. T. Geraty et al. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press).

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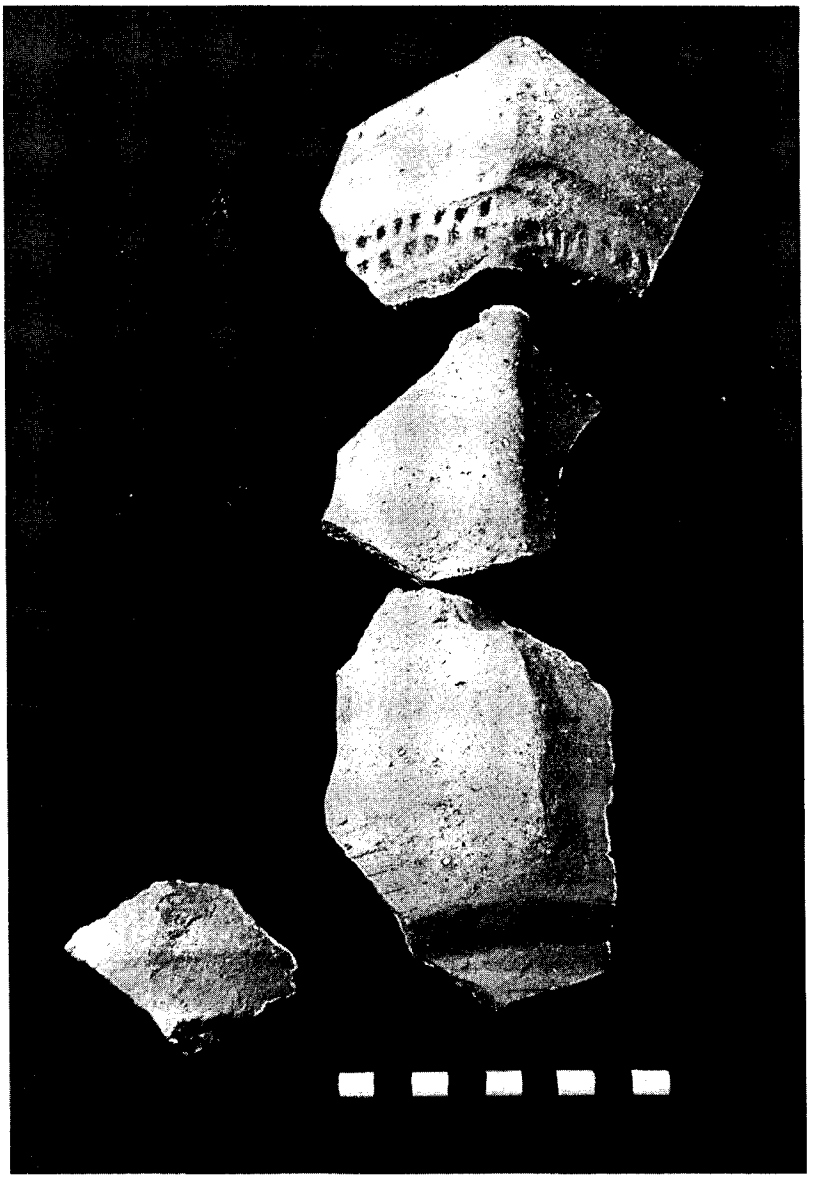

Plate 1. Four fragments of the stand. Photo by M. Ziese.

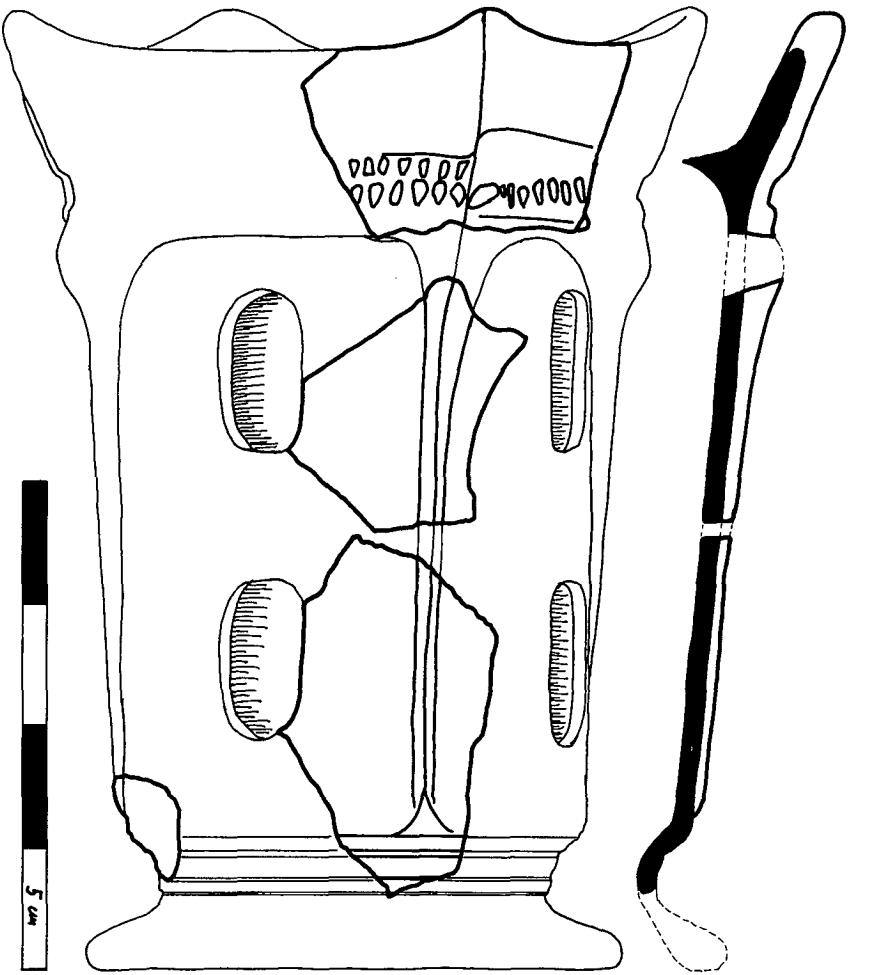

Plate 2. Reconstruction of the ceramic stand. Drawing by the author.

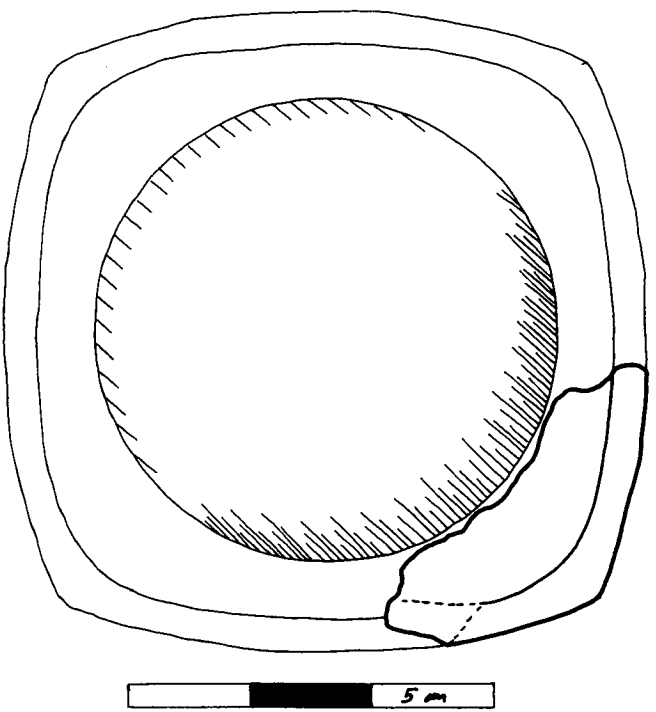

Plate 3. Top view of the stand as reconstructed. Drawing by the author.

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KARL BARTH'S *CHURCH DOGMATICS* ON THE ATONEMENT: SOME TRANSLATIONAL PROBLEMS

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An accurate translation of Barthian terminology has troubled many English-speaking students of Karl Barth over the years. The way Barth presents his thoughts can be seen as a central methodological problem.[1] Colin Brown points out that Barth's crowning work, his *Church Dogmatics*, is not always easy reading and that "Barth's liberal use of his own technical jargon and his way of putting things often sounds foreign in more ways than one."[2] Furthermore, Erasmus van Niekerk indicates that because of Barth's idiosyncratic usage of concepts and terminology "any attempt at a formal analogy between Barth's use of words and their more traditional uses should be tackled with the utmost care."[3]

Barth has been called "the most available example of a theology which revolves around the doctrine of reconciliation,"[4]

[1]Erasmus van Niekerk, "Methodological Aspects in Karl Barth's Church Dogmatics," *Theologica Evangelica* 20 (1987): 22.

[2]Colin Brown, *Karl Barth and the Christian Message* (Chicago: InterVarsity, 1967), 27. On this point, cf. also Walter Kreck, who speaks of an "ungeklärten und unkontrollierbaren Begrifflichkeit" ("Die Lehre von der Versöhnung," *TLZ* 85 [1960]: 81); and similarly Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt's statement, "So fehlen für eine irgendwie 'exakte' Barth-Philologie bis heute die primitivsten Voraussetzungen" (*Theologie und Sozialismus: Das Beispiel Karl Barths* [Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1972], 28-29). M. Jacob claims that the fact that "Barth die Aussagen anderer Theologen oftmals nur als so oder so willkommenes Vehikel seines *eigenen Denkens* gebraucht hat, ist ebenso bekannt wie bedauerlich. Es hat die theologische Kommunikation nicht gefördert, . . ." (" . . . noch einmal mit dem Anfang anfangen . . . : Antibarbarus zur Methodologie der Barth-Interpretation," *EvT* 32 n.s. [1972]: 607). Wilfried Härle refers to Barth's "Sorglosigkeit im Umgang mit Begriffen" (*Sein und Gnade: Die Ontologie in Karl Barths Kirchlicher Dogmatik* [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975], 186). Johannes Marie de Jong notes that Barth does not give "genügend Rechenschaft über die 'Begrifflichkeit,' die er benützt" ("Ist Barth überholt?" in *Theologie zwischen Gestern und Morgen: Interpretationen und Anfragen zum Werk Karl Barths*, ed. Wilhelm Dantine and Kurt Lüthi [Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1968], 43).

[3]Niekerk, 22.

and recently has even been placed in close affinity with Anselm's satisfaction view.[5] Several of Barth's statements about Christ's atonement seem indeed to support a substitutionary understanding of the atonement.[6] Arnold Come, however, has argued that "Barth's whole doctrine of reconciliation is clearly opposed to that of penal satisfaction, and to use the English terminology, accepted in the description of the latter, is to misrepresent Barth in a drastic manner."[7]

In dealing with Barth's treatment of the subject of atonement in his *Church Dogmatics*, one has to solve the difficulty of properly translating the German terms into adequate English. Come has contended that G. W. Bromiley, the translator of most of *Church Dogmatics*, has inserted the substitutionary theory into Barth's theology by translating *Versöhnung* as "atonement" instead of "reconciliation" (reunion of two alienated parties), and thereby has hopelessly confused most English readers.[8] Come argues further that if Barth had wanted to teach the doctrine of satisfaction he could have used words like *Sühnung* (expiation), *Genugtuung* (satisfaction), or *Bezahlung* (payment).[9]

Bromiley, on the other hand, maintains that the word *Versöhnung* has such a rich content in Barth's usage that it includes

[4]Otto Weber, *Foundations of Dogmatics*, trans. Darrell L. Guder (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1983), 2:177.

[5]So H. D. McDonald, *The Atonement of the Death of Christ: In Faith, Revelation, and History* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1985), 308.

[6]See, e.g., his statement that "God in Jesus Christ has taken our place" (*CD* IV/1:216). "The Son of God fulfilled the righteous judgment on us men by himself taking our place as man and in our place undergoing the judgment" (*CD* IV/1:222). Christ is "our Representative and Substitute" (*CD* IV/1:230 and cf. *KD* IV/1:253). Also see the in-depth discussion in Barth's lengthy section, "The Judge Judged in Our Place," in *CD* IV/1:231-283. Cf. also Hans Küng, *Justification: The Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection*, trans. Thomas Collins (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 35-40. (The references here and hereinafter to *CD* and *KD* are to the standard English and German editions, respectively, of *Church Dogmatics*: i.e., Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, trans. G. W. Bromiley et al., 14 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1957-69); and Karl Barth, *Die kirchliche Dogmatik*, 14 vols. (Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1952-67). A common style for citation of these publications is followed herein.)

[7]Arnold B. Come, *An Introduction to Barth's* Dogmatics *for Preachers* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 201.

[8]Ibid., 200-201.

[9]Ibid. It may be noted that Robert D. Preus in a significant discussion of Barth's doctrine of reconciliation has apparently been misled in his analysis through use of the misleading English translation ("The Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation in the Theology of Karl Barth," *CTM* 31 [1960]: 240).

both "atonement" and "reconciliation."[10] R. D. Crawford points out, however, that the problem of the meaning of Barth's terminology cannot be solved by questions of translation alone; rather, "the deciding factor will be the context in which these words are used, and Barth's teaching in general."[11]

In this short article I cannot, of course, attempt an exhaustive survey of the entire scope of Karl Barth's doctrine of reconciliation in his Church Dogmatics. Rather, my focus is on several pertinent statements which have a direct bearing on the issues presently under investigation: namely, (a) the meaning of the term "satisfaction" to Barth as indicated in the German original, and (b) this meaning as contrasted (in some cases) with inadequate or inaccurate English translations that obscure Barth's true intent in his treatment of satisfaction.

At the outset, we may observe that for Barth the doctrine of reconciliation stresses the point that God is with man in the fulfillment of the covenant of grace. It has been claimed that Barth makes room for the classical as well as the Latin theory of the atonement, although he interprets these theories in a new way.[12] A sampling of Barth's own remarks reveals that his treatment of these concepts of the atonement does indeed depart from tradition.

For Barth, God has become man in Jesus Christ and thus has made man's situation his own.[13] He declares that "God in Jesus Christ has taken our place,"[14] in that Christ is not only our Brother and Helper but also our Savior and Judge.[15] In suffering the punishment humankind deserves, Jesus Christ frees everyone from the divine judgment,[16] and Christ is thus the substitutionary "reprobate" upon whom the severity of God's judgment

[10]G. W. Bromiley in *CD* IV/1:vii.

[11]See R. D. Crawford, "The Atonement in Karl Barth," *Theology* 74 (1971): 355-358, for a helpful discussion on the problem of translation on this topic.

[12]So Donald G. Bloesch, "Soteriology in Contemporary Christian Thought," *Int* 35 (1981): 133; cf. also Crawford, 357; *CD* IV/1:252-253.

[13]Barth has called this *Deus pro nobis* (*CD* IV/1:214-215).

[14]*CD* IV/1:216.

[15]This is discussed by Barth at length in the section entitled "The Judge Judged in Our Place," in *CD* IV/1:211-283. Cf. also the discussion in Küng, 35-40.

[16]*CD* IV/1:222.

has fallen. Indeed, Barth calls Christ "our Representative and Substitute."[17]

But, as is often the case with Barth, after he so strongly emphasizes an aspect as to give the impression of wholehearted acceptance, he then proceeds to make some qualifications.[18] At this juncture I shall present some specific examples. Where the English translation is deficient, I provide first the usual English translation and then the German original.

Although Barth insists (against Albrecht Ritschl and his followers) that God shows anger against sin and that God's wrath is something very real and must be reckoned with, Barth denies that this wrath of God is turned away by the reconciliation of Christ.[19] Even though Jesus Christ is our Substitute who stands in our place and bears the full penalty of our sin, Barth is hesitant to call this a real punishment. In discussing the meaning of the death of Christ, Barth refers to Isa 53, from where, in his view, the concept of punishment has entered Christian theology. According to Barth, this concept does not occur in the NT with this kind of meaning. Nevertheless, he also feels that the concept need not be completely rejected or dismissed on this account. He states:

> But we must not make this [the concept of punishment] a main concept as in some of the older presentations of the doctrine of the atonement (especially those which follow Anselm of Canterbury), either in the sense that by His [Christ's] suffering our punishment we are spared from suffering it ourselves, or that in so doing He "satisfied" or offered satisfaction to the wrath of God. The latter thought is quite foreign to the New Testament.[20]
>
> Es geht aber nicht an, diesen Begriff [der Strafe], wie es in den älteren Fassungen der Versöhnungslehre (insbesondere in der Nachfolge Anselms von Canterbury) geschehen ist, geradezu zum Hauptbegriff zu erheben: weder in dem Sinn, dass Jesus Christus es uns durch das Erleiden unserer Strafe erspart habe, sie selber erleiden zu müssen, noch gar in dem Sinn, dass er dadurch dem Zorne Gottes "genug getan," Satisfaktion geleistet habe. Der letzere Gedanke zumal ist dem Neuen Testament ganz fremd.[21]

Unfortunately, not only has *Versöhnungslehre* been mistranslated as "doctrine of the atonement," but the last sentence has

[17]*CD* IV/1:230. The German reads: "sein *stellvertretendes* Handeln für uns" *KD* IV/1:253).

[18]See Crawford, 357.

[19]For further reference see the discussion in Frank M. Hasel, "The Concept of the Divine Wrath in the *Church Dogmatics* of Karl Barth" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1989).

[20]*CD* IV/1:253.

[21]*KD* IV/1:279.

not been translated into English with its full significance or force. For Barth the concept of satisfaction is "quite foreign," meaning "*totally* foreign" to the New Testament! In addition, in the English, "satisfaction" is the rendition of *genug getan*, which really means "to have done enough." This latter phrase (or one corresponding to it) expresses Barth's meaning more correctly. In English that meaning has been obscured by the word "satisfied."

In a further statement, Barth declares:

> He who gives Himself up to this is the same eternal God who wills and demands it. . . . Both the demanding and the giving are a single related decision in God Himself. For that reason real satisfaction has been done, i.e., that which suffices has been done, . . .[22]
>
> Weil der, der sich dazu *hergibt*, derselbe ewige Gott ist, der eben das *will* und *fordert*, . . . weil Beides, diese Fordern und dieses Hergeben, eine einzige zusammenhängende Entscheidung in Gott selber ist, darum wird hier wirklich genug, d.h. das Genügende getan, . . .[23]

From this it seems as if Barth does not view the death of Christ in terms of the traditional doctrine of satisfaction. Indeed, for him "satisfaction" is but a "doubtful concept."[24] Nor does he see the death of Christ as necessary because of any desire for vengeance or retribution on the side of God. For Barth, satisfaction means rather that

> . . . that which suffices for the reconciliation of the world with God has been made (*satis fecit*) and can be grasped only as something which has in fact happened, and not as something which had to happen by reason of some upper half of the event; not, then, in any theory of satisfaction, but only as we see and grasp the *satis-facere* which has, in fact, been achieved.[25]
>
> . . . das zur Versöhnung der Welt mit Gott Genügende schlechterdings *geschehen* ist—satis fecit—und nur als geschehen, und also gerade aus keinem oberhalb dieses Geschehens als *notwendig* geschehen, begriffen werden kann. In keiner Satisfaktions*theorie* also, sondern nur in der Anschauung und im Begreifen seines faktisch-praktisch vollbrachten *satis facere*![26]

In the same vein, Barth also writes of the "doubtful concept" of "satisfaction" as "that which is sufficient to take away sin, to restore order between Himself as the Creator and His creation, to bring in the new man reconciled and therefore at peace with Him, to redeem man from death."[27]

[22]*CD* IV/1:281.

[23]*KD* IV/1:309.

[24]*CD* IV/1:254.

[25]*CD* IV/1:276.

[26]*KD* IV/1:304.

[27]*CD* IV/1:254-255. Here the English reflects the German quite well

Satisfaction for Barth, then, does not have "some upper half of the event"; it is not something necessary for God. The death of Christ, furthermore, did not alter anything in the relationship of God to human beings, but only in the relationship of the latter to God. According to Barth, God does not need to be reconciled; inasmuch as God is already favorable toward human beings from the beginning and has irrevocably decided to save them, nothing in God needs to be changed. Only human awareness of this fact needs to be awakened.[28]

Thus, from the perspective of Barth's whole thought on the subject, Christ's substitutionary death cannot be retained in the traditional sense, for in his view God's wrath never precedes man's confrontation with the gospel, and Christ's death has not been made necessary by historical sin. This means that Barth has rejected the orthodox *Grundordnung* between God and man.[29] For Barth "substitution" has already taken place in the man Jesus Christ before the creation of humanity. As Paul Jersild aptly points out, the words Barth uses to describe this exchange, and even his reference to the substitution of Christ in our place, "are an attempt to retain the ultimacy of the substitutionary atonement as it is found in traditional theology within a system which will not allow it."[30]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find Barth denying that the concept of punishment occurs in the context of the atonement in the NT.[31] Yet at the same time he admits that this concept cannot be completely rejected or evaded and proceeds to mention Jesus Christ as suffering a punishment for humanity. This "punishment," however, is not to be understood as if Jesus Christ suffered the punishment of humanity and thereby somehow "satisfied" the wrath of God. At best, God has bestowed some form of

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(Cf. *KD* IV/1:280). Cf. also Barth's words in *CD* II/1: 217-218: "For in the Bible sacrifice does not mean that the Godhead is enlisted and reconciled and placated by an action equivalent to His own goodness and to that extent satisfying." It should be observed that in these statements Barth's reference to cultic language needs to be understood.

[28]*CD* IV/1:282. On this point cf. also Regin Prenter, "Karl Barths Umbildung der traditionellen Zweinaturenlehre in lutherischer Beleuchtung," *ST* 11 (1958): 1-88.

[29]For a fuller discussion on this point, see Hasel, 106-111.

[30]Paul Jersild, "The Holiness, Righteousness and Wrath of God in the Theologies of Albrecht Ritschl and Karl Barth" (Th.D. dissertation, Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, Fakultät der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, Münster, 1962), 191.

[31]Cf. *CD* IV/1:253.

"punishment" in an idealistic (real) sense upon the God-man Jesus Christ, who took humanity's place from eternity.[32]

In summary, we may state that a careful analysis of the German original of Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics* makes questionable the viewpoint that Barth stands in close affinity with the satisfaction theory of atonement. Instead, even though he uses terminology which admits that Christ somehow suffered our punishment, Barth seems to have moved from the so-called penal theory of the atonement to what has sometimes been called the "classic theory." This latter theory views the atonement as a divine conflict and victory in which Christ triumphed over the powers of darkness.[33] This facet of Barth's view of the atonement is made more clear in the German original than in the standard English translation of Barth's monumental *Die Kirchliche Dogmatik*—a fact that should be kept in mind when one reads the English version.

[32]Cf. Hasel, 110, n. 3; cf. also 94-98.

[33]So Gustav Aulen, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement*, trans. A. G. Hebert (New York, 1958), 4-7; cf. also Donald G. Bloesch, *Jesus Is Victor! Karl Barth's Doctrine of Salvation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976); Crawford, 357-358.

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MIŠKĀN AND *ʾŌHEL MÔʿĒḎ*: ETYMOLOGY, LEXICAL DEFINITIONS, AND EXTRA-BIBLICAL USAGE[1]

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Miškān and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* are names for the cultic dwelling place of YHWH described in Exod 25-40. This, the first of three studies on miškān and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ*, will consider the etymologies of the terms, their lexical definitions, and parallel terms found in non-Semitic languages. Particular attention will be given to their usage in Ugaritic and their translation or interpretation in the LXX. The intention of this paper is to form some notion of the basic meaning of these terms/phrases as a foundation for a second study which focuses on their usages as witnessed within the text of Exod 25-40. A third study will present the literary structure of Exod 25-40, which these terms help to form.

1. The Etymology and Lexical Definition of Miškān.

Miškān is a nominal form of *škn*, a verb which has the meaning of "self-submission" (once), "settle," "rest," "stop," "live in," "inhabit," "sojourn," "dwell" (in its *qal* form); "let/make to live/dwell" (in the *piel*); "settle," "let/make to live/dwell" (in the *hiphil*.[2] Its Assyrian cognate is *šakānu* ("set," "lay," "deposit") which yields the nominal form *maškanu* ("place," "dwelling place").[3]

[1]The author wishes to express appreciation to J. Bjørnar Storfjell, Richard M. Davidson, David Merling, and Randall W. Younker, members of the faculty of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, for their patience in overseeing the preparation of this and related studies.

[2]W. L. Holladay, ed., A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, 1971), 369-370; F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, eds., *The New Brown, Driver and Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (BDB) (Grand Rapids, 1981), 1014-1016; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, eds., *Lexicon in Veteris Testimenti Libros* (KB) (Leiden, 1958), 2:575; J. O. Lewis, "The Ark and the Tent," *RevExp* 74 (1977): 545; E. Klien, *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English* (New York, 1987), 391.

[3]BDB, 1014. See also A. L. Oppenheim and E. Reiner, eds., The Assyrian

The Hebrew noun *miškān* is generally understood to mean dwelling place," the identity of which is determined by the context in which the term is found.[4] In addition, Holladay indicates its use for "home," "tomb," and "(central) sanctuary."[5] J. O. Lewis suggests that *škn* is "rooted in the nomadic past of Israel and literally means 'to pitch a tent.'"[6] He distinguishes *škn* from *yšb*, noting that the latter is the normal term used for "dwelling in houses," from a basic meaning "to sit down."[7] That is, *škn* refers to a nonsedentary dwelling place (Lewis suggests a tent) while *yšb* refers to a sedentary dwelling place (e.g., a house). Thus, one may arrive at the preliminary conclusion that the verb *škn* refers generally to some form of nonsedentary dwelling, perhaps "camping" in modern parlance, and that the noun *miškān* therefore refers to the place of that activity: a nonsedentary "dwelling-place," a "camp," or perhaps a "camp site." The emphasis of *miškān* is therefore on the nature of the camp—its nonsedentary nature.

Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, volume 10, part I (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1977), 369-373, where the following basic definitions for *maškanu* are given: "1. threshing floor, empty lot, 2. small agricultural settlement, 3. emplacement, (normal) location, site (of a building), base (of a statue), stand (for a pot), residence, position, 4. tent, canopy; 5. fetter (for a slave), 6. pledge given as security, and 7. sanctuary (?)." Definition #4 indicates a broader meaning than simply "tent" or "canopy" (372). An appropriate interpretation may be "camp," as suggested by at least two of the seven examples given.

[4]BDB, 1015; J. J. Davis, *Moses and the Gods of Egypt: Studies in Exodus*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 254.

[5]Holladay lists these primary texts: Num 16:24; Isa 22:16; Lev 15:31; and notes the meaning as "(central) sanctuary (74 of 130 times), tabernacle Exod 25:9" (219).

[6]Lewis, 545.

[7]Ibid. Cf. Holladay, 146. F. M. Cross points out that the usual "priestly" word for people "dwelling" was *yšb*, and was never used of YHWH except when referring to His "throne" or "to enthrone" (F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Tabernacle," *BA* 110 [1947]: 67). M. Haran ("The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult and the Cultic Institutions," *Bib* 50 [1969]: 259) concurs with a differentiated use of *škn* and *yšb* in the deuteronomic writings where *škn* speaks of "God's presence in a chosen place," but *yšb* refers to "his staying in heaven." For various uses of these two roots, see M. H. Woudstra, *The Ark of the Covenant from Conquest to Kingship* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co., 1965), 69-70.

Especially important is the fact that no particular object is inherently associated (etymologically) with the term, which may apply either to a living being or an inanimate object. The breadth of the meaning of *miškān* must be taken into account in determining its use in context. To understand the meaning of *miškān*, one must ask: "Dwelling place *of what* or *of whom*? The answer must be found in the context. In practice, the answer is subject to interpretation flavored by theological and hermeneutical presuppositions.

As a case in point, considerable discussion has been generated concerning how *miškān* relates to the dwelling place of YHWH as described in the biblical text. R. Friedman defines *miškān* as the "inner fabric" over which is the "outer fabric" (*ʾōhel*), both comprising a "single structure."[8] F. M. Cross defines škn "to encamp" or "to tent"; therefore, he suggests that miškān originally meant "tent" and later came to mean "the" tent par excellence.[9] On the basis of Ras Shamra evidence, G. E. Wright defines *miškān* as "tent-dwelling."[10] G. H. Davies takes a broader view, defining *miškān* as "tabernacle, dwelling, dwelling-place, habitation, abode, encampment"; however, he allows that the term may refer to the "shrine as a whole" (Exod 25:9) or "virtually the holy of holies" (Exod 26:1).[11] Here then is provided the prevalent scope of definition: as specific as the "inner fabric" within the tent, yet as broad as "abode" or "encampment."

To add confusion, *miškān* is often translated "tabernacle," which in turn, is derived from the Latin Vulgate's *tabernaculum*, meaning

[8]R. E. Friedman argues that the Mosaic construction was just the right size to fit into the Most Holy Place of the Solomonic Temple ("The Tabernacle in the Temple," BA 43 [1980]: 243, 245). Friedman's "outer tent" (*miškān*)/"inner tent" (*ʾōhel môʿēḏ*) idea is clearly at odds with their relationship described in Exod 26:7 (see below, in the main text).

[9]Cross, 65-66.

[10]G. E. Wright, "The Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East, Part III: The Temple in Palestine-Syria," BA 17 (1944): 72.

[11]G. H. Davies, "Tabernacle," in IDB, 1962 ed., 4:498. The breadth of this definition is not justified in Exod 25-40. Certainly Exod 26:1 is not only the "holy of holies," as Davies suggests. The larger context of which Exod 26:1 is a part (Exod 26:1-37; especially v. 33) includes both *haqqōdeš* ("the holy") and *qōdeš haqqᵉdašîm* ("the holy of holies"). In Exod 26:1, *miškān* refers to the two-compartment unit.

"tent."[12] Since there is a completely different Hebrew word for "tent" (*ʾōhel*), this use of *tabernaculum* is problematic. Inappropriate translation conveys a notion of synonymity, not evident in the Hebrew, but adopted in modern theology. If the two terms are identical, the meaning of phrases like Exod 26:7, "tent over the tabernacle" (NIV), might remain obscure. However, as the Hebrew for that verse is *ʾōhel ʿal hammiškān*, "to/for [the] tent on/over the dwelling place," the distinction is apparent. While it is certainly true that the furniture within the miškān suggests a habitation or a dwelling, the term itself is not synonymous with "tent."[13]

The trend of scholarly definition of *miškān* is correct; however, as a broad term, it has often recieved too narrow a definition. *Miškān* almost always is automatically taken to mean "The dwelling of God" or even redefined as "sanctuary," "tabernacle," or "temple," without regard for the actual terminology. It would be safer to state that *miškān* connotes a special type of habitation; the term indicates the presence of the dweller while emphasizing the temporary nature of the dwelling place. In anthropological terms, this is a matter of sedentary or nonsedentary habitation.

If the dwelling place itself is nonsedentary, the dweller may be seen as nonsedentary as well.[14] This choice of nonsedentary terminology may reflect the inculturalization of YHWH's commands in Exod 25-40, since the people to whom YHWH uttered the command to build the *miškān* were, as the biblical record shows, nonsedentary. A command to build a permanent, sedentary dwelling (such as the later Solomonic *hêkāl*, "temple" or "palace") might well

[12]See modern English translations: JB, KJV, NEB, NIV; see also Davies 4:498-506.

[13]For a description of the furniture in terms of a habitation, see F. B. Holbrook, "The Israelite Sanctuary," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, eds. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Lesher (Washington DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981), 23; Cf. V. Hurowitz, "The Priestly Account of Building the Tabernacle," *JAOS* 105 (1985): 28; cf. also Haran, 255.

[14]Holbrook, 23. That the earthly dwelling is "movable" does not mean the spiritual counterpart is also movable, much less does it describe the heavenly Dweller. To draw extended theological conclusions from the choice of terminology about the nature of the spiritual analogue may unfairly overlook the inculturalization of YHWH's commands in Exod 25-40. This choice of terminology may indicate less about YHWH's heavenly mobility than about His mode of communication with finite humans.

have been incomprehensible or even reprehensible, given the circumstances of the earlier period. The writer called the dwelling place by a term which was immediately understandable within his cultural framework. *Miškān*, it seems, calls to mind a nonsedentary type of dwelling place: the "camp," not particularly a structure itself, but a place where an object or a being abides.

2. *The Etymology and Lexical Definition of ʾŌhel Môʿēḏ*

The genitival construct *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* is often translated "tent of meeting" in modern versions.[15] The Hebrew word *ʾōhel* means "tent."[16] Variations of the word are found in Aramaic (*ʾāhalāʾ*), Phoenician (*ʾhl*), Ugaritic (*ʾhl*), and Egyptian [*ʾ(a)har(u)*].[17] The Assyrian cognate is *ālu*.[18] The Vulgate translates both *ʾōhel* and *miškān* as *tabernaculum* (occasionally, *tentorium*), obscuring the discrete meaning of the Hebrew terms.[19] The term *môʿēḏ* is a nominal form of the verb *yʿḏ*: "designate," "appear," "come," "gather," "summon," "reveal oneself." Its basic meaning is "appointed time/place/sign," "meeting place," "place of assembly," or "to meet by appointment."[20] The word occurs in Ugaritic (*môʿidu*) and Egyptian (*mwʿd*).[21]

[15]NIV, RSV, KJV = "tent of the congregation".

[16]Holladay, 5-6. Cf. KB, 17; Klien, 9; BDB, 13-14; J. P. Lewis, "*ʾŌhel*," *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, 1980 ed., 1:15; Davis, 254.

[17]Klien disallows a connection between the Hebrew *ʾhl* and the Arabic *ʾhl* (p. 9). See Cross, 59-60; K. Koch, "*ʾhl*," *TDOT*, 1:123; Davies, 4:499.

[18]BDB, 13. Oppenheim and Reiner indicate that *ālu* had four basic meanings: "1. city; 2. city as a social organization; 3. village, manor, estate; 4. fort, military strong point" (*Assyrian Dictionary*, volume 1, part I, 379). In each case, *ālu* refers in some respect to either a sedentary dwelling or sedentary dweller (ibid., 379-390). This may indicate a sedentarized origin for the nonsedentary Hebrew *ʾōhel*.

[19]Davies, 4:498.

[20]Ibid; Holladay, 137-138, 186; Klien, 327; E. T. Mullen, Jr., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature*, Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 24 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 174-175; BDB, 417; and Lewis, 1:15.

[21]Mullen, 117, 129; J. A. Wilson, "The Assembly of a Phoenician City," *JNES* 4 (1945): 245.

Combining the two words, the phrase *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* carries the notion "tent of the place of meeting/assembly/appointment," or perhaps more interpretively: "tent where YHWH reveals Himself." Brichto calls this the "Tent of Encounter" or "rendezvous."[22] This tent was the place of appointed gathering, known more by the event associated with it (meeting, gathering, or assembly) than by its physical character (hides over a wooden frame). In the YHWHistic cult, it was perceived to be the location of the ultimate cult event. With *ʾōhel môʿēḏ*, the focus is on the event: "meeting/assembly/appointment/revelation." This is quite distinct from *miškān*, which focuses on the place rather than the event.

3. *Parallel Terms in Ugaritic Sources*

The Ugaritic language provides a lexical cross-reference for Semitic-language documents written in the Middle Bronze III (IIC)/Late Bronze I time frame.[23] Useful for this study are cognates for *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* which appear in the Ugaritic corpus, especially instances in which the terms are found in close literary formation.

[22]H. C. Brichto, "The Worship of the Golden Calf: A Literary Analysis of a Fable on Idolatry," *HUCA* 54 (1983): 23.

[23]For a brief account of the discovery of the Ugaritic materials, see P. C. Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 7-25; and A. Curtis, *Cities of the Biblical World: Ugarit Ras Shamra* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1985), 18-33. See H. O. Thompson, *Biblical Archaeology* (New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1987), xxv. Stratum I.3 at Ras Shamra (ca. 1365-1185 B.C.E.) is the latest occupation of Ugaritic civilization on a site continually occupied since Neolithic Stratum V.C, ca. 6500 B.C.E. (Curtis, 41). The ʾAqhat and Keret epics, in which our words are found, are dated "between the seventeenth and fifteenth centuries B.C." (Mullen, 2). See also J. Gray, *The KRT Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra: A Social Myth of Ancient Canaan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955): 2.

The Egyptian equivalent for *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* (*mwʿd*) is also found in the Tale of Wen-Amon (ca. 1100 B.C.E.), referring to a city "assembly," and in a document from Byblos (7th cent. B.C.E.); see Mullen, 129, n. 31; and Wilson, 245. For more on these two documents, see Cross, 65; R. J. Clifford, "The Tent of El and The Israelite Tent of Meeting," *CBQ* 33 (1971): 225; and H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 123.

The verb form *škn* occurs sixteen times in Ugaritic literature; its noun form (*mškn*t) appears twice.[24] The paucity of occurrences of *mškn*t makes definition problematic. Both occurrences of the noun are plural and both seem to refer to the multitudinous gods' private "dwelling places," not a meeting chamber or council place.[25] The Ugaritic equivalent of *môʿēḏ* is limited to a single occurrence of the phrase *puhru môʿidu* meaning "the gathered assembly."[26] An equivalent to the Hebrew phrase *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* does not appear in Ugaritic texts.

The equivalent term for *ʾôhel* (Ugaritic, *ʾhl*) does occur and is especially important for this study in that the term occurs in association with *mškn*t in each of its two occurrences.[27] Two lines of the Keret epic read:

ti'tayu ʾiluma la-ʾahalihum,
daru ʾili la-miškānatihum.[28]

Mullen provides the following translation, noting the association of *la-ʾahalihum* and *la-miškanatihum*:

The gods proceed to their tents
The assembly of ʾEl to their dwellings.[29]

[24]For a list of occurrences of *škn*, see R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 594. For the occurences of *mškn*t see p. 436.

[25]This study follows the numbering system of A. Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques Descouvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939 (CTA)*, Mission de Ras Shamra, 10, 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963), quoted in Curtis, 80, 82. The specific references are to *CTA* 17.V.33 and *CTA* 15.III.19; cf. Whitaker, 436. See also S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language: With Selected Texts and Glossary* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 193; also C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955), 327.

[26]Mullen, 117, 129 (*CTA* 2.I.14, 15, 16-17. 20, 31). Also Clifford, 224-225. See I. Al-Yasin, *The Lexical Relation Between Ugarit and Arabic*, Shelton Semitic Series, no. 1 (New York: Shelton College, 1952), 75. For a note on *ʾhl*, see ibid., 37.

[27]Whitaker, 436, reads: *tity. ilm.l ahl hm. / dr il.l mškn*t *hm* . . . . The word *ʾhl* [cf. *ahl*] occurs in *CTA* 17.V.32; *CTA* 15.III.18; *CTA* 19.IV.214; *CTA* 19.IV.222; *CTA* 19.IV.212; ibid., 9. *Mškn*t occurs in *CTA* 17.V.32 and *CTA* 15.III.19; ibid., 436.

[28]*CTA* 15.III.18-19.

[29]Ibid. Mullen states that there is "here the parallelism of *ʾahalihum* and *miškanatum*, thus equating the tent with the tabernacle structure (note 42). The same

Here *ʾahalihum* ("their tents") is poetically associated with *miškanatihum* ("their dwelling places"). However, there is no equivalent Ugaritic phrase for *ʾōhel môʿēḏ*. The lack of an exact parallel demands an interpretive step by the reader. The terms are associated in the Ugaritic, but perhaps not in the same way as they are in the Hebrew. One would expect identical phrases if the Ugaritic and the Hebrew were synonymous or identical. In fact, the narrative speaks of a plural number of gods going to their plural tents. This is quite unlike the context of Exod 25-40 (and of the whole MT which allows no plurality of true gods). In line 19, the "assembly" is going to a plural number of "dwellings." The tents are not "tents of assembly," or of "meeting," or of "appointment," or of "revelation." They are simply personal tents, private tents, not a community tent.

The word *mšknt* also appears in the Ugaritic Aqhat epic:

h.tbʿ.ktr. l ahl,
h.hyn.tbʿ.l mšknt[30]

H. Ginsberg provides the following translation:

Kothar departs for/from his tent,
Hayyin departs for/from his tabernacle.[31]

Although "tabernacle" is a poor translation for *mšknt* (better would be "dwelling" or "dwelling place"), the terms *ʾhl* and *mšknt* clearly associate linguistically, in poetic parallelism. This parallelism, however, does not necessarily imply synonymity. The absence of the equivalent for the Hebrew *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* limits this passage's possibility of clarifying the Hebrew text. Thus, an in-depth analysis of this Ugaritic text is unnecessary for the current study.

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parallelism is common in Hebrew literature (cf. Num 24:5; Isa 54:2; Jer 30:18; etc, where *ʾōhel* and *miškān* are in parallel)." Mullen accepts that the *miškān* "may be equated with" the *ʾōhel*, a conclusion accepted without critical evaluation (pp. 168-175, passim) and therefore misunderstands the term as used in the Hebrew text. Poetic parallelism should not be confused with synonymity, either in the Hebrew text or in the Ugaritic material, especially since there is a difference in actual terminology (*ʾōhel môʿēḏ* compared with the Ugaritic *ʾhl*) and a perceived contextual connotative nuance.

[30]*CTA* 17.V.31-33; Whitaker, 436.

[31]H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends," in *ANET*, 151. See his n. 19 for the "for/from" alternative reading.

Summarizing: the Ugaritic literature witnesses two instances of mšknt, both times in close connection with *ẖl*. While clearly in poetic association, the words need not be synonymous. So, little additional definition from Ugaritic sources is added to the definition of *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* already obtained from Hebrew (by way of lexica and word studies). No occurrence of "tent of assembly" (*ẖl mʿd*) is witnessed in Ugaritic materials currently available. In short, the Ugaritic evidence shows a similarity in basic meaning between the two terms (that is, both are places to inhabit), but does not offer additional insight in regard to the nuance of their definitions.

The Ugaritic language makes no clear distinction in meaning between the words *mšknt* and *ẖl*, whereas the Hebrew clearly does. The reason for this may be related to cultural factors. The texts quoted above are normally dated in the Middle Bronze III (IIC)/Late Bronze I, between the 17th and 15th centuries B.C., when Ugarit was already an urban center. The chapters in Exodus, according to traditional views on the authorship of the book and the internal chronology of the book, deal with the late 15th century. Israel was at the time a pastoral and nonsedentary people who became sedentarized much later. Given these divergent cultural conditions, it is possible that *mšknt* and *ẖl* did not convey the nonsedentary/sedentary differentiation simply because of cultural constraints.[32] Furthermore, it is possible that the *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* phraseology typical of contemporary Late Bronze Semitic cultures may have been redefined when adopted into the terminology of the YHWHistic religion. Terms commonly used by surrounding peoples, who had a pantheon of gods, were inadequate—without redefinition—to convey the appropriate theological meaning within the YHWH cult.

4. Parallel Terms in the Septuagint

This work is concerned primarily with the contextual use of *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* in Exod 25-40 of the Hebrew. The way these

[32]The reality of a period of Israelite nonsedentary pastoralism is currently the subject of discussion within the archaeological community. The issues are multiple and complex, but some scholars contend for some sort of nonsedentary pastoralism (see I. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1988).

words are translated in the LXX is surveyed in a search for further information. *Miškān* is translated exclusively by *skēnē*, while the common translation for *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* is *skēnē tou martyriou*.[33] Hence, both *miškān* and *ʾōhel* (in the phrase *ʾōhel môʿeḏ*) are translated by the same word *skēnē*. W. Bauer defines *skēnē* as "tent" or "booth."[34] J. Thayer agrees with this definition—"tent" or "tabernacle"—and adds that *skn* is used "chiefly for *ʾōhel* [in the LXX and] often also for *miškān*."[35] Bauer notes the use of *skēnē* for both *miškān* and *ʾōhel* in his definition of *hē skēnē tou martyriou*, "the tabernacle or Tent of Meeting."[36]

Like the English and Latin translations, the LXX shows little differentiation in its choice of terms for *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ*.[37] As a significant OT textual tradition, the LXX witnesses to an understanding of the Pentateuch which postdates its writings by many centuries. That both *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* are translated most often by *skēnē* may be attributed to several causes, one of which is a diluted perception of their connotational nuance. That is, by the time of the LXX, the two terms had come to mean virtually the same things; Israel had by then long been sedentarized.

5. *Summary and Conclusions*

The noun *miškān* (derived from the verb *škn*) means "dwelling place." It concerns a "place" or "site" (similar to the modern word "camp"), and carries connotations of transience. It should not be

[33]A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1949).

[34]W. Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, 2d ed. rev. and aug. by F. W. Gingrich and F. W. Danker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 754.

[35]J. H. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: American Book Company, 1886), 577.

[36]Bauer, 754.

[37]The argument could be made that *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* are synonymous, and therefore the single Greek term is adequate for both. The analysis of the use of these terms in Exod 25-40 clearly shows the terms to be similar but not synonymous (see note 2, above). For a more comprehensive view of the occurrences of *skēnē* in Exod 25-40, see G. Morrish, ed., *A Concordance of the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), 222-223.

limited to a specific form of "dwelling" (particularly not the English "tent" or Latin *tabernaculum*), as this leads to confusion with *ʾōhel*. The phrase *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* is a genitival construct meaning "tent of assembly" or "encounter." It was the name of the structure in which the Divine and human met, emphasizing the event rather than the structure.

Parallel terms found in the Ugaritic literature provide no additional information beyond that already known from the Hebrew. In fact, the Ugaritic literature offers only limited insight because the word *ʾhl* does not appear in genitival construction with *môʿēḏ* or its equivalent. Furthermore, the differentiation between the nonsedentary and sedentary meanings of the words in Hebrew appears to have been lost.[38] As was noted, the reason for this could well have been that Ugarit, unlike Israel, was sedentary and urban.

The LXX, by translating both *miškān* and *ʾōhel* by *skēnē*, obscures the meaning of the Hebrew terms. It would seem that by the time the LXX was translated, the words were understood as synonyms. Again, the cultural setting of a sedentary and urban people would have assisted in eroding the differences. The Vulgate, likewise, fails to distinguish between the two.

Two future articles on *miškān* and *ʾōhel môʿēḏ* will complete the study of the meaning of the words. The first will deal with the usage of the terms in Exod 25-40. The second will present an overview of the literary structure of those chapters. This introductory study has shown scholarly insensitivity to the connotational nuance of the words. The next two studies will reveal the pitfalls resulting from this insensitivity.

[38]This suggestion, made to the author by David Merling, finds support in Mullen (170), who recognizes "that the deities were pictured as tent dwellers, even by the highly urbanized culture of Ugarit." Mullen wonders at this anachronism, yet misses the significance of this for interpreting the Hebrew text (see Whitaker, 436). The vital point is that a nonsedentary (tent-dwelling) culture is being described by a sedentary (urbanized) writer, thus potentially giving rise to the blurred terminological nuance posited above.

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THE TELL EL-ᶜUMEIRI INSCRIPTION

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During the course of the Tell Hesban survey, Robert Ibach discovered "fragmentary inscriptions" on the south-southwest base of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri.[1] An on-site examination of this discovery has led me to conclude that these fragments form one inscription composed of several words.[2] This article contains a first attempt at deciphering the Tell el-ᶜUmeiri inscription.

The southern slope of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri is composed of two shelves.[3] Around most of the tell the base rises steeply from the surrounding wadi. The lower shelf, where the inscription is located, is such that as one walks around the base of the tell the inscription is near eye level.

The two stones that make up the "panels" of the Tell el-ᶜUmeiri inscription lie side by side and are located in proximity to a tomb.[4] As can be seen from **Plate 1**, both stones are natural

[1]Robert D. Ibach, Jr., *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods*, ed. Øystein Sakala LaBianca, Hesban 5 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987), 31.

[2]Appreciation is given to Robert Ibach for providing a map and written directions to locate the inscription, which is not easily discovered. Appreciation is also given to Lawrence T. Geraty, director of the Madaba Plains Project, and to the other project directors, for permission to publish this inscription.

[3]For a description of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and the 1984 excavation season, see Lawrence T. Geraty and others, "Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1984 Season at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity," *BASOR Supplement*, no. 24 (1986): 117-144; and Lawrence T. Geraty and others, *Madaba Plains Project: The 1984 Season at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989).

[4]The tomb has been robbed, possibly some time after the 1987 winter rains and before June 1987 when I made my visit. The evidence for this conclusion was the lack of erosion visible on the dirt the robbers had left at the tomb entrance.

outcroppings which have been adapted for inscriptional use. The somewhat irregular panel created for the inscription on the left is approximately 80 cm by 20 cm. The right panel is slightly larger at 90 cm by 25 cm.

The inscription consists of three lines. On the left stone there are two lines (**Plate 2**), and on the right stone there is one line (**Plate 3**). As Ibach noted, the inscription is in Greek.

Transcribing and translating the Greek letters on the right stone is straightforward because the letters are generally legible, although two letters are incomplete. Reading from left to right the letters are: ΙΣΙΔ ΩΡΠ (see **Plate 4**). Since the style of script is a common form of Greek lapidary writing called "square" letters,[5] reconstruction of this word is not difficult. The fifth "letter" from the left I reconstruct as an omega. The center stroke of the omega is omitted, giving it the appearance of square "U." However, since ancient Greek inscriptions employed only capital letters, and since the only other Greek capital that could be made from the same base as a square "U" is an *omicron*, also having the "O" sound like the *omega*, my suggestion that this letter is, at the least, an "O" sounding letter seems reasonable. The last readable letter looks like the Greek letter *pi*, but it is, I believe, incomplete or perhaps worn. Instead of a *pi*, I believe it was intended for this letter to be an *omicron*. The bottom line, for whatever reason, is missing. This suggested reconstruction produces a proper name minus the final letter which is no longer readable. It was probably a *sigma*.[6]

The proposed letters spell the name Isidoro(s).[7] The presence of an inscribed personal name near the entrance of a tomb leads to the conclusion that this is the name of the person who is, or once was, buried in the tomb.[8]

[5]Cf. C. B. Welles, "The Inscriptions," in Gerasa: City of the Decapolis (New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1938), 358-369, especially figure 8.

[6]If this inscription came from a slightly later period, it could more easily be argued that the final letter might be either a *sigma* or an *upsilon*. When Christianity became a more dominant force within the Roman Empire, Christians commonly had their names written in the genitive case, while pagan names were recorded in the nominative (John S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, *Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens* [Woodstock, MD: Theological Studies, 1947], 7).

[7]See ibid., 31, for another example of an "Isidoros" tomb.

[8]Since no excavation of this tomb has been conducted by the Tell el-ᶜUmeiri team, we do not know how much damage, if any, has been done in the tomb.

The inscription on the facing rock, that is, the inscription on the left, is more complicated. The letters are legible enough, but their translation is not so obvious. The top row of letters I transcribe as ETOYIP, while the bottom line I read as ΣΕΥΛ (see **Plates 2 and 4**).

The first observation is that while the inscription on the right is produced with evenly spaced and clearly incised letters, the letters of the left inscription are unevenly spaced and give the impression of having been carved by an unskilled hand. The letters are irregularly spaced left to right, as though spacing was not considered until several letters needed to be bunched together.

The first four letters spell most of the letters of the Greek word etous (acc. pl. of etos). This word means "year" and is a word frequently found in inscriptions.[9] As is known, Greek inscriptions often used abbreviations. One abbreviation used for *etous* is the four letters *etou*.[10] Since these are the first four letters of the left top line of this portion of the ᶜUmeiri inscription, I propose that the first word of the left inscription is the word "year,"[11] although, as described below, I do not think this is a purposeful abbreviation. One would expect to find immediately following the word "year" the letters (representing numbers) that would give the date of Isidoros' burial. The usual formula is for letters representing hundreds, tens, and ones, respectively, to immediately follow the word for "year."

This more typical dating formula is not followed in this inscription; rather, like inscriptions discovered at Jerash, the

[9]For examples of inscriptions using the word etos in various forms, including etous, see René Dussaud, *Mélanges Syriens*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geunthner, 1939), 563-565, 567-570, 572-576; Paul Figueras, *Byzantine Inscriptions from Beer-Sheva and the Negev*, ed. Yehuda Govrin, trans. Thomas Levy (Beersheba: Neger Museum, 1985), 22-25; Avraham Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, no. 25 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1981), 29-33, as well as many examples elsewhere.

[10]M. Avi-Yonah, "Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions," in *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions: Papyri, Manuscripts, and Early Printed Books*, compiled by Al. N. Oikonomides (Chicago: , 1974), 65.

[11]It would be only fair to note that several other abbreviations for *etous* were also used; Avi-Yonah lists these additional known abbreviations: *E* (p. 61), *ET* (p. 65), *ETO* (p. 65).

dating pattern is ones, tens, and hundreds.[12] The evidence for this conclusion is simply that the letter that immediately follows the word "year" is *iota*, the equivalent of the number 10, while the next letter is *rho*, that is, the number 100. The date, then, given in this inscription is "110." If we again follow the lead of Jerash, which used the Pompeian era for dating,[13] the inscription reads "year 110," that is, A.D. 47.[14]

The second line of this panel is the most difficult to reconstruct. It is peculiar, because the letters are unevenly composed and are not inscribed beginning from the left margin, but rather, begin near the middle of the panel, and even then, are unevenly produced. As stated above, I read the letters as ΣΕΥΛ. The *sigma* is not the beginning of a new word, but is rather, I believe, a crude addition to the letters ETOY above it. Note that the sigma on this second line is immediately below the *upsilon* in the first line. I suggest that the inscriber realized the omission of the sigma in the top line and, therefore, placed it below the final letter of the word. I admit that additions are often inscribed above the insertion spot, but, given the crudeness of the writing style, I do not believe it is impossible for this writer to have placed it below its correct place.[15] Thus, I do not believe that *etous* is abbreviated, but that the inscriber erred in the original attempt and placed the final *sigma* of *etous* in the most convenient space available, below the upsilon.

The final word is abbreviated in the three letters EUL. The upsilon and the lambda are joined together, which makes them

[12]Jones describes the dating formula of Jerash inscriptions, "The numerals are also peculiar; contrary to the usual practice both of the papyri and of the inscriptions the unit is placed before the ten, and the ten before the hundred; occasionally the order is ten, unit, hundred" (*Journal of Roman Studies* 18 [1928]: 144).

[13]Welles, 358.

[14]The Pompeian era began 63 B.C. (year 1=63 B.C.) and that date was widely used in Coele Syria for dating (Jones, 144; Welles, 358; Carl H. Kraeling, "The Mosaic Inscriptions," in *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat Al-Karak*, eds. Pinhas Delougaz and Richard C. Haines, University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 85 [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960], 54; G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983], 30).

[15]In a personal communication (March 26, 1991) W. H. Shea mentioned the possibility that the *sigma* on line 2 of the left-hand stone may be the final letter of the word on the right-hand stone. It seems to me, however, that this letter on the left-hand stone is too far removed from the word on the right-hand stone (ca. 2.5 m) to be directly connected with it.

look, at first, like a diamond with a tail.[16] The reason, I believe, is the attempt of the writer to use an abbreviation for eulabestatos , the superlative of eulabes.[17] Although this is not an exact reproduction of a common abbreviation, I think it is the most plausible explanation of the letters present.[18] The meaning of *eulabestatos* is "most pious." The entire ᶜUmeiri inscription reads: "Year 110, most pious Isidoros."

According to Ibach, two of the three sites known as ᶜUmeiri show evidence of Roman occupation.[19] Only one of those two had evidence of Early Roman occupation—site 147, commonly referred to as ᶜUmeiri/East.[20] It seems possible that Isidoros was the owner of an estate centered on the natural hill of site 147.[21] Above I stated that the panel that bears Isidoros' name was remarkably uniform and well cut. The evidence suggests that Isidoros planned well for his eventual death by preparing a tomb, including two panels arranged for burial information. Isidoros' name was sure, and so, most likely, he procured the help of an expert stone-cutter who carefully chiseled Isidoros' name into the appropriate panel. However, upon Isidoros' death, someone, evidently a non-professional, finished the inscription by adding the date and the complimentary statement about Isidoros, the most pious.

In summary, the ᶜUmeiri inscription appears to be the tomb inscription of the moderately wealthy, pious landowner, Isidoros, who was buried A.D. 47. Additional information on where and how he lived may come with further investigation.

[16]Avi-Yonah notes that "the most common method of indicating abbreviation [is] by a change in the position of the letters" (p. 30). He also points out that it is the last letter that is written over the next to the last and provides an example of a *lambda* written over the *upsilon*, just as we have in this inscription (p. 31).

[17]Thanks to Tom Shepherd for help with the Greek superlative endings. See H. G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1968 ed., s.v. "eulabes" and Robert W. Funk, *A Beginning-Intermediate Grammar of Hellenistic Greek*, vol. 1, *Sight and Sound, Nominal System, Verbal System*, 2nd ed. (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1973), 183-184, for comparative adjectives, including superlatives.

[18]Avi-Yonah lists abbreviations found for *eulabestatos: euls, eula, eulab*, etc. (66).

[19]Ibach, 170-174. For a discussion of the "three" ᶜUmeiri sites, see David Merling, "Charles Warren's Exploration between Naᶜur and Khirbet as-Suq," in *Madaba Plains Project: The 1984 Season at Tell el ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity and Subsequent Studies* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1989), 26-29.

[20]Ibach, fig. 3.9, "The Early Roman Period," 175.

[21]During the Early Roman period occupation in this region had moved from the wadis to the natural hills or plateau (ibid., 174).

Plate No. 1. A general view of the ʿUmeiri inscription

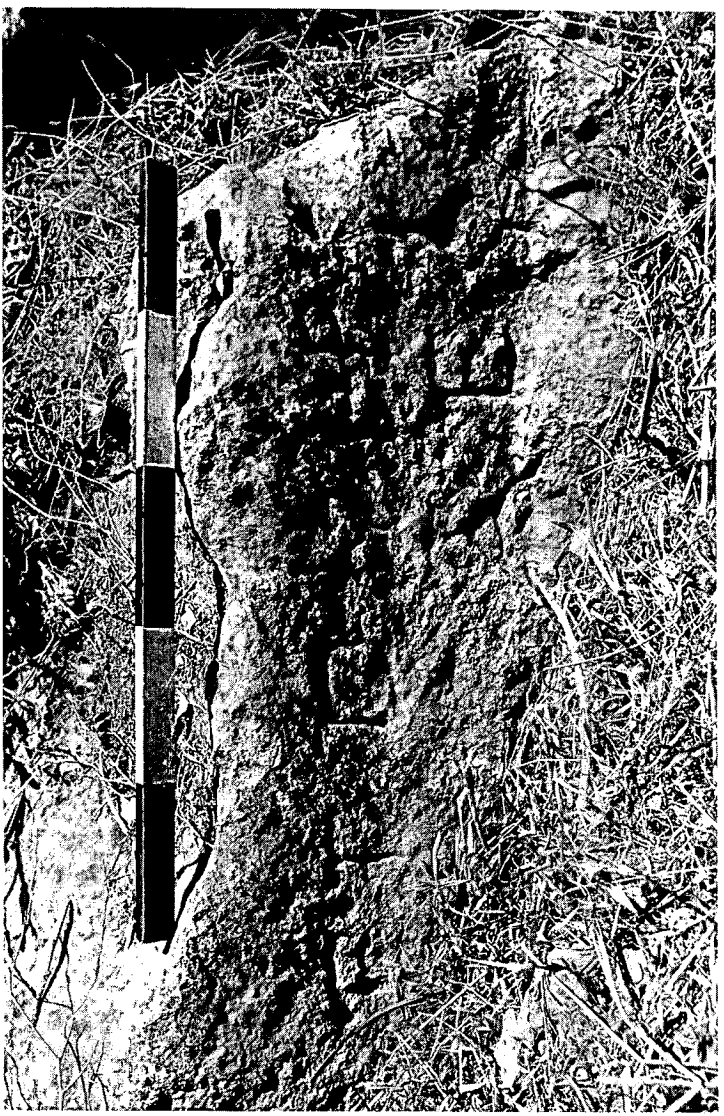

Plate No. 2. The left stone of the ʿUmeiri inscription

Plate No. 3. The right stone of the ʿUmeiri inscription

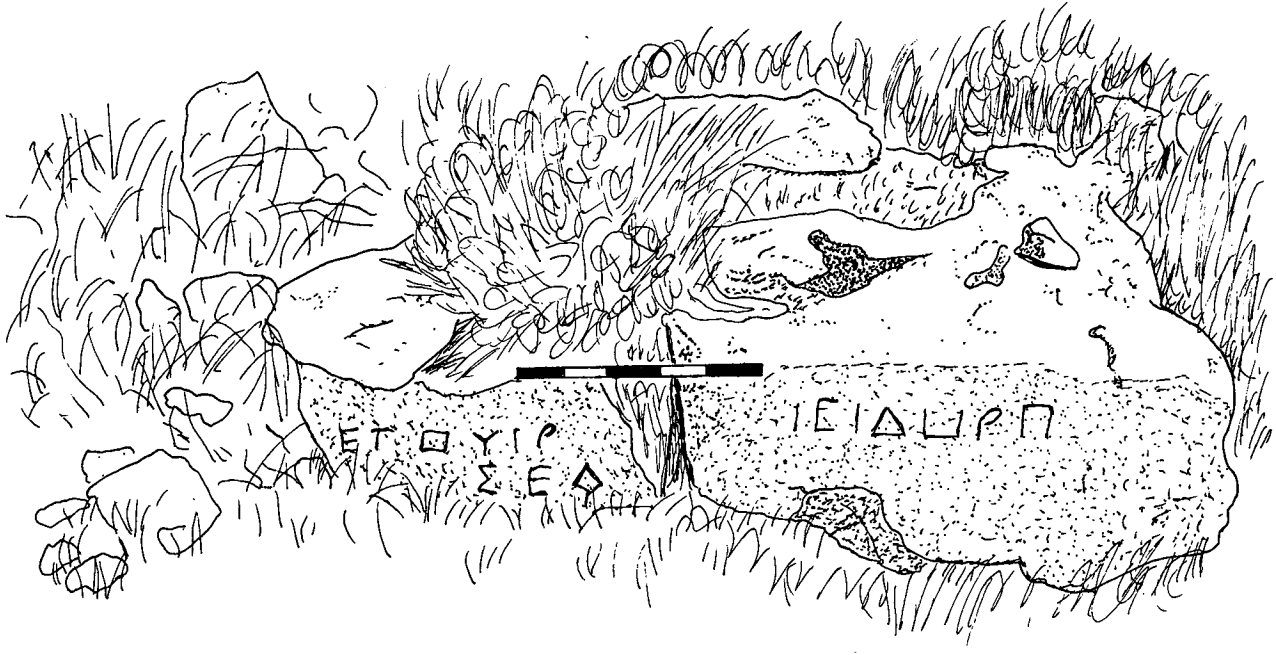

Plate No. 4. A Drawing of the ʿUmeiri inscription

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DARIUS THE MEDE IN HIS PERSIAN-BABYLONIAN SETTING

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Introduction

The standard historical-critical view of the book of Daniel makes the book a pseudepigraph composed in Judea in the second century B.C. Cited in support of this view is the idea that the author was not well acquainted with Babylonian and Persian history of the sixth century B.C., the setting in which the book itself was placed. A prominent feature of this theory is that the author supposed that there was a separate Median kingdom between the rule of the Babylonians and the Persians. Evidence for this comes in particular from the figure of Darius the Mede who is taken as ruler over an independent Median kingdom. Since no such kingdom is known—and hence no such ruler, either—the book of Daniel is seen as lacking historicity, a product of a late and geographically-removed author.

Commentaries written on Daniel from this point of view are legion and need not be cited here. I cite only a 1988 journal article bringing this theory up to date in terms of Darius the Mede.[1] As an introduction to proposing his own theory about the unhistorical Darius the Mede, Grabbe has reviewed the various identifications proposed for Darius by various conservative interpreters. In concluding his review of J. C. Whitcomb's theory that Darius the Mede was Gubaru/Gobryas, the governor of Babylonia from the middle of the reign of Cyrus to the middle of the reign of Cambyses, Grabbe affirms there is no evidence for it. In his review of my own work on this subject, Grabbe has also concluded, "Once it is recognized that Gubaru (the general who conquered Babylon for Cyrus) did not reign and that the 'unknown king' is actually Cambyses, Shea's argument simply evaporates."[2]

[1]Lester L. Grabbe, "Another Look at the *Gestalt* of 'Darius the Mede'," *CBQ* 50 (April 1988): 198-213.

Grabbe has reserved the most unkind cut of all for D. J. Wiseman, the distinguished Assyriologist who published the chronicles of the first eleven years of Nebuchadnezzar II.[3] Wiseman advanced the theory that Darius the Mede was another name for Cyrus. He based this conclusion on an epexegetical or explicative translation of the *waw* in Dan 6:28, "the reign of Darius, even the reign of Cyrus the Persian.[4] Since what follows in this study is, to a considerable extent, a defense of Professor Wiseman and this theory, the conclusion to Grabbe's brief review of Wiseman's thesis is cited in full.

These arguments in no way give any positive data or argumentation for Wiseman's proposed identification. It is difficult to falsify such a theory because the argumentation is consistently about what "could have been," not what can now be demonstrated. Ultimately, such a theory has plausibility only for one who is determined to accept the historicity of the biblical data at all costs without worrying that it also makes the writer of Daniel appear either ignorant or deceptive. Contrary to Wiseman's statement, it is not really a "working hypothesis," but only an exercise in apologetics.[5]

Since Wiseman put this idea forward as a serious working hypothesis, it should be accepted and examined as such, not rejected out of hand. A working hypothesis must be tested to see if the relevant data support it. If they do, the hypothesis should be advanced to the status of a plausible theory. This article examines the evidence supporting Wiseman's hypothesis.

When new primary historical sources appear, the time comes to examine old historical theories. With the publication of additional neo-Babylonian contract tablets in the Cuneiform Text series from the British Museum,[6] that is now the case with the

[2]Ibid., p. 204.

[3]D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings (626-556 B.C.) in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1956).

[4]D. J. Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems in the Book of Daniel," *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (London: Tyndale, 1965), pp. 9-16.

[5]Grabbe, "Another Look," p. 207.

[6]The particular new texts which have appeared are the Neo-Babylonian contract tablets, published in volumes 55, 56, and 57 of the British Museum publication, *Cuneiform Texts from the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* (*CT*)(London: British Museum, 1959-).

question of Darius the Mede in the book of Daniel. What those tablets have now demonstrated precisely is where the Babylonian coregency of Cambyses should be located. They have done this by providing tablets whose dates overlap the end of Nabonidus' reign and the beginning of Persian rule dated in terms of the coregent year of Cambyses.[7] There could be no more convincing demonstration that the one (partial) year of Cambyses' coregency belongs in the first year of Cyrus' rule over Babylonia as "king of lands," beginning in the spring of 538 B.C.

In past studies I have equivocated on this point,[8] but with this new evidence in hand, there can be no question about it: Cambyses ruled Babylon with Cyrus from I/1, in the spring of 538 B.C., until sometime between IX/25 and X/1 of that same year. At this time the contract tablets drop Cambyses' name and transfer his title, "king of Babylon," to Cyrus.[9] S. Zawadzki and J. Peat have recently tried to uphold the idea that Cambyses held

[7]Six of these tablets carry titularies with datelines which refer to the coregency between Cyrus and Cambyses which I have discussed previously in connection with the subject of Darius the Mede. The dates and titles in question read as follows:

Text	*Date*	*Titulary*
CT 55:731	XI/-/1	Cambyses (no title), Cyrus, King of Lands
CT 56:142	XI/2/1	Cambyses, King of Lands, Cyrus, King of Lands
CT 56:149	II/7/1	Cambyses, King of Babylon, Cyrus, King [broken}
CT 56:294	[broken]	Cyrus, King of Lands, Cambyses, King of Babylon
CT 57:345	II/18/1	Cyrus, King of Lands, Cambyses, King of Babylon
CT 57:369	[broken]	Cyrus, King [broken], Cambyses, [broken]

Other tablets from these new publications have now dated this coregency more specifically by dating some commercial affairs from the last year of Nabonidus to the following year, which was also the year of the coregency. M. Stolper has called attention to two of these texts: "Note especially CT 56 192:2-7, a document referring to a payment in arrears since the fifteenth year of Nabonidus and settled in the first year of '[Cambyses, King of] Babylon; and CT 57 r. 7-10 referring in a broken passage to the seventeenth year (scil. of Nabonidus) and to the first year of 'Cambyses, King of Babylon, son of Cyrus, King of Lands'" (Entrepreneurs and Empire [Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1985], p. 5, n. 7). The most extensive compilation of these new titularies can be found in J. Peat's study mentioned below in n. 5.

[8]For a review of this problem, published the same year the new tablets became availa ble, see my study, "Darius the Mede: An Update," *AUSS* 20 (1982): 237-40.

[9]For this transition in the titularies of the tablets, see my study, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period: III," *AUSS* 10 (1972): 113.

that title and office until the end of that year, but the cuneiform evidence does not support that suggestion.[10]

The conclusion that Cambyses ruled Babylon as coregent with his father in 538 B.C. eliminates the possibility that Gubaru (Ugbaru), Cyrus' general who captured Babylon, might have served as king or quasi-king of Babylon at that time. A coregency of Cambyses and Cyrus might be acceptable, but a tri-regency involves too many rulers of Babylon to be historically reasonable. Since dates in Darius the Mede's first year are given twice in Daniel (9:1 and 11:1), Gubaru no longer is a reasonable candidate for that identification. His place in history has shrunk to the point that his identification with Darius in Daniel can no longer be sustained.

This takes us back to the question of when Gubaru died. His death date is given as VIII/11 in the Nabonidus Chronicle. This date comes before the return of the gods to the Babylonian cities from which Nabonidus took them, because their return began in the ninth month and continued until the twelfth month. Since the return of the gods is mentioned in the line of the chronicle before the one that mentions the death of Ugbaru, I previously argued that his death occurred a year and three weeks after the fall of Babylon, not three weeks after the fall of Babylon.[11] This position, too, must now be abandoned. What probably occurred in this text is that the major political events were mentioned first, then less important events. As in morning newspapers the obituaries come at the end of the paper for that day, so death notices come at the end of the chronicle for the year. With Gubaru's rule over Babylon as governor lasting only three weeks, the likelihood of his being Darius the Mede has practically disappeared.

This general, who is mentioned at this point in the chronicle, should still be distinguished from the Gubaru who became governor of Babylon in the fourth year of Cyrus and who served

[10]S. Zawadzki holds that there are at least two new tablets that date from the last three months of Cyrus' first year, in which Cambyses still holds the title King of Babylon ("Gubaru: A Governor or a Vassal King of Babylonia?" Eos 75 (1987): 80). Peat holds the same view ("Cyrus 'King of Lands,' Cambyses, 'King of Babylon'; The Disputed Coregency," JCS 41 [1989]: 209). For the sharp and clear addition of the title "King of Babylon" to Cyrus' titulary in the tenth month of his first year, see my study, "An Unrecognized Vassal King: III," p. 113.

[11]For the older interpretation, that Gubaru lived a year and three weeks after the fall of Babylon, instead of just three weeks after the fall, see my study, "An Unrecognized Vassal King: III," 98-102.

in that post until the fifth year of Cambyses. This Gubaru came on the scene of action too late to be identified as Darius the Mede.[12] It should also be noted that the entry of Cambyses into the temple in Babylon, as mentioned in the broken passage at the end of the Nabonidus Chronicle, should now be dated to I/4 in the spring of 538 B.C.[13] It should now be interpreted as his official installation as king of Babylon, coregent with his father, from that time forward for much of that year.

With these points firmly established from the cuneiform evidence, we may now return to the question of Darius the Mede in the book of Daniel. Where does this new information leave us? It rules out both of the Gubarus as potential candidates for Darius the Mede. In that case we should examine another candidate who had previously been rejected for reasons which were not altogether sound. I would like to suggest that the one suggested by D. J. Wiseman—Cyrus himself—is the most appropriate identification to propose here as the correct one.[14] As a matter of fact, I would like to suggest that once this proposal is appreciated in the way it should be, the data from the biblical text and ancient Near Eastern historical sources fit together in a manner that is harmonious and consonant to a major degree. The identification of Cyrus as Darius the Mede explains difficulties in the biblical text which had never been previously explained. If convergence of data is the test for a theory, the convergence present here offers strong support for this proposal, first put forward by Wiseman.

Instead of simply proposing and arguing the major and minor points involved in supporting the identification of Cyrus as Darius the Mede of Daniel, I have elected to follow the chronological approach, walking forward in time through the data, explaining each point in terms of the historical hypothesis proposed here, that Cyrus himself was Darius the Mede. Once all those points have been covered, they may be summarized with a backward look over the period covered. We begin here with

[12]This theory was advanced by J. C. Whitcomb in his monograph, *Darius the Mede* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1959). For my critique of this theory see "Darius the Mede," p. 234.

[13]*ANET*, pp. 306-7.

[14] Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems," pp. 9-16.

developments on the Iranian plateau well before the Medo-Persian army approached Babylon to attack it.

1. A King of the Medes after Astyages

The Nabonidus Chronicle tells of the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in the sixth year of Nabonidus, or 550 B.C.[15] Xenophon (see below) indicates that the king who took power in Media later was Cyaxares (II). Since no contemporary cuneiform evidence was found to support the existence of this king, this account has been considered an inaccurate legend.

Cuneiform evidence has now been produced to support the idea that Cyaxares was present on the throne of Media. Such evidence comes from the Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus. There he refers to an unnamed "king of the Medes" in 546 B.C., well after the fall of Astyages.[16] Who was this king of the Medes? In his identification of Darius the Mede, Wiseman proposed that it was Cyrus.[17] While I now agree with his final conclusion in this regard, it appears to me that there is an intermediate step en route to that goal. The Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus tell us that there was a king of Media well after the time of Astyages. The classical sources tell us that king was Cyaxares (II). It seems that the most direct connection between these two sources is seen in that the classical sources name the king in the cuneiform text and the cuneiform text provides evidence for the existence of the king named in the classical sources.

2. Cyrus Installed as Coregent in Media

Xenophon has the story that Cyrus, upon his return from the conquest of Babylon, was made king of Media by Cyaxares, and Cyaxares gave his daughter in marriage to Cyrus to seal this political union.

As they continued their march and came near to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. And when they had exchanged greetings, the first thing Cyrus told Cyaxares was that a palace had been selected for him in Babylon, and official headquarters, so that he might occupy a residence of his own whenever he came there; and then he also gave him many splendid

[15]*ANET*, p. 305.

[16]Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems," p. 13, and the text cited in n. 22.

[17]Ibid., p. 12.

presents. Cyaxares accepted them and then introduced to him his daughter, who brought him a golden crown and bracelets and necklace and the most beautiful Median robe that could be found. As the princess placed the crown on Cyrus's head, Cyaxares said, "And the maiden herself, my own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father's daughter, whose son you are. This is she whom you used often to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. And whenever anybody asked her whom she was going to marry, she would say 'Cyrus.' And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue."[18]

Now that the existence of Cyaxares has more support, we should take this story seriously. In fact, it makes very good sense.

An interesting piece of cuneiform evidence lends support to this idea. Immediately after the reference to the death of Gubaru/Ugbaru in the Nabonidus Chronicle, mention is also made of the death of an unnamed "wife of the king." Cuneiformists have argued over the sign involved here, but have finally settled upon the reading "wife."[19] Additional evidence supports that conclusion. An official mourning was held at the end of the same year, from XII/27 to I/3 in the spring of 538 B.C. This kind of mourning for a queen can be paralleled by the official mourning held for the mother of Nabonidus.[20] Thus the official mourning which follows the death of the wife of the king is precisely what is to be expected and supports the idea that a queen had died.

Now the question is, whose wife was this queen? I formerly argued that it was a wife of the general Ugbaru. What has been said above suggests that this idea must be discarded. It cannot be Belshazzar's wife, for he was dead. It cannot be Cambyses' wife, for he was not yet installed as king. It cannot be Nabonidus' wife, for he was no longer king; he had been captured and was soon to be exiled. Babylonian scribes were already dating their tablets to Cyrus. There can be only one answer to this question. She was the wife of Cyrus, the only king of Babylon at this time and the only one with the authority to proclaim such a mourning.

[18]*Cyropaedia* 8.5.17.

[19]*ANET*, p. 306. See my discussion of this point in "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period: IV," *AUSS* 10 (1972): 167-69.

[20]See the entry for the ninth year of Nabonidus in his chronicle, *ANET*, p. 306.

Now the question can be asked, which wife of Cyrus? Clearly it should be the wife whom he took to Babylon with him. Which wife was this? It should have been the chief royal wife to whom he was married before the fall of Babylon. According to the classical historians, this wife should have been Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes.[21] Herodotus tells us an interesting detail about her: "Cassandane had died while Cyrus was still alive, and he not only bitterly lamented her loss but issued a proclamation that all his subjects should go into mourning for her" (*Histories* 2.1). Here is a woman who fits all of the specifications of the Nabonidus Chronicle: she died while Cyrus was still alive and Cyrus proclaimed an official mourning. That is precisely what the Nabonidus Chronicle records in relation to the unnamed wife of the king. The specifications fit; thus Cassandane, mother of Cambyses and wife of Cyrus, should be identified as the woman who died in Babylonia shortly after the Persians conquered that land.

Viewed in this light, the account in Xenophon makes excellent sense. As Cyrus returns from his conquest of Babylonia, he stops off in Media and visits Cyaxares II there. In addition to putting him on his throne with him officially, Cyaxares offers his daughter to him in marriage, to seal this political arrangement. The offer of his daughter in marriage at this point makes excellent sense since Cyrus had just recently lost his former chief royal wife, Cassandane. The marriage thus supplied Cyrus with a chief royal wife in place of the one who had recently died in Babylon.

We have here then a series of three events in the royal household of Persia: the death of Cassandane, Cyrus' queen, in Babylon after the fall of that city and country; the mourning proclaimed for her and carried out at the end of the Persian-Babylonian year; and finally, Cyrus' marriage to a Median princess as he returned from Babylonia. The three events make a natural and logical sequence. They also permit the identification

[21]On this wife, M. A. Dandamaev has written in his recently translated Persian history: "This queen could only be Cassandane, the wife of Cyrus II and the mother of Cambyses" (*A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, trans. W. J. Vogelsang [Leiden: Brill, 1989], p. 56). For a parallel, D. J. Wiseman has called to my attention the fact that the sealing of the treaty between Nabopolassar of Babylon and Cyaxares of Media was accomplished by a diplomatic or dynastic marriage between the two royal houses *before* the attack upon Nineveh in 614 B.C.. As Wiseman notes, "If any similarity were proven it might indicate Cyrus' marriage as taking place before the assault on Babylon" (personal communication, Nov. 28, 1990).

of the occasion upon which Cyrus married the Median princess as the time when he also received the crown of Media and became coregent with Cyaxares II.

These circumstances provide an explanation for the name "Darius" in the biblical text. Cyrus was first prince of Anshan and then king of Persia. At the time of his installation as the king of Media, it would have been appropriate for him to take a throne name. The book of Daniel supplies the name Darius for this function. According to this view, Darius should be seen as a Median throne name. Darius is a Persian name, not a Babylonian name, as a foreign monarch might be expected to adopt on his accession to the Babylonian throne.

If we propose that Darius was a Median throne name for Cyrus, we have a problem with the use of this name in the biblical text, which has Darius functioning in Babylon after its conquest. We should take into account, however, the time and viewpoint from which this narrative was written. The story was not written as a contemporary chronicle, such as that of a war correspondent, at the time of the events recorded in Dan 5:30-6:28. In all likelihood this story was written down some time afterwards as Daniel looked back on those events. If we take the instructions to write down the message and seal up the scroll (Dan 12:4) as pertaining to the time for recording more than the vision and prophecy of Dan 10-12, we might expect that the event narrated in Dan 5:31 could also have been recorded in the third year of Cyrus (Dan 10:1-2), two years after it had happened. Even if that was not the specific time, the general perspective of writing past history would apply.

It is probable that Daniel not only wrote this record after the events of chap. 6, but also after events which took place following those events recorded in Dan 6. One of the events that took place soon after was the coronation of Cyrus as official king of Media. Writing after the events, Daniel chose to designate Cyrus as Darius the Mede. Because of the unusual nature of the kingship in Babylon, officially retained by Cambyses, but with Cyrus as overlord or suzerain, Daniel was faced with a problem of political identification. He identified Cyrus by his Median throne name and title, whereas the Babylonian scribes chose to identify him by the more general title, "king of lands." Both were appropriate; neither was in error, historically or politically.

The interpretation that Darius the Mede was Cyrus does require a prolepsis. In other words, Daniel wrote the story of the events after the fall of Babylon, utilizing a title for Cyrus which

was not bestowed on him until a few months after the events narrated. Writing from a later perspective, Daniel referred to Cyrus by his Median throne name and title. Technically speaking, at the end of Dan 5, Cyrus had not yet taken any names or titles. Knowing that Cyrus did not take up the title to the throne of Babylon until some time later, Daniel chose, in this prolepsis, to identify him by his Median title, which he took soon after the fall of Babylon.

3. Darius the Mede "Received" the Kingdom

We move now to the events surrounding the actual defeat and conquest of Babylon. Cyrus divided his army and personally led the division that met Nabonidus and his forces in the field near the Tigris River. The Persians were victorious, the Babylonians were defeated, and Nabonidus fled, according to the entry in the Nabonidus Chronicle.

In the meantime, Gubaru had led the Median (alias Gutian) contingent in an attack on Babylon. They succeeded in entering the city by stratagem and conquered it without a battle. According to Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 7.5.30-32), an unnamed king was killed in the palace that night. We may take the name of that king to be Belshazzar (Dan 5:30).

Acording to the chronicle, Babylon fell on the night of VII/16. Cyrus, still busy mopping up in the field, did not arrive in the city until VIII/3. In the two and one-half week interval between the fall of the city and the arrival of Cyrus, the Median troops secured the city, taking special care to protect the main temple area.

Now we come to the interesting verb in Dan 5:31: "Darius the Mede *received* the kingdom, being about sixty-two years old." The verb *qbl*, here translated "received," has been interpreted in two ways. First, those who have denied the historical existence of Darius the Mede reject the translation "received"[22] because it suggests that someone gave the kingdom to Darius. Linguistically, the evidence is clear and straightforward that the standard and natural meaning is "received." The other way in which this verb has been treated is to accept the meaning "received" and to

[22]For a recent example of a translation which avoids the standard translation of *qbl* as "received," see the Anchor Bible volume by L. F. Hartman and A. A. D. Lella (*Daniel*, Anchor Bible, vol. 23 [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978], p. 183), where the word is translated as "succeeded."

say that, since Darius the Mede was a vassal to Cyrus, he received the kingdom from Cyrus. The translation is direct, but if Cyrus is Darius the Mede, as proposed here, some other interpretation of this event should be sought.

The Nabonidus Chronicle provides just such an alternative. Ugbaru the general functioned as military governor of Babylon during this two and one-half week interval, but when Cyrus finally arrived in victorious procession, Ugbaru turned the city, the capital of the kingdom, over to him. In this sense Cyrus, as Darius the Mede, "received" the city of Babylon and its kingdom from Ugbaru, who had temporarily been holding it for him. Putting the matter another way, we may say that the 17-day interval in the Chronicle (VII/16 to VIII/3) fills the historical gap between the events of Dan 5:30 (the death of Belshazzar and the fall of Babylon) and Dan 5:31 (the arrival of Cyrus and his reception of the kingdom).

Note should be made of Cyrus'/Darius' age at this point. It is given in Dan 5:31 (= 6:1MT) as about 62 years. While we cannot give a precise age for Cyrus at this time, 62 years is, as Wiseman has noted,[23] in harmony with what is known of Cyrus.

4. Installation of Governors, Daniel 6:1-2

The Nabonidus Chronicle states that after Cyrus arrived in Babylon, "Ugbaru, his [Cyrus'] governor, appointed [sub-]governors in Babylon."[24] Is there a conflict here if Darius is Cyrus and not Ugbaru? It may be noted that Ugbaru governed under the authorization of Cyrus and, in the appointment of sub-governors, is referred to as Cyrus' governor. Ugbaru had the advantage of two and one-half weeks' acquaintance with the civil servants of Babylon. He was, at that time, in a better position to make such appointments. Thus, Cyrus delegated the job to him.

Ugbaru died shortly thereafter. Even if he started this work of appointing governors on the very day Cyrus arrived, he still would have had only eight days to do so, from VIII/3 to VIII/11. Thus it is entirely likely that he died leaving this task unfinished. Cyrus himself would have had to complete this task. This is the

[23]On Cyrus' age at the conquest of Babylon, see Wiseman, "Some Historical Problems," pp. 14-15.

[24]*ANET*, p. 306. On the installation of governors by Gubaru under Cyrus' authority see my previous discussion of this point, "Darius the Mede," p. 246.

most likely course of events. And so we find Darius the Mede/Cyrus making such appointments in Dan 6:1-2.

There was at least one more major appointment left for "Darius the Mede" to make: that of chief governor. The reason for this is obvious—his own chief governor had just died and the post needed to be filled. The king seems to have delayed somewhat in that appointment. During this interval, before that appointment came, Daniel made a favorable impression upon Cyrus/Darius. Cyrus was inclined to put Daniel in that post, recently vacated by Ugbaru's death. It was this impending appointment which stirred up the animosity of the civil servants of Babylon against Daniel.

5. Nature of the First Decree, Daniel 6:7

The civil servants of Babylon went to Cyrus/Darius to request a decree from him which would affect Daniel. As a devout servant of Yahweh and a faithful servant of Cyrus/Darius, the only way anyone could accuse Daniel of wrongdoing would be to attack him on matters of his faith. This the enemies endeavored to do by means of a decree that no one could make a petition of any man or any god except the king for thirty days. Knowing that Daniel would continue praying to his God, they were sure that they could convict him of a violation of this statute. The king, walking blindly into the trap they had set for Daniel, acceded to their request and issued the decree.

The unusual nature of the request and decree has not been fully appreciated. This was a decree to restrain people from praying to their gods. What strange kind of request and decree was this? It would have been strange if these were normal and peaceful times, but these were not. Normally the Babylonians could have gone to their temples and seen their gods and prayed to them there. But at this time they could not. Nabonidus spent the first six months of every year bringing the gods to Babylon to defend the capital city. That left the other cities of the land unprotected by their individual gods. Worshipers could not go to see them in their various temples or pray to them there, because the gods were in Babylon. The Chronicle tells us that it took Cyrus four months, from the ninth month to the twelfth month, to get all of these gods back to their places. Meantime, the country was in a religious limbo.

To make such a request of the king at a time like this, when the country was upset religiously, makes much better sense than

if it had happened a year later, when the country was more religiously stable. It seems that the Babylonian civil servants took advantage of this irregular situation to make this unusual request of Cyrus/Darius. The story fits well into the disturbed situation of the time.

In this connection, the Cyrus Cylinder, a propaganda piece from the early Persian period, denigrating Nabonidus and exalting Cyrus, hints of a similar situation. Historical events are referred to, but not necessarily as in a royal chronicle or annal. The Cylinder has Cyrus greeted happily as a deliverer by the inhabitants of Babylon: "Happily they greeted him as a master through whose help they had come (again) to life from death (and) had all been spared damage and disaster, and they worshiped his (very) name."[25] The fact that Cyrus took over Babylonia with relatively little bloodshed or destruction is commemorated here. While the statement about his welcome is given in general terms, it certainly fits the picture of the procession which he led on VIII/3, when he entered the city for the first time. There is mention of worship of his name after that. While this is not a specific historical reference to what happened in Daniel 6 as a result of Darius' decree, it could well contain an echo of it.

6. Nature of the Second Decree, Daniel 6:25-27

After Daniel was delivered from the lions' den, Cyrus/Darius put forth a decree acknowledging Daniel and Daniel's God "to all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth" (v. 25). This fits a king like Cyrus, who owned so much of the then-known world. If Darius the Mede was a vassal king under Cyrus, it would have been much less likely for him to have made a decree with such a broad scope. On the other hand there was no other king in the world to whom such hyperbole could apply so well as to Cyrus, governing Babylon under his later Median throne name, Darius.

7. Nature of Darius' Kingship in Daniel 6

The fact that the appointment of governors was still under consideration places Darius' rule soon after the fall of Babylon, as Dan 5:30-31 explicitly declares. The decrees noted above belong to the accession year of Cyrus. This was the period between

[25] *ANET*, p. 316.

the conquest of Babylon on VII/16, 539 B.C., and the following spring new year on I/1, 538 B.C.

It is reasonably clear from contemporary cuneiform documents that Cyrus did not claim the title "king of Babylon" for himself during this period and that he did not install himself on the throne in Babylon during this period. Cyrus was reserving the throne of Babylon for his son Cambyses, and he, not his father, was officially installed as king in the spring of 538 B.C. During this accession period the scribes regularly dated tablets to Cyrus as "king of lands," not "king of Babylon." While occasional tablets use this title, their exceptional nature indicates that "king of Babylon" was not yet regular, standard, and official. Cyrus only became king of Babylon a year later when he removed Cambyses from this position and took over the kingship for himself.

The Nabonidus Chronicle does not refer to any official taking the throne at this time. As a matter of fact, the description of Cyrus' triumphal entry into the city appears to replace such an official coronation. The first official act is Cambyses' entry into the temple at the time of the new year festival in the spring of 538 B.C. What we have here, then, is a somewhat anomalous period. We have an accession period of a king who had not yet taken the throne of the country. This posed a problem for Babylonian scribes accustomed to date their documents to the official, reigning king. What were they to do when there was no such individual? They solved the problem by utilizing the term "king of lands." By this they undoubtedly referred to the king of the lands of the Persian Empire. Technically speaking, however, Cyrus was only officially king of two lands, for he now served as suzerain over Media and had been king of Persia for some time. Thus this title could also be interpreted as "king of [two] lands," i.e., Media and Persia.

Daniel solved this problem in a different way. Writing proleptically he used Cyrus' throne name, which he received early in the next year. To that throne name he added the designation "Mede." Daniel never refers to Cyrus as king of Babylon; neither did the Babylonian scribes during the same period. Thus, if Cyrus was indeed Darius the Mede, as first proposed by Wiseman and now accepted here, one could say that Daniel was very scrupulous and accurate in his use of this name and these titles. He simply had another solution to this anomalous situation, different from that adopted by the Babylonian scribes.

8. First Year of Darius the Mede, Daniel 9:1; 11:1

The succeeding events, dated in the first year of Darius the Mede, should have followed the next new year's day, i.e., I/1 in the spring of 538 B.C., if Daniel utilized a Persian-Babylonian spring-to-spring calendar year. (If he used a Hebrew fall calendar they would have started with VII/1.) With the beginning of that first full regnal year, a change of throne name or title might be expected, but according to the way these date formulae are given, no such change occurred.

At the spring new year of 538 B.C., Cambyses was installed as king of Babylon. His installation ceremony is reflected in the passage at the end of the Nabonidus Chronicle. As suzerain over his son, the status of Cyrus did not change at this time.

This new relationship offered the Babylonian scribes more alternatives for the date formulae for their documents. Some of them dated their tablets to "Cambyses, king of Babylon," alone. Some of them still dated their documents to "Cyrus, king of lands," alone, as they had before new year's day. Some of them incorporated both kings and their titles into their date formulae, dating them to "Cambyses, king of Babylon [and] Cyrus, king of lands," or the reverse.[26]

When Daniel dated the two events of this period that are mentioned in his book, he continued to date events after that new year's day the way he had dated them before it, to Cyrus as monarch of Media. He did not make any accommodation in his date formulae to include Cambyses' new status as local king, perhaps because of antipathy toward him. Cambyses is not mentioned either in the book of Daniel or in the book of Ezra.

[26]For these dual titularies see my "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period: II," *AUSS* 9 (1971): 100-104. For the recently added tablets in this category see n. 2 above. In a recent study, L. Grabbe has held that the reversal of this titulary in which Cyrus, king of lands, appears before Cambyses, king of Babylon, proves that the tablets must be dated to 538 B.C. because they are dated in this way to a specific regnal year of Cyrus. In this he misunderstands the fact that the scribes have simply reversed the coregency titulary as a matter of alternate practice. The year 1 of the tablets is dated to the coregency, not to either of these two kings individually (L. L. Grabbe, "Another Look at the *Gestalt* of 'Darius the Mede,'" *CBQ* 50 [1988]: 203).

9. Darius "Made/Became King" Over the Realm of The Chaldeans, Daniel 9:1

The translation of the verb *hmlk* in Dan 9:1 has been a matter of some dispute. Those who see no historicity in the references to Darius the Mede have suggested this verb should be pointed as a *hophal*, translated as "became king," and taken merely as a statement indicating that he was thought to have succeeded to kingship. Those who have supported the historicity of Darius the Mede have suggested that this verb should be pointed as a *hiphil*, translated as "was made king," and taken as a reference to the installation of Darius by Cyrus.

As can be seen from the thesis advanced in this study, neither of these points of view is completely satisfactory. In the past I have argued for the hiphil pointing, but I now accept the hophal pointing and the translation, "became king." However, I put it in a different historical context than others have done.

The unusual syntax and the nature of this statement have not been fully appreciated. The text (Dan 9:3-19) says that Daniel's prayer and the prophetic answer to that prayer (Dan 9:24-27), occurred in the first year of Darius. This means that these events occurred after new year's day in the spring of 538 B.C., in contrast to the events of Dan 6, which occurred before that day.

Having dated the events of Dan 9 in the first year of Darius, Daniel now refers to him as the one who "became king over the realm of the Chaldeans." The real significance of this statement is that at the time these events occurred, Darius/Cyrus was not yet king over the realm of the Chaldeans, even though he was in his first regnal year. In other words, the dating in the first year refers to regnal years as counted at the time of writing, but the reference to Darius' becoming king refers to a circumstance yet future when the story took place. By the time Daniel wrote this narrative, he knew that event had transpired; at the time it occurred, the kingship was yet future. During this same calendar year Cyrus acquired titles to the kingships of two more countries: Media, shortly after the beginning of the year, and Babylon, later, in the tenth month of the same year. This dateline in Daniel acknowledges both of those events, each in its own way.

By the end of the ninth month of 538 B.C., Cyrus removed Cambyses from being king of Babylon and installed himself in the post for the rest of that year and the rest of his reign. At that time Cyrus, i.e., Darius the Mede, became the local king of Babylon, i.e., he "became king over the realm of the Chaldeans." The way in which Daniel wrote this date formula takes full cognizance of those

circumstances. In fact, it provides the best explanation for the unusual nature and syntax of this statement. Once again the book of Daniel shows a close and intimate knowledge of the details of neo-Babylonian and Persian history in 538 B.C.

10. Gabriel Stands up to Strengthen and Confirm Darius the Mede, Daniel 11:1

The language of this passage is also unusual; its difficulty has not been fully appreciated. The notion of strengthening and confirming is that of royal succession. In other words, when Darius became king, Gabriel stood beside him to strengthen him for the tasks of kingship and to confirm him in that office.

The problem here arises from the date for these events. They are dated "*in* [Hebrew preposition *b*] the first year of Darius." These events should not have occurred *in* his first regnal year, but at its *beginning*. His accession to the throne should have begun that first regnal year.

Once again these events are narrated from a point of view later in time than the actual event itself. Both Daniel and Gabriel, who is talking here, are looking backwards from the third year of Cyrus (Dan 10:1). As they do so, Gabriel says that there was a time during that first year when he, Gabriel, stood up to strengthen and confirm Darius. When would that have occurred during that first year? An intimate knowledge of the history of Babylon in 538 B.C. provides the answer. By the end of the ninth month of that year, Cyrus, alias Darius the Mede, removed Cambyses from the kingship of Babylon and took over that office himself. At that point Gabriel stood up to strengthen and confirm Cyrus in his new, local office as king of Babylon, in addition to being king of the Persian Empire. As was the case with Dan 9:1, a knowledge of local events provides an explanation for statements in Daniel which otherwise appear quite unusual.

11. Paternity of Darius the Mede, Daniel 9:1

Dan 9:1 not only tells us that Darius the Mede received the Chaldean kingdom and ruled over it; it also tells us about his background. It says that he was of the "seed of the Medes," and it says that he was a "son of Ahasuerus" (Heb. *ʾašwrôš*). Saying that Cyrus (as Darius) was of the seed of the Medes is not much of a problem if one allows for his maternal line to be figured into this equation. Cyrus had a Median mother, Mandane, and a Persian father, Cambyses I. What makes this text more difficult

is that it names as "father" of Cyrus, one who was not his immediate biological father. It is reasonable to estimate here that Ahasuerus is the name of a Median ancestor, to reinforce the idea that Cyrus was of the seed of the Medes. Cyrus' family tree must be studied to solve this problem.

Persians	**Medes**
	Cyaxares
	|
Cyrus I	Astayages
|	|
Cambyses I	Mandane
(father)	(mother)

Cyrus II
(son)

When Cyrus defeated Astyages of the Medes, he actually overthrew his own grandfather. By permitting Cyaxares II to continue this line of rulers in Media, Cyrus left his uncle (of the same generation as his mother, Mandane) on that throne. From his uncle, he finally received the kingdom when he returned from conquering Babylon.

The names of Cyrus' Persian father and grandfather do not provide any satisfactory phonetic parallels to Achashwerosh, the ancestor according to Daniel. Nor does Astyages in the Median line help either. The individual whose name provides the best phonetic potential here is Cyaxares (Cyaxerxes). His name is attested in five languages: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian, Hebrew, and Greek. The list may be compared as follows:[27]

Old Persian	uvaxštra
Elamite	ma-ak-iš-tar-ra
Babylonian	ú-ma-ku-iš-tar
Hebrew	ʾᵃahašwerôš
Greek	kyaxares

If one assumes that the Old Persian form represents the nearest approximation to the way in which this name was pro-

[27]For the variations in the forms of the name of Cyaxares, see Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings* (London: British Museum, 1961), additional note on B.M. 21901, line 29, p. 81.

nounced, one sees that two of the languages (Elamite and Babylonian) shifted the first syllable to another labial letter (plus vowels), while the other two languages (Hebrew and Greek) dropped it. The Old Persian *X* is treated by all of the other languages except Hebrew as a *K*. This may simply represent the different way in which the Hebrew writer heard the original Iranian phoneme present here. Three of these languages took over the *Š* directly while Greek treated it as an *X*. The Hebrew follows the *shin* with a *waw*, whereas the two other languages follow it with a *T*. This would raise a question of whether this letter might not have been damaged in the course of the transmission from a *taw*. The *R* is constant in all languages. Hebrew and Greek add a consonantal ending to the final vowel.

While the correspondence is not perfect in any of the languages, there are enough resemblances so that the words can be recognized as related to one another, allowing for individual scribal differences in the treatment of the original phonemes. At least there are enough correspondences here to propose that this is the name of the ancestor whose name lies behind Ahasuerus in Dan 9:1. Certainly Cyaxares makes a much better phonetic candidate than Cyrus I, Cambyses I, or Astyages.[28]

The question may be asked why Daniel would have gone so far back in Cyrus' Median ancestry to pick out this particular individual as his ancestor. The politics involved may have had something to do with it. Cyaxares joined Nabopolassar to defeat and conquer the Assyrians at Nineveh. By citing a Mede of that generation, Daniel puts Cyrus in the direct line of one who was on a par with, or superior to, the ruler of Babylon before Babylon became a full-fledged empire under Nebuchadnezzar. The time of Cyaxares was also a time when the Medes were in the ascendancy over the Persians, before that situation was reversed by Cyrus. To cite this esteemed individual as the ancestor of Cyrus was thus quite appropriate. The similarity of the name to that of the later Xerxes, a name which I have treated on another occasion,[29] should also be noted.

[28]In this connection the comment of J. G. Goldingay should be noted; he cites Auchincloss and Torrey to the effect that Achashwerosh is "as close a transliteration of Uvakhshtra . . . as is of Khshayarsha" (*Daniel*, Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 30 [Dallas: Word, 1989], p. 239).

[29]For my discussion of the different forms of the name of Xerxes, see my study, "Esther and History," *AUSS* 14 (1976): 228, n. 4.

In summary, it is proposed that Cyrus' claim, as Darius, to Median ancestry was satisfied by his maternal line and that the particular ruler selected here probably is best identified as Cyaxares, who ruled Media in the late seventh century. The use of the word "son" referring to a descendant of any generation is in keeping with good Semitic usage.

12. Reason for the Removal of Cambyses

According to the evidence of the contract tablet datelines, Cambyses was removed from being king of Babylon sometime between IX/25 and X/1. Before that time in year 1, Cambyses bore the title "king of Babylon"; after that time in year 1, Cyrus carried that title. This change must have taken place by the action of Cyrus, for no other person would have had the authority to do such a thing. The question then is, Why did Cyrus remove Cambyses?

My former suggestion was that it was not a removal of Cambyses but the death of Ugbaru which required this change. With our new understanding of events of the period, this death has been moved to the preceding year, 539 B.C. Thus it cannot be an explanation for this change.

Another suggestion is that this dethronement occurred because Nabonidus finally died in exile.[30] There is little merit to this suggestion either. Nabonidus was an imprisoned exile and no longer a factor in Babylonian politics. If he had still been significant, Cyrus would not have put his son Cambyses in office as king of Babylon. The way in which the scribes immediately took up Persian dating and dropped Nabonidus completely shows how complete this transition was. Nabonidus' death, wherever it occurred, cannot have been a factor here.

The only reasonable explanation is that there must have been a difference of opinion over policy between Cyrus and Cambyses. Over what matter might they have disagreed? The book of Ezra provides one possibility: the return of the Jews and possibly other captive peoples. As captives in Babylon, the Jews were under the jurisdiction of the king of Babylon. For most of 538, this king was Cambyses, more antagonistic to foreign cults and peoples than Cyrus. While the classical authors may have exaggerated this matter, there still seems to be some truth to it.

[30]For this view of the reason for Cyrus' change in his titulary, see p. 83 of the study of S. Zawadzki cited in n. 5.

For example, the Jews did not touch their temple building project throughout the reign of Cambyses. Only when Darius I came to the throne did they take it up anew. When Cyrus gave his decree for the return of the Jews, he specifically gave the authorization to rebuild the temple. If Cambyses had been in control, it is doubtful that this authorization would have been given. It is not even certain that he would have let them go at all.

One possibility is, therefore, that Cyrus and Cambyses had a difference of opinion over the return of the Jews and the rebuilding of the temple. The decree of Cyrus, given in 2 Chr 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-4, is dated in the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia. It is not dated to the month, so we do not know what time of the year 538/37 this decree was given. On the basis of potential correlations with historical developments in Babylon, I would like to suggest that it was given late during that year, in the last three months. After the new year of 537 B.C., the exiles, led by Zerubbabel, traveled towards Jerusalem. This would have put them in Judah in the summer of 537, giving them some time to settle down before celebrating the fall new year and the Feast of Tabernacles at the rebuilt altar on the temple site in Jerusalem (Ezra 3). The pattern of decree, travel, and arrival would be chronologically similar to that recorded in Ezra 7 and 8.

One possible explanation for the removal of Cambyses as local king of Babylon—perhaps the best explanation currently available—is that the dethronement occurred as a result of a dispute between Cambyses and Cyrus over the return of the Jews, and possibly other captive peoples. There is no explicit proof for this, but the suggestion arises out of the chronological correlations involved.

Summary

At this point the data examined above in relative chronological order should be reviewed in an overall survey. The ultimate argument for Cyrus as Darius the Mede must stem from the issue of how well this hypothesis explains *all* of the data involved. I would suggest that the use of D. J. Wiseman's theory that Cyrus was Darius the Mede affords better explanations for more biblical references than any other hypothesis. In fact, some of these very intimate details of history have gone unexplained until this hypothesis has been applied to them. Thus, the identification of Cyrus as Darius the Mede in the book of Daniel brings to these

unexplained details of that book the very best explanation yet available.

One more text remains to be mentioned in this connection and that is Dan 6:28: "So this Daniel prospered during the reign of Darius and the reign of Cyrus the Persian." Wiseman has suggested that the *waw* conjunction in the middle of this verse should be taken as an explicative *waw*, "during the reign of Darius, *even* the reign of Cyrus the Persian." That interpretation is possible and may even be correct, but it is not completely necessary to the hypothesis that Darius was Cyrus. The verse could also be referring to successive stages of his reign under the names by which that authority was exercised.

I would like to conclude this study with the summary chart and by stating that we are in Professor Wiseman's debt for bringing this proposed identification to light. After this review of the evidence, I could not concur with him more strongly, and it—along with the new cuneiform evidence—has led me to abandon my older view which identified Darius the Mede with Ugbaru, the general.

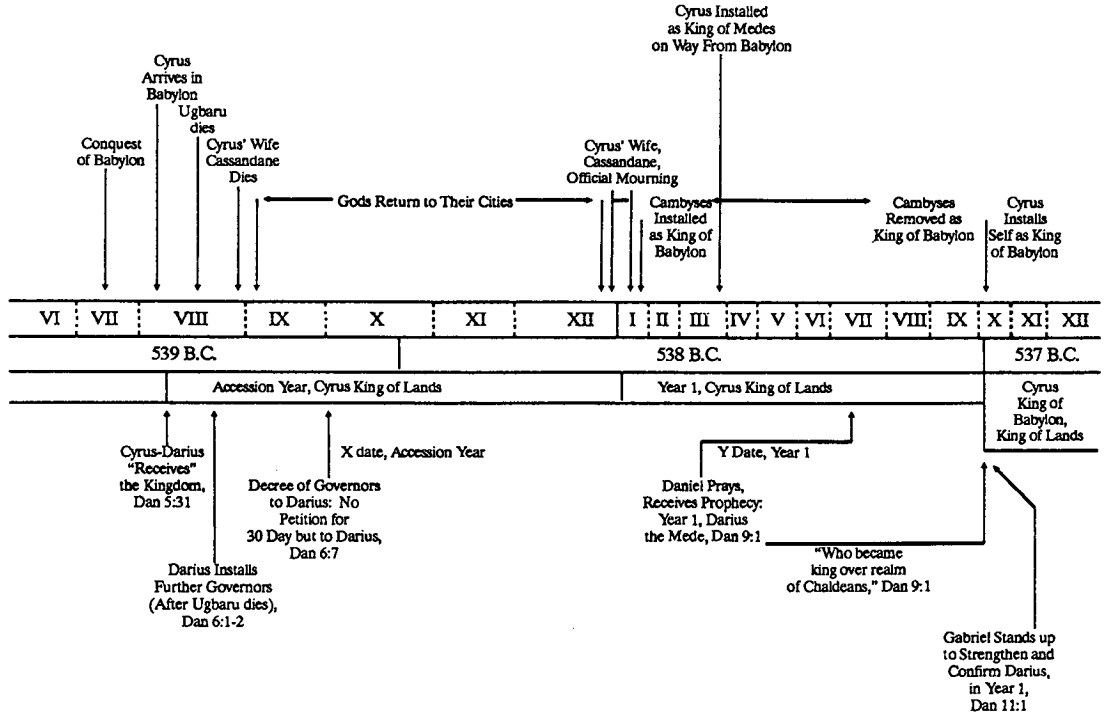

Figure 1. Events in the years 539 B.C.-537 B.C.

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS

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HUMANIST RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE DOGMATIC MARXIST CONCEPT OF RELIGION BY ESAD ĆIMIĆ

Author: **Radiša Antić.** Ph.D., 1991
Adviser: Miroslav Kiš

This study analyzes and evaluates the humanist reconceptualization of the dogmatic-Marxist concept of religion by the Yugoslav philosopher Esad Ćimić. The questions we address are: How did Ćimić reshape the dogmatic Marxist criticism of religion? and What is the significance of this reshaping for both dogmatic Marxism and Christianity?

We begin with the broad outlines of the concepts of metaphysics and epistemology of both dogmatic and humanist Marxism because they provide the basic presuppositions for the understanding of the phenomenon of religion in Marxism. Then, we address those elements of Ćimić's life and philosophy which define him as a man and as a philosopher of religion. These matters are of essential importance for the proper understanding of Ćimić's concept of religion.

We analyze Ćimić's reconceptualization of the dogmatic Marxist concept of religion. Ćimić rejects the basic dogmatic Marxist concepts of religion as they existed in socialist societies contending that religious alienation is caused by the multiplicity of sources. In his view, religion is not a simple but complex phenomenon which possesses several dimensions.

Ćimić argues that religion per se is an expression of human beings' natural desire for self-transcendence. Religion is also a socio-historical fact which is caused by the unjust socio-economical conditions. In addition, religion is to be seen as an anthropo-psychological structure which demonstrates that every person has a unique mental composition by which he expresses his religiosity. Ćimić contends that the solution for the religious alienation is to be found in the "socially transforming atheism."

Ćimić's contribution to the concept of religion is evaluated from three perspectives: that of dogmatic Marxism, that of inner consistency of his philosophical system, and that of Christian-theism. We conclude that Ćimić

is to be viewed as a revisionist who has reinterpreted and rejected most aspects of dogmatic Marxism although he has retained some of its features. He can be considered a post-Marxist in that his philosophy, in some respects, goes beyond the Marxist understanding of religion. In addition, Ćimić has made a significant contribution to a creation of new conditions of religious freedom in Yugoslavia as well as in other countries. Thus, he is to be viewed as a forerunner of the present changes in Eastern Europe.

CHURCH, SECT, AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL: A HISTORY OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS IN AUSTRIA, 1890-1975

Author: **Daniel Heinz.** Ph.D., 1991
Adviser: Daniel A. Augsburger.

Seventh-day Adventism, a young American-based denomination, encountered strenuous opposition when it first reached Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was especially true in Austria, where traditional allegiance to Roman Catholicism, linked with a strong emphasis on cultural continuity, constituted the tenor of social life.

Although the Adventist church has been present in Austria for almost a hundred years, its influence and size have remained insignificant. Baptists and Methodists have had the same disappointing experience. Austria is certainly one of the most difficult countries for evangelical mission outreach in Europe.

This dissertation not only describes the history of Seventh-day Adventism in Austria but also examines the relationship of the denomination to its political and religious milieu. How did the Austrian Adventists conduct themselves under the shadow of the predominant Catholic Church? How did they relate to the different forms of government such as monarchy, fascism, and National Socialism? Which missionary methods were employed to counteract the influence of a largely hostile church and state and to adapt to the environment? These and related questions are explored with the anticipation that this study may furnish valuable insights to stimulate further discussion of church-state relationships and to provide a basis for continuing investigation of the dynamics involved in encounters of minority religions with hostile socio-cultural settings.

Chapter I sketches the origin and progress of the Adventist mission in Central Europe, dealing with the contributions of missionaries such as M. B. Czechowski, J. N. Andrews, and L. R. Conradi.

Chapter II treats the difficult beginnings of Adventist mission work in Austria-Hungary.

Chapter III describes Adventism during the inter-war period.

Chapter IV deals with Adventism in the corporative state and its adaptation during the Nazi period.

Chapter V discusses the post-war development of Adventism until 1975.

In overview, the Adventist church's adaptability from the outset of its existence in Austria facilitated denominational growth. The negative side of this approach was revealed during the Third Reich by the misuse of adaptability in making certain unwarranted concessions and compromises. Today flexibility still seems necessary to meet societal changes in Austria.

THE DEFINITION AND FUNCTION OF MARKAN INTERCALATION AS ILLUSTRATED IN A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF SIX PASSAGES

Author: **Tom Shepherd.** Th.D., 1991.
Adviser: Robert M. Johnston.

Intercalation of stories is a stylistic feature of the Gospel of Mark which has been recognized in scholarly research since the early twentieth century. However, two problems have not been satisfactorily solved in relation to intercalation in Mark. The first is obtaining a focused definition of this storytelling pattern. The second is to explain its function in the Markan story.

The purpose of the current research was to resolve these two questions by a narrative analysis of six passages commonly accepted as illustrating intercalation. The six passages are Mark 3:20-35; 5:21-43/ 6:7-32; 11:12-25; 14:1-11; and 14:53-72. These passages were each analyzed with respect to common categories of narrative analysis—settings, characters, actions and plot, time, narrator and implied reader, and stylistic features.

The data generated by this analysis were presented and common features of all of the intercalations were noted. A series of narrative characteristics which all the intercalations share was established, leading to a narrative definition of intercalation. The Evangelist has brought two stories *together* in intercalation, while maintaining their *separateness*. It was established that the purpose, or function, of this pattern was to create a dramatized irony between two or more characters and their actions in the separate stories. The ironies produced by this pattern speak to major theological themes in Mark, especially Christology and discipleship.

BOOK REVIEWS

Arasola, Kai J. *The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament.* [Uppsala]: Kai J. Arasola, 1990. 226 pp. $14.00.

The End of Historicism: Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament is a book with an intriguing title. The revised edition of an earlier mimeographed dissertation submitted to the theological faculty of the University of Uppsala, it is a historical-critical study of Millerism, and in particular of William Miller and his evidences for the Second Advent in 1843. This book is one of the latest in a series of similar studies by Millerite scholars such as David T. Arthur (1970), Ingemar Linden (1971), David L. Rowe (1974), Ronald Numbers (1976), and Jonathan L. Butler (1987).

The book begins with a short historical background of Miller and his movement. It is followed by a section on the context of historicism. The major part of the book discusses the formation of Miller's views on prophecy, hermeneutics, and exegesis, both chronological and nonchronological. It concludes with date-setting, topological interpretation, and the climax of the revival.

Arasola views the Millerite movement as a turning point in the history of prophetic exegesis. He sees it as a watershed in the history of millennialist exegesis because it brought the end of historicism—the well-established historical method of prophetic exposition of time. It is from this perspective that Arasola tries to discover Miller's exegesis, focusing especially on prophetic chronologies related to 1843 and 1844.

On the roots of Miller's hermeneutic, Arasola departs from the majority of Adventist scholars, who see it as being in harmony with the Reformation hermeneutic. Arasola shows discontinuity between Reformation exegesis and that of Miller. The context of Miller's view is historicism, which he identifies as a by-product of Biblicism which replaced the Reformation hermeneutic of Luther and Calvin during the post-Reformation era. Historicism is defined as "the method of prophetic interpretation which dominated British and American exegesis from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century" (p. 28). Because some elements of this method go back to the Reformation and even to the early church, the author points out that historicism must not be viewed as a new invention but as an integration of separate ideas into a "coherent Biblist system" (p. 29). Miller united all these elements into a chronological prophetic system of interpretation.

Although much of the book's subject matter does not enlarge the horizons of those acquainted with the literature, Arasola makes a contribution when he describes Miller's fifteen ways of calculating prophetic time. While

many scholars have commented on various aspects of Miller's time prophecies pertaining to 1843, they had no burden to go into all details of Miller's expositions because these were not relevant to their research. Arasola's burden, however, is to look closely at every detail of the time prophecies, whether or not they have any relevance for today.

The author states that he would not make an appraisal of Millerite prophetic chronology by "today's exegetical criteria" because "one could easily find reason to criticize his use of the Bible and his conclusions." No attempt, therefore, would be made to evaluate Miller's conclusions as sound or unsound but "simply to describe the evidence that the Millerites gave for their prophetic time table." He stresses that any evaluation of Miller's exegesis "must be done by the historicist criteria" (p. 86).

Subsequent discussion reveals that the author's methodological objectives are not realized. Time and time again he departs from his descriptive task and reverts to an evaluation of Miller's exegesis from a historical-critical perspective.

With the disappointment in 1844, Arasola sees that Millerism and the continuous historical interpretation of prophecy came to an end, being replaced by futurism and preterism. The remnants of Miller's historicist approach, Arasola notes, survive only among Seventh-day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses.

This conclusion has not been supported by the facts. The author seems totally unaware of Samuel Nuñez's doctoral research (*The Vision of Daniel 8* [Andrews University Press, 1987]). His findings on Daniel 8 clearly demonstrated that although from 1850 to 1900 the historicist school lost ground, the majority of commentators continued to hold to the pre-1844 historicist view of the little horn (Nuñez, 392). This therefore invalidates Arasola's thesis on the end of historicism.

Careful reading of the book reveals a number of inaccuracies that could have been avoided. Among the most serious are the following: a) Both S. Snow and G. Storrs are credited with advocating topological solutions to the time calculations from February 1844 onward. There is evidence which shows that Storrs did not come into the picture until the summer of 1844 with the exposition of Matt. 25:1-10; b) P. G. Damsteegt is referred to as one who fails to distinguish the Seventh-Month movement (p. 16, n. 51), while in fact its theological implications are discussed in more than 40 pages! (*Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* [Eerdmans, 1977], pp. 93-135); c) Arasola favors the 1840 edition of Miller's rules over later edited versions. Unfortunately, in the 1840 edition, rules IV, V, and XII are incorrectly copied. One of them misses a whole sentence, together with all the textual evidence (pp. 51-53).

One of the most useful aspects of the book are its extensive bibliography and appendix. Unfortunately its lack of an index limits its practical usage.

Andrews University P. GERARD DAMSTEEGT

Balz, Horst, and Schneider, Gerhard, eds. *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament.* Vol. 1. English trans. by Virgil P. Howard and James W. Thompson. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990. xxiv + 463 pp. $39.95.

One cannot peruse a volume like the *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* without thinking of predecessors such as Kittel and Friedrich's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Colin Brown's *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, and the Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (BAG). Like its three antecedents, the Balz and Schneider volume comes to us as a translation from a German original and seeks to deal with the meaning of NT words in light of both linguistic tools and the literature of prior studies in the NT. The *Exegetical Dictionary*, therefore, bears the marks of both a lexicon and a theological dictionary.

While the editors readily admit their debt to *TDNT*, there are a number of differences between the two works. The bibliographies are understandably more up-to-date than most of the *TDNT* volumes. Although the authors of the articles in the Exegetical Dictionary are recognized NT scholars, the desire to serve pastors and students as well as scholars has led to the use of transliteration, the elimination of much scholarly jargon, and ultimately (when vol. 3 has been translated) an index of English words for the use of those who cannot find articles on particular words by means of the Greek.

In contrast to *TDNT* all NT words, not just those of theological importance, are discussed, although much more briefly. Of particular note is the systematic avoidance of lengthy discussions of a word's occurrences in Greek literature, the LXX, and the Apostolic Fathers, and of the implications of Jewish literature and other backgrounds. Instead the primary focus is on the word's occurrences in the NT, its general semantic field, and the impact on its meaning of the various contexts in which the word occurs. It quickly becomes evident that while the Exegetical Dictionary serves a useful purpose, it does not replace *TDNT* as a source of reference.

In contrast to the three volumes translated and edited by Colin Brown, Balz and Schneider limited the contributors to scholars, lest a broadening of the author base to pastors and church officials should dilute the quality of the discussions or create an unevenness of treatment. While Brown offers a popularized alternative to *TDNT*, therefore, the Exegetical Dictionary differs significantly from both.

In contrast to Bauer, Arndt, and Gingrich, the *Exegetical Dictionary* confines itself to words occurring in the NT and offers extensive articles on words of major importance (such as *hamartia* by P. Fiedler [65-69]; *baptizo* by W. Bieder [192-196]; *graphē and graphō* by H. Hübner [260-264]; *dikaiosunē, dikaioō*, and *dikaiōma* by K. Kertelge [325-335]; and *ekklēsia* by J. Roloff [410-415]). The attempt to cross-reference words of similar root and meaning is extremely helpful but is not carried out consistently (compare the article on *agō* [24-25]—which leaves the uninitiated reader totally unaware that words such as *exagō, paragō, prosagō*, and *proagō* exist—with the article on *akoloutheō* [49-52], which

should have provided a consistent model for the discussion of other compound verb roots.) Nonspecialists will normally, however, find the *Exegetical Dictionary* easier to use than BAG.

Perhaps 75-80 percent of the entries are unsigned, in which case they were prepared by the two editors. These unsigned entries are limited to an indication of gender and declension in the case of nouns, or a boldfaced number denoting how many sets of endings in the case of adjectives, followed by transliteration, a short definition or two in English, and often a short paragraph of explanation. If the discussion cites every occurrence of the word in the NT, the definition is followed by an asterisk. The bulk of the entries are made up of signed articles, ranging in length from a couple paragraphs to nearly a hundred. The articles were written by over 100 scholars from ten countries, although the use of the German language in the original no doubt necessitated that the overwhelming majority be from Germany, with a half-dozen each from Switzerland and Austria. The volume is intentionally ecumenical in its use of both Protestant and Catholic contributors.

The textual base of the *Dictionary* is the 26th Edition of Nestle-Aland, but variants are taken into consideration whenever a given author considers them significant.

Although no comment is made on principles of translation or editing, some sense of the procedure can be obtained with a little effort in comparison. Unlike Colin Brown's major revisions of the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament*, the changes from the German original of Balz and Schneider (*Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*) are minimal. The translation could be described as "dynamic" in the sense that it attempts to capture the intent of the original while abandoning the complexity of German syntax. The result is an English dictionary that is as clear and easy to understand as if it had been freshly written in English. In most cases the translation proceeds line by line with the original; the occasional editorial rearrangements do not add or subtract significantly from the content. At times an English work will be added to a bibliography or a German work deleted. All in all, a fine English work has resulted with a minimum of additional effort.

Although the print is rather small in places, it is clear and easy to read. I am aware of no typographical errors in the sections that I sampled. Some pages of my working copy fell out almost immediately, however. Since the volumes are fairly expensive, the publisher must not allow such defects to continue. The set, when completed, should provide a popular and handy first reference for students of the NT. Scholars who desire a more thorough treatment of a NT word will continue to peruse its predecessors.

Andrews University JON PAULIEN

Dever, William G. *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990. x + 189 pp. $17.50.

The setting of Dever's book is a series of lectures delivered in April 1985 as part of the "Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies," University

of Washington. Its theme is found in chap. 1, where Dever attempts to define the relationship between archaeology and the Bible. Dever suggests that the Bible is an artifact "curated" by a priestly minority who did not write an objective or complete history, but rather, preserved what was beneficial to their agenda. For Dever, questions regarding the "truth" of the biblical stories are beyond archaeology. Archaeology can speak to the material culture, comment on specific texts, and provide missing or alternate interpretations. No historical science can, however, prove or disprove the "spiritual" relevance of the Bible.

According to Dever, Syro-Palestine archaeology was largely waylaid until the late 1960s by American biblical scholars who, reacting to European textual and historical hypercriticism, saw archaeology as a means of "proving the Bible," or, at the least, centered their archaeological investigations on biblical questions. In the 1960s the first large numbers of secular students arrived on the Syro-Palestinian archaeological scene. These students were motivated primarily by anthropologic rather than religious interests. This development, says Dever, has broadened and strengthened Syro-Palestinian archaeology.

In chaps. 2-4 Dever illustrates biblical subjects that he thinks are illuminated by archaeology ("The Israelite Settlement," "Monumental Art and Architecture in Ancient Israel," "The Lost Background of the Israelite Cult"). Each of these chapters is illustrated with line drawings and charts. Chap. 4, "The Lost Background of the Israelite Cult," is especially helpful. Dever displays available archaeological evidence of the religious practices of the Israelite commoner. Readers are brought face-to-face with a religious syncretism at which the Bible only hints.

Dever's voice is a most important one in the discussion of the relationship between archaeology and the Bible. He has been repeatedly maligned or misunderstood (e.g., *BAR*, May/June 1981, pp. 54-57; "On Abandoning the Term Biblical Archaeology," *BAR*, September/October 1981, p. 12) because he dared to challenge the use or misuse of the term "Biblical Archaeology," although Dever himself uses the term (p. 26). Among other things, his critics have dismissed his arguments as "mere semantics."

What Dever challenges is not the use of the term "Biblical Archaeology," but rather an uncritical acceptance of the previously existing relationship between archaeology and the Bible. In other words, he contends, if both the Bible and archaeology are to be taken seriously, each must stand on its own merits before the two can be effectively brought together.

A novice to archaeology might read into Dever's book the incorrect assumption that scholarly opinions are unified on topics such as the Israelite settlement. Due to the complexity of interpreting the archaeological data (added to problems such as the sparsity of published final reports, the uneven excavation skills of archaeologists, and the relatively small amount of data collected from each site), interpretations are varied. Dever's work, however, is an excellent source of current and, perhaps, majority opinion.

Dever should be commended for clearly setting forth what he sees is the relationship between archaeology and the Bible before he brings the two

together. Not that this will be the last word on the subject, because archaeological evidence will increase and biblical interpretations will sharpen. The relationship between archaeology and the Bible will always be open to debate. *Recent Archaeological Discoveries* should cause all contemporary scholars to reexamine how they associate archaeology with the Bible.

Andrews University DAVID MERLING

Knight, George R. *Angry Saints: Tensions and Possibilities in the Adventist Struggle Over Righteousness by Faith.* Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1989. 158 pp. $12.95.

Of the making of books on the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference session of 1888 there seems to be no end. George R. Knight's volume is the latest in a line whose authors include A. G. Daniells, Meade MacGuire, L. E. Froom, Taylor G. Bunch, L. H. Christian, M. L. Andreasen, Robert J. Wieland, and Donald K. Short, each with his own agenda. Like the others, Knight's purpose is to draw lessons from the past for Adventists today. His previous book, *From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones*, had a biographical focus; in this volume he seeks to balance this by treating more specifically the theological issues highlighted at that 1888 conference.

Like a sprinter in a 100-yard dash, the followers of William Miller gave their utmost for their eschatology, believing that Jesus' second advent would occur in October 1844. Since they were already Christians, they took their soteriology for granted and thus gave little special thought to the first coming of Christ.

Forty-four years later in Minneapolis, Minnesota, A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner, two young editors from the west coast, proclaimed a message of "righteousness by faith" that most of the Seventh-day Adventist church had tended to neglect. To the older leaders of the church—such as G. I. Butler, General Conference president, and Uriah Smith, long-time editor of the *Advent Review* and author of the respected *Thoughts on Daniel and the Revelation*—this message sounded like dangerous new theology that would change the shape of the Adventist church.

The precipitating issues which angered the saints in 1888 were trivial enough: the list of tribes predicted by the ten horns of Dan 7 and the nature of that law which was our "schoolmaster," according to Gal 3:24-25. Jones declared that the tenth horn of Dan 7 pointed to the Allemanni, whereas Uriah Smith held that the application was to the Huns. Waggoner claimed that the "schoolmaster" law in Galatians meant the moral as well as the ceremonial law, while Smith and Butler insisted that only the ceremonial law could be intended. These issues, however, were merely entering points into the real concern.

Reviewing these disputes, Knight organizes his book around four crises. These relate, respectively, to understanding, personality, spirit, and authority.

In regard to the first crisis, Knight sees two understandings of soteriology. Both sides in the controversy said that they believed in righteousness by

faith. The issue was the nature of justification. Butler and Smith held that justification applies only to sins of the past and that the believer moves out of justification into sanctification, a process wherein perfection is attained by obedience. Waggoner, on the other hand, proclaimed justification as a continuing experience, one which provides assurance throughout a life of sanctification. He believed he was simply restoring Reformation faith to a church which had never given such a faith much attention.

The crisis of personality exacerbated the crisis of theology. Ellen G. White herself supported the views of Jones and Waggoner against Butler and Smith, but she refused to settle the theological details, pleading rather for mutual love and for a new trust in Christ. Knight reminds us that older leaders normally never enjoy being corrected by younger persons and that the young are not always sufficiently humble or wise in offering their corrections.

The third crisis—that of the spirit or attitudes manifested—involved opposition to Ellen White. White supported the message of Jones and Waggoner, and years passed before the traditionalists became reconciled to her and to her support of Jones and Waggoner.

The crisis of authority found the older leaders in the church supporting their positions by quoting statements made by Ellen White some forty years earlier. She herself, however, pleaded with these leaders to go to the Bible for their evidence.

In the century since 1888, two major tracks in Adventism have appeared, according to Knight. Some members of this church view the 1888 conflict as a dismal failure, while others see it as a glorious success. The former group emphasizes the denomination's "Adventism," while the latter stresses its "Evangelicalism." The backdrop to this in the 1888 context is that Butler and Smith were supporters of traditional Adventism, while Jones and Waggoner were proponents of Adventist Evangelicalism. The first group emphasizes sanctification and the second stresses justification as the means of preparing for the return of Christ.

While Knight indicates his hope that the stream of books on the Seventh-day Adventist General Conference session of 1888 will soon cease, he suggests that the issues raised will have to be discussed anew in every generation of Seventh-day Adventists. His volume will provide helpful resources for future Adventist historiography.

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Longenecker, Richard N. *Galatians*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 41. Dallas: Word Books, 1990. $24.99.

Lincoln, Andrew. *Ephesians*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 42. Dallas: Word Books, 1990. $24.99.

The author is Ramsey Armitage Professor of New Testament at Wycliffe College, University of Toronto. Longenecker studied at Wheaton College and the University of Edinburgh. He has written books on the life, ministry, and

message of Paul; early Jewish Christianity; biblical exegesis in apostolic times; and New Testament social ethic. He also authored a commentary on Acts of the Apostles for *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. Professor Longenecker considers Paul's epistle to Galatians one of his personal favorites. This volume is convincing evidence of this appreciation.

The book has three main parts: (1) a very useful and extended bibliography of commentaries and general articles and books on Galatians, which is one of the important contributions of the entire Word Biblical Commentary; (2) a scholarly introduction; and (3) the commentary proper. In each of its divisions the volume contains a very specific bibliography, the text—in a fresh translation from the original Greek, a critical note, a section about form/structure/setting, the comment, and the explanation.

Professor Longenecker proves that there are "new approaches to and new data for the study of Galatians" that justify the writing of this new book on the subject. But, he says, "Where I believe my work on Galatians is most distinctive is in (1) its stress on Hellenistic epistolary conventions, (2) its eclectic treatment of Greco-Roman rhetorical features, (3) its highlighting of Jewish themes and exegetical procedures, and (4) its Antiochian style of interpretation" (p. x).

The Alexandrian Fathers—especially Pantaenus, Clement (d. ca. 214), and Origen (d. ca. 254), successive heads of the Catechetical School—differed widely with the Antiochian Fathers (John Chrysostom, 345-407 and Theodore of Mopsuestia, d. 429) in their theological understanding and exegesis of the Epistle to the Galatians. Particularly at odds were their understandings of the law. Alexandrian exegesis of Galatians (Origen) was allegorical; the literal content was not considered as important as the spiritual. The law was divided into two parts; some passages refer to the ceremonial law and others to the moral law. In opposition, the Antiochian style rejected allegorical exegesis and denied the concept of ceremonial and moral laws in Galatians. The Antiochian fathers "had a livelier sense of historical development and redemptive fulfillment than did their Alexandrian counterparts" (p. li).

Quoting H. D. Betz (*Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, [Philadelphia, 1979]), on whom he relies very heavily, Professor Longenecker says that "freedom" is the "basic concept underlying Paul's argument throughout the letter" (p. 223). This concept takes him away from the fruitless discussion of which law is referred to by Paul in Galatians, but does not prevent him from the confusion of attributing to the Gentiles the freedom described for the Jewish believer, thus still keeping an antinomianist flavor, though much less than in other traditional evangelical commentaries.

The volume on Ephesians follows the established pattern of the whole commentary. Its parts are the same as those enumerated for the previous volume.

Lincoln introduces the letter to the Ephesians as an attempt to reinforce its readers as active members in the church with a particular way of life, role, and conduct in the world. With this in mind, he says that the main elements of the letter's thoughts are eschatology, christology, salvation, relation to

Judaism, and the church in the world. "The letter's vision of the Church is bold and impressive" (p. xcv).

Today the church lives the "scandal" of "ecclesiastical divisions" shown in "the variety of theological convictions, preferences for forms of worship, or cultural distinctives that they express." But God wants something entirely different: unity in worship, in witness, and in social action. True Christians should spare no effort to find every instrument and experience that could bring the Church together to the unity of the Spirit, in Christ.

These two volumes, as the previous ones published in the *Word Biblical Commentary*, deserve a place in the library of Bible students.

Silver Spring, MD 20904 MARIO VELOSO

Massa, Mark S. *Charles Augustus Briggs and the Crisis of Historical Criticism.* Harvard Dissertations in Religion, 25. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990. 220pp. $16.95.

Charles Augustus Briggs, prominent biblical scholar and ecumenist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, has served as the subject of several previous dissertations and books. In this study, Mark S. Massa seeks to link Briggs to the larger American Christian culture more closely than have previous scholars.

Massa argues that Briggs's story parallels the process of American Protestantism's encounter with intellectual modernism as embodied in historical criticism. At first, in the 1870s, Briggs believed that historical criticism provided the best means of presenting the gospel to the modern world. By the time of his Union Theological Seminary inaugural lecture in 1891, he clearly demonstrated that his understanding of the Bible differed sharply from that of Princeton scholars Charles Hodge and Benjamin Warfield, who believed that theology was independent of culture. He therefore called for a new theological world view based upon the facts of the historical process.

Briggs's heresy trial brought the inerrancy views of Hodge and Warfield to the ascendancy, because the Northern Presbyterian Book of Discipline did not address issues of world view. After losing his case, Briggs became active in the ecumenical movement, using his historical approach to promote that cause.

In 1898 Briggs left the Northern Presbyterian Church for the Episcopal Church. About the same time, he began taking a strong stand against the younger generation of biblical scholars who were beginning to question such doctrines as the virgin birth and the physical resurrection of Jesus. During the last decade of his life he—ironically—nearly began a heresy trial against his former student and Union colleague, Arthur McGiffert. His attempt to steer a course between fundamentalism and radical modernism proved ultimately ambiguous.

Massa has written a valuable study, drawing upon the manuscript collections of such major figures as Briggs, Hodge, and Newmyn Smith, as well as published writings of the period. His secondary sources include those

directly examining the debates in the Presbyterian Church as well as more general cultural studies. These broad- ranging sources enable the author to show clearly the interaction of the church and culture, a viewpoint that Briggs himself would have appreciated.

A number of Massa's arguments are worthy of attention. His understanding of Briggs as one who sought to combine heartfelt piety with scientific rigor clarifies the mediating role of this era of American biblical criticism. That the inerrancy position emerged to canonical status, primarily because of ecclesiastical needs in the course of Briggs's heresy trial, adds a valuable insight into the often-discussed origins of fundamentalism. Briggs's view that historical criticism should be regarded as a symbol of an underlying change in world view helps us identify the cultural as well as theological shift under way in his times.

Although Massa in several places argues that historical criticism involved a changing world view, he never really explains the nature of this new worldview beyond stating that "all historical phenomena" are "products of their cultural milieu and [are] open to critical study and analysis." The history of any phenomenon is, therefore, sufficient explanation of it. Further elaboration of these points would have clarified the revolutionary implications of this new worldview. The book's origin as a dissertation may explain why this larger argument is more assumed than explained.

For those traditions still struggling to come to grips with historical thinking, Briggs's continuing relevance is of little doubt. Massa has enabled us to better understand this historic effort to accommodate traditional Christian values with modern critical presuppositions.

Andrews University GARY LAND

Oberman, Heiko A. *Luther: Man between God and the Devil.* Trans. by Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1990 (copyright 1989). xx + 380 pp. $29.95.

The Luther quincentenary in 1983 brought a flurry of publications on Martin Luther, the great pioneer Protestant Reformer. Just the year before that Luther celebration, Heiko Oberman's monumental *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* was published by Severin and Seidler in Berlin. Having this volume now in English will enrich a wider popular audience with Oberman's valuable insights.

This book is not a Luther biography as such, but includes or touches virtually all significant matters normally appearing in Luther biographies. The author has presented a thematic approach using as its springboard and underlying thread the concept indicated in the book's subtitle, "Man between God and the Devil." A good statement of the author's rationale is found on p. 104: "Luther's world of thought is wholly distorted and apologetically misconstrued if his conception of the Devil is dismissed as a medieval phenomenon and only his faith in Christ retained as relevant or as the only decisive

factor. Christ and the Devil were equally real to him: one was the perpetual intercessor for Christianity, the other a menace to mankind till the end."

Oberman's treatment has been divided into three main parts: "The Longed-for Reformation," "The Unexpected Reformation," and "The Reformation in Peril," with multiple chapters in each part. The book is enhanced by an extensive section of endnotes (pp. 331-354), a chronological outline (pp. 355-363), a subject index (pp. 365-373), and an index of names (pp. 374-380). The chronological outline is particularly useful in that it not only gives events in Luther's own career but also a rather extensive listing of other events during Luther's lifetime (1483-1546); a few highlights go back as far as 1453 and ahead to 1555.

Among the numerous penetrating insights afforded in this volume, space permits mention of only one—Oberman's solution to the vexing question of Luther's so-called "Tower Discovery." Untold ink has been spilled by scholars attempting to decide whether or not there was such an event; and if so, just when and where it occurred. One of the major problems has been to ascertain precisely what Luther meant by saying that this Reformation breakthrough came to him in the *cloaca*, or "toilet." Was the locale actually such an unseemly place, or was it rather Luther's study room in the "tower" above the toilet?

Oberman's solution goes in quite another direction and is compelling. He points out that the *cloaca* "is not just a privy, it is the most degrading place for man and [is] the Devil's favorite habitat. Medieval monks already knew this, but the Reformer knows even more now: it is right here that we have Christ, the mighty helper, on our side. No spot is unholy for the Holy Ghost; this is the very place to express contempt for the adversary through trust in Christ crucified" (p. 155).

Negatives regarding Oberman's *Luther* are few, but some should nevertheless be noted. For instance, the statement on p. 116, "In the German academic world around 1500 Erfurt had only one basic academic advantage," is rather sweeping. In a few rare instances, the choice of English vocabulary seems inappropriate or even misleading (some of this perhaps attributable to the English translation and some to Oberman's original). For example, the words "fundamentalism" (p. 220) and "chiliasm" (p. 59) have connotations in modern America that stretch beyond Oberman's obvious intent.

Even though Oberman gives a refreshingly appreciative and generally acceptable sketch of the Brethren of the Common Life, he unduly denigrates them as having "a much more pedestrian role than, as the older thesis had it, the promotion by the Brethren of the Renaissance north of the Alps through their writing and teaching" (p. 96). His evaluation is based, according to his own endnote reference (p. 335), on R. R. Post's "demythologization" set forth in the latter's *The Modern Devotion* (1968). Sadly, Post's elaborate discussion in that volume is so flawed as to make it entirely unreliable. Furthermore, Oberman is incorrect in saying that the *Devotio Moderna* had spread "westward [better: southwestward] to Paris" (p. 96), for none of the three constituent organizations within this widespread movement founded any houses anywhere in France (though Jean Standonck's reform of the Collège Montaigu and

the monastic reforms inspired in northern France by Jean Mombaer and his colleagues did, of course, reveal influence from the *Devotio*).

In conclusion, Oberman's *Luther* is an excellent volume, exceptionally well conceived and well written. It is packed with accurate, indisputable, and important facts. The text, moreover, is enhanced by the inclusion of numerous illustrations. Some scholars may take issue with various of Oberman's interpretations, but this reviewer concurs with virtually all of the positions enunciated in this challenging volume. Furthermore, in addition to the book's brilliant presentation of content, the English translation is superb. Reading of this publication either in its German original or in its English translation is well-advised, indeed.

Andrews University KENNETH A. STRAND

Overman, J. Andrew. *Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990. $11.95.

Overman's book, based on his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Boston University (under the chairmanship of Howard Kee), marries the tools of New Testament scholarship to those of sociology to advance the thesis that the Matthean community developed and defined itself over against formative Judaism. This thesis is expounded in three long chapters, dealing respectively with the background of the pre-A.D. 70 sects, formative Judaism, and the formation of the Matthean community.

As Overman reconstructs it, Christianity and formative Judaism were like twin sisters: they both grew up in the post-A.D. 70 environment, when both communities were seeking to redefine themselves. Formative Judaism has the aspect of an elder sister, dominating the environment in which the Matthean community found itself, while the community took the role of a sect. Like many comparable sects in Judaism in the first century before and after Christ, this Christian group regarded the Jewish leadership as corrupt and lawless. It saw itself as righteous, the embodiment of true Judaism. It withdrew from the wider community, both religious and civil—defining its own community leaders, and even running its own court system. It viewed all outsiders, especially those in the Jewish leadership, with great suspicion, withdrawing into itself, and cutting off most contacts with the outside world.

Overman has provided a coherent view of the interface between Matthean Christianity and formative Judaism. He is to be commended for recognizing the central role that the interpretation of the law played in the controversy between formative Judaism and early Christianity and for highlighting the continuing validity which the law retained within the Matthean community, particularly the sabbath and purity laws. He is undoubtedly correct in his basic methodological assumption that the community formed its self-definition in response to its environment. His linkage of the language and attitudes of other near-contemporary sectarian movements is suggestive and helpful. Overman is also to be congratulated for his awareness of the contribution made by sociology and archaeology to the study of the Gospel of Matthew.

Overman generally shows a good grasp of the relevant literature. There are, however, several matters which one would have expected to find represented in his discussion. For example, Overman assumes a Markan priority and the existence of Q. From reading his book, one would remain ignorant of the fact that this assumption has been vigorously challenged, and not just in recent years. One searches in vain for references to the work of Farmer, Orchard, Ballinzoni, Dungan, or Peabody. Another matter which does not appear to be discussed is the assumption that the Matthean community was composed almost exclusively of Christians of the Jewish race. Overman's book does not give his reasons for thinking this; neither does one find counter arguments to those that strongly espouse a Gentile background for the Gospel. The works of Strecker and Meier are referenced, but no mention is made of their arguments for the Gentile background of Matthew. The work of Kenneth Clark and Poul Nepper-Christensen is not mentioned. Further, while I share Overman's acceptance of the validity of the broad picture of the development of formative Judaism as put forward by Jacob Neusner, I also know that Neusner's ideas are vigorously debated by those within his own specialty. One would have expected to meet some references to dissenting viewpoints in the footnotes in the chapter that deals in some depth with the development of formative Judaism.

Overman's work makes much of the fact that the Matthean community was still in heated dispute with formative Judaism and was living in a context dominated by formative Judaism. I do not find this persuasive. It is clear from the bitterness and vehemence of the Gospel that some severe struggle with the Jews, particularly the Pharisees, had taken place in the life of the Matthean community; it is also likely that this was in the past. It is hard to imagine that a community which saw itself as having a special ministry to Gentiles (Matt 28:19) would have formative Judaism as the exclusive horizon of its self-definition. The progress through the Gospel from a mission to the Jews, to their rejection of Jesus, to the subsequent offering of the message to Gentiles is unmistakable. The very formation of internal structures of organization is evidence of clear separation from the synagogue (dominated, as it was, by Pharisees). Overman's portrayal of the community as exclusively inward-looking is also problematic. True, there is a feeling of "us" and "them"; the "world" is clearly differentiated from the community. But the world is the target of the community's endeavor to fulfill the gospel commission. The world, which as a matter of course includes Gentiles, is to be told of Jesus; many of these will be incorporated into the community before the coming of Christ (Matt 24:14). None of this is consistent with either a particularistic Jewishness of the Matthean community or an inward-looking community.

Overman suggests that the Gospel of Matthew came either from Tiberias or Sepphoris. Even granting his assumption that the community developed in an area dominated by formative Judaism (something challenged above) and that Galilee is a likely place for this, there is a great problem in identifying either Sepphoris or Tiberias as the place of writing. Sepphoris—a city less than 6 Km from Nazareth, a city undergoing extensive rebuilding during the time which Jesus was working as a *tektn* (carpenter, builder, architect)—must have

been a place which Jesus visited, one where He most likely worked. Yet it is not mentioned anywhere in Matthew (or the NT, for that matter). Tiberias is only mentioned in the Gospel of John (6:1, 23; 21:1), not in Matthew. It is hard to imagine that if either of these cities were the place from which the Gospel came, no mention of Jesus' activity there would have been made. Instead, the only towns mentioned are small country towns like Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida.

These negative comments should not detract from the overall value of the work. Overman has been much more successful than most in using the tools of sociology and New Testament scholarship to provide a workable model of the formation of the Matthean community. His linking of the themes of lawlessness, righteousness, remnant, and hostility to Jewish leadership as found in near-contemporary sectarian literature with their treatment in the Gospel of Matthew is very helpful. Even if one does not share his assumption that the community is embedded in an exclusively Jewish context, most of his work is helpful. The work provides a coherent and well-argued reconstruction of one way of interpreting the available evidence. As such, it has done Matthean scholarship a service.

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ROBERT K. McIVER

Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *Metaphysics and the Idea of God.* Trans. by Philip Clayton. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990. xiv + 170 pp. Originally published as *Metaphysik und Gottesgedanke.* Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988. $21.95

Wolfhart Pannenberg writes under the conviction that "Christian theology is dependent upon the conversation with philosophy, especially for the clarification of its discourse about God, but also for its work on the relationship between God and created reality" (p. xiii). Pannenberg clearly states his purpose by pointing to the need, first, of pulling "together into a single context some of my reflections concerning philosophy," and secondly, of bringing "into explicit focus those connections with philosophical themes which in my earlier publications had remained peripheral or had been dealt with only implicitly" (p. xiii). Consequently, the reader should not expect a serious metaphysical analysis of the idea of God. Pannenberg is not interested in presenting his view on the being of God or in providing a clear metaphysical foundation for such an idea. He is interested, rather, in making the necessary philosophical room for his already existent position on God and theology.

In the first part of his book, Pannenberg treats rather general issues dealing with the idea of God in its relation to metaphysics. They are, first, the "end-of-metaphysics" approach, as proposed by Nietsche, Dilthey, and Heidegger, which is rejected in chap. 1. Second, the classical problem of the One and the many is considered in chap. 2. Third, the idealism and transcendentalism of modern German philosophy are described and rejected in chap. 3. Fourth, the rejection of German Idealism presents the question regarding the

ground for the multiplicity of the temporal subject, namely, the identity of the subject. This brings Pannenberg to the discussion of the connection between Being and Time. Being, in its eternal timelessness, is considered to be the ultimate foundation for both the identity of the subject in particular, and the whole of reality in general (chap. 4). Fifth, "anticipation," as an enlargement and adaptation of the classical epistemological category of "concept," is described and suggested as the way in which the temporal subject may develop science on both temporal and eternal realities (chap. 5).

The second part of *Metaphysics and the Idea of God* is made up of revised versions of previously published articles on process philosophy (chap. 6), on the "part" and the "whole" (chap. 7), and on the question of theological meaning (chap. 8).

Pannenberg's approach to the metaphysical conceptualization of God finds Heidegger as its most serious obstacle. Heidegger not only presented a case for claiming the end of traditional metaphysics, but also worked out principles for its actual replacement. Heidegger claims that the end of traditional metaphysics is due to the forgetfulness of the meaning of Being, namely, that "Being is not other than time." ("The Way Back into the Ground of Metaphysics," in *Philosophy in the Twentieth Century* [New York, 1962], 3:213, 214). Although aware of Heidegger's position, Pannenberg does not provide a proper response to Heidegger's claims, but rather bypasses them in favor of a traditional Platonic dualism between Being (timeless eternity) and Time. Pannenberg's point is that without an absolute and comprehensive foundation, namely, God as the Absolute Infinite, not only theology but meaning in general are left groundless and meaningless. A temporal ground for theology is not even considered as a possibility to be discussed. Pannenberg explains that Plotinus is the one who thus far has most correctly understood the proper connection between Being and Time (pp. 76-78). The conception of God as the Infinite should be built on the basis provided by Plotinus's insight. However, Pannenberg's interpretation of Plotinus's understanding of Being and Time is not totally clear and convincing. Pannenberg reserves for Plotinus's interpretation of Beyond Time a central role which requires a deeper analysis than the brief mention made by Pannenberg.

Pannenberg recognizes his dependence on Schleiermacher (pp. 162-164). However, he seems to depart from Schleiermacher in a very important point. For Schleiermacher religious experience is caused by a noncognitive "encounter" with God, who is conceived as the "Whence" or "codetermination" of the actual content of religious experience (*The Christian Faith* [Edinburgh, 1928], 4.4; 5.1). For Pannenberg religious experience is caused by "the whole of reality itself that is present to us" as a "vague presence of reality itself, world, self, and God as yet undifferentiated" (p. 161). Since Pannenberg claims that the ground for metaphysics is provided by religious experience, religion is the foundation for philosophy, and not vice-versa (pp. 11-14). Hegel's view that the role of philosophy is to bring into "conceptual expression [*auf den Begriff*] the truth that had already appeared in religion" is adopted by Pannenberg (p. 14). Even though Pannenberg does not try to make a systematic presentation of his personal interpretation of either the Idea of God or metaphysical

principles, he chooses to broadly follow Hegel's understanding of God and metaphysics. Consequently, Pannenberg adopts a neoclassical perspective that determines the broad profile of his metaphysical position. Within neoclassicism, Pannenberg's position represents an alternative to Whitehead's atomistic version of process philosophy (chap. 6). Pannenberg's idea of God as the Absolute-Infinite seems to allow for some kind of pantheism (p. 36) which is possible within the metaphysical horizon he develops in close dialogue with Plotinus (Being and Time), Hegel (Infinite Absolute), Dilthey (historicity of human experience), and Schleiermacher (structure and role of religious experience). *Metaphysics and the Idea of God* represents a clear effort towards a technical clarification of the philosophical ideas that stand at the foundation of Pannenberg's theological project and may be considered helpful to clear "the ground sufficiently" for his "three-volume *Systematic Theology*" (p. viii). A serious systematic treatment of the issues hinted at in this study, however, is still needed if Pannenberg envisions providing his theological thinking with solid philosophical foundations.

Andrews University FERNANDO CANALE

Thompson, Alden. *Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1991). 332 pages. $15.95.

Inspiration: Hard Questions, Honest Answers grows out of Alden Thompson's spiritual (p. 15), intellectual (p. 249), and professional (p. 253) experiences. It is written in order to encourage students and intellectually-oriented believers to develop a firm sense of confidence in the authority of the Bible (p. 243), by overcoming the fear created by the so-called "domino effect." The "domino effect" is the negative experience of discovering the existence of even a minor imperfection in the Bible while, at the same time, holding to an inerrant view of inspiration. The "domino effect" or "slippery slope" may lead to a total loss of confidence in the Bible and even to atheism. If there is even one "error" in the Bible, why should we have confidence in it at all? The author's experience testifies to the possibility of overcoming the "domino effect" and living in the joy of "still believing" after seeing the human side of the Bible. This very well-organized study is written by an Adventist professor of biblical studies, addressing an Adventist, North American audience.

The book is divided into four parts. After a general introduction, the first part consists of a presentation of two documents penned by Ellen White and introduced as "Adventism's classic statements on Inspiration" (p. 21). The author wants the reader to have a taste of the same ideas he found helpful in solving the problems presented by the human side of Scripture. The second part deals with the theoretical understandings that made his experience possible. Notable among them are inspiration and God's Law. This part of the book also deals with the canon, manuscripts, translations, and the way the Bible as a book should be considered—that is, not as a codebook, but as a casebook. The third part constitutes a systematic introduction to the problematic and less-known phenomena of Scripture, as perceived by a biblical exe-

gete. This section discusses issues such as wisdom literature, historical narrative, analysis of parallel passages, the function of scribes and secretaries, ways of interpreting prophetic discourse, prophets quoting prophets. It also deals with the interpretation of numbers, genealogies, and dates in the Bible. The fourth part deals with the practical results of a correct understanding of inspiration in both the experience of the Christian and the life of the church.

The book provides a practical and positive affirmation of confidence in the Bible. Beyond this, Thompson contributes to the ongoing search for a theological understanding of inspiration in the third part, where, revealing his familiarity with biblical scholarship, he is able to identify the most relevant, and possibly disturbing, characteristics of the phenomena of Scripture which must be integrated into any doctrine of revelation and inspiration.

The weak side of the book becomes apparent when Thompson undertakes the task of drawing a theoretical model of revelation and inspiration which properly accounts for the human side of Scripture and replaces verbal and thought inspiration models, thus eliminating the "domino effect." Even though Thompson's call for an honest integration of the human side of Scripture into our understanding of inspiration is correct, the way he articulates his theoretical model becomes problematic. The model suggested is said to be an "incarnational model," inspired by Ellen White's ideas on inspiration. The proposed "incarnational model" sees inspiration as extending to the whole Bible, while revelation extends only to its prophetic sections. Research and personal experience are also considered as true sources of biblical content. Moreover, thought inspiration is rejected because it becomes "almost synonymous with Revelation," making the human recipient simply passive (pp. 50-51). Inspiration is to be understood rather as a "fire in the bones" (p. 53), that is, as "the Spirit's special urging" (p. 57) to write for God. Inspiration is also the Spirit's provision of "guidance and direction" in the preparation (p. 167) of the written work to assure "that the point comes through clear enough" (p. 53). Thus, because of the minimal attention given to the theological understanding of revelation and inspiration, the "incarnational model" seems to allow for entire sections of the Bible to be mainly human, both in content and form (language, logic).

Thompson should give proper attention to Ellen White's affirmation of thought inspiration. She states that "the divine mind and will is combined with the human mind and will, thus the utterances of the man are the word of God" (p. 28).

Another weak point in the theoretical section is the hierarchically conceived "Law Pyramid," together with its suggested hermeneutical function. In short, it seems that Thompson's own private quest for answers in the area of Inspiration has confronted him with a problem, the very structure and possible solutions of which lie outside the domain of biblical scholarship. Regarding inspiration, biblical scholarship can only describe the phenomena of Scripture. Solutions, on the other hand, can only be reached when the structure of both revelation and inspiration are clearly perceived and technically analyzed. That is a task that properly belongs to systematic and epistemological theology.

Andrews University FERNANDO CANALE

BOOK NOTICES

GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Inclusion in this section does not preclude subsequent review of a book.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America*. Library of Religious Biography. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991. xiv + 229 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

As one of the first contributions in Eerdmans' new Library of Religious Biography, Gaustad's work is a helpful treatment of a controversial figure. If this work represents the quality of the rest of the series, readers will be able to look forward to each volume with enthusiasm. The great lack of the volume, however, is documentation.

Unlike most other commentaries, the International Theological Commentary series has a primary aim of providing theological interpretations of the Old Testament that are applicable to the international Christian community rather than merely to those who live in the West. Farmer's work focuses on what is "good" for humankind and how people should live their lives on earth, as set forth in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

Hasel, Gerhard F. *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate*. Rev. and exp. 4th ed. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991. x + 262 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

The fourth edition of Hasel's widely accepted survey of OT theology updates his third edition by taking into account the many works that have appeared in the field since 1982. As in previous editions, Hasel surveys works by Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish scholars from many parts of the world.

Holmes, Arthur F. *Shaping Character: Moral Education in the Christian College*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991. ix + 82 pp. Paperback, $7.95.

Shaping Character arises out of a three-year Christian Consortium project. Holmes orients his readers to the present ethical climate, to the theological dimensions of ethics, and to moral development theory. Beyond that, he poses three objectives for ethics education and makes suggestions regarding the function of college faculty in such education.

Schultze, Quentin J. *Televangelism and American Culture: The Business of Popular Religion*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1991. 264 pp. $16.95.

This book presents an informative examination of the business, personalities, and techniques underlying America's electronic church. Schultze holds that Christians can use television, radio, and other media if they understand and meet the dangers. After studying television's effect on religion, the book describes the church in

a media-worshipping society and maps out an effective use of the media.

Tate, Marvin E. *Psalms 51-100.* Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 20. Dallas: Word Books, 1990. xxvii + 579 pp. $24.99.

As a follow-up to the late Peter Craigie's volume on Psalms 1-50, Tate's contribution is a welcome addition to the Word Commentary series. The author traces all the biographical, historical, literary, and practical concepts in these psalms and demonstrates how the purpose of each one unfolds. An up-to-date bibliography precedes each psalm.

von Rad, Gerhard. *Holy War in Ancient Israel.* Translated and edited by Marva J. Dawn. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1991. vii + 166 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

Holy War is the first English translation of *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (3d ed., 1958). This classic treatment uplifts the human factor in Israel's institution of holy war, in contrast to the biblical interpretation that uplifts the divine and miraculous. The volume features a very helpful bibliography by Judith E. Sanderson.

Wentz, Richard E. *Religion in the New World: The Shaping of Religious Traditions in the United States.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990. xiii + 370 pp. Paperback, $19.95.

This volume is a survey text that provides a comprehensive treatment of American religious traditions from the perspective of a history-of-religions approach. A highlight of the work is that it gives extensive coverage to figures and movements that are often ignored.

Williams, Peter W. *America's Religions: Traditions and Cultures.* New York: Macmillan, 1990. xviii + 478 pp. $21.75.

This work provides a helpful survey of American religion including native American religious life, religious bodies originating in the Middle East and Europe, and traditions developed in colonial America and the early republic. In addition, it surveys the transformation of those traditions and the development of new ones in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Wright, Christopher J. H. *God's People in God's Land: Family, Land, and Property in the Old Testament.* Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1990. xx + 284 pp. Paperback, $16.95.

In this book Wright examines the economic laws, institutions, and customs of ancient Israel from an ethical perspective by asking how the economic facts of Israel's social structure were related to the nation's religious beliefs.

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BOOK REVIEWS

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

א = ʾ	ד = ḏ	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = ʿ	ש = ś
ב = b̲	ו = w	כ = k̲	פ = p	ש = 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	◌ֹ = o
◌ָ = ā	◌ֶ, ◌ֵ = ē	◌וֹ = o
◌ַ = a	◌ִ = i	◌ֹ = ō
◌ֶ = e	◌ִ◌י = î	◌ֻ = u
◌ֵ = ē	◌ֹ = o	◌ֻ = ū

(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 judaica* (1971)
ER	*Ecumenical Review*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische 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	*Rerherches de science religieuse*
REg	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RelS	*Religious Studies*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
RenQ	*Renaissance Quarterly*
RevExp	*Review ond 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*