Dr. F.W. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Dr. Albright:

Please allow me to introduce myself -- I have been working on early Jewish calendation for some time here in Washington. Just now I am interested in the fishing season around the sea of Galilee and its possible relation to the Jewish feasts. It seems as if the fishing scenes mentioned in the gospels come in the spring before or after the passover.

The best reference I have found is in Reinhold Rohricht's "Regesta." This source reports the Patriarch Willemus giving his confreres a piece of land bordering on Tiberias, and that he grants them an eight-day period of fishing rights between Septuagesima and Easter. This grant was sealed by the Patriarch and also by the king. About 1132 A.D., under the Latin kingdom.

I would take it that the 63-day interval between Septuagesima and Easter must be the best fishing season in Galilee, but of course this conclusion has to be confirmed, and I shall greatly appreciate the reference to which you referred over the phone.

Yours very sincerely,

July 15, 1941
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Dr. Albright:

Will you kindly tell me whether the Journal of Biblical Literature would be interested (1) in the discussion of the various principles governing ancient Jewish time, or (2) in the synthesis of the ancient dates? The demonstration of the ancient synchronisms make interesting reading, and does not require so much technical detail as the study first mentioned.

Enclosed is a diagram that belongs to Study (1), and I am sending it to you merely to find out if the Journal can use this type of drawing. There are two others as large as this, and two or three small etchings that illustrate the article--all black and white. If smaller drawings are necessary, these can be reduced by photostating, which I will attend to.

Study (1) would be difficult to understand without the drawings; but the text is completed, and can be forwarded as soon as it can be copied. Study (2) is based upon the principles involved in (1), but includes more of the Bible narrative. On account of the question of illustrations, it seemed best to correspond with you first.

Let me add again that I greatly appreciate your interest. Enclosed is postage for the return of the diagram.

Yours very sincerely,

October 9, 1941.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

11

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE MARYLAND

October 16th, 1941

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter and the enclosed chart were duly received several days ago, but I have been very busy for the past few days, and my reply is delayed.

I suppose the readers of JBL (Journal of Biblical Literature) would be more interested in the second article which you mention, but the first may be more important. Have you new material or new points of view in the first article, which are not to be found in Ginzel or more recent chronological handbooks? If so, I shall be glad to recommend it for publication with the diagrams. The leading authority on ancient astronomical chronology and calendar is Professor Otto Neugebauer, now of Brown University in Providence. Have you been in touch with him at all? Since I am not a specialist in technical chronology, though I have read on it very extensively, I should very much like his opinion (or that of a competent astronomer, who could provide the technical competence). I assume that you are yourself competent in the field, but I should like to have this impression confirmed -- the natural reaction of a man who has been a member of several committees on research which dispense funds.

Very sincerely yours,

W.F.Albright

11

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.
Dear Dr. Albright:

With reference to the study on the genesis of ancient Jewish time, you can be assured that the argument is new, though the principles are old--both astronomical and Biblical. I have been working on this subject for nearly three years here in Washington, and have had repeated conferences with Glenn H. Draper, associate astronomer at the Naval Observatory. If you care to write him, I am sure that you will receive helpful criticism, for he has read the manuscript which I design to send you, and during these years has materially helped me to work out the astronomical and calendrical features involved.

About a year ago I went up to Providence to consult Dr. Neugebauer about the Aramaic Papyri. He told me at the time that he did not know much about early Jewish calendation. Nevertheless, I believe that he holds an important key to the whole problem, in the relation between the translations of the ancient Babylonians and those of the Jews. I am satisfied that when the translation period was short--that is, when the Nisan moon had passed perigee--the Babylonian and Jewish new year might coincide; but that three or four years later, after apogee, the spring new moon in Jewry would present itself on the third day after conjunction, while the Babylonian calendar dated the phasis a day earlier, perhaps two days earlier. The clearing up of this problem will clarify the reckoning of the ancient scripture dates.

Dr. Olmstead takes the position, he writes me, that the ancient Jewish and Babylonian reckonings were the same, because the Jews returned from Babylon using the oriental names for the months. I do not think that this conclusion is necessarily true, and I do not see how his system of reckoning can check with the Bible dates, many of which are synchronisms, or with those of related history. It is possible, however, that the work of his associates may solve the computation of the Aramaic dates, which do not seem to conform, within a day at least, with the true Jewish reckoning of ancient time.

For these reasons, the time does seem ripe to present the principles that characterize the ancient Jewish computation--both Mosaic and astronomic. I have been trying all summer to go again to Brown to see Dr. Neugebauer, but there has been no time available. If you prefer, I will send him the manuscript for criticism. Kindly let me know your wishes in this respect.

Yours very sincerely,

October 20, 1941.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Maryland.

My dear Dr. Albright:

Thanks for your recent letter. Will send on the Ezekiel manuscript the first of the week, and am delighted to know that you are interested. I have so much to do that it is difficult to work with despatch regarding this research problem, and hence the delay in replying to your encouraging letter.

With regard to Dr. Neugebauer, it is just as well to wait until you have read the argument concerning the regnal year. After this should consistently follow the argument with respect to new moon reckoning, and that is the part in which Dr. Neugebauer will be most interested. There will be time enough to write him after you have read this first part. Perhaps you will not agree with everything--some parts are somewhat traditional, but the moon cannot act her part unless we know the period.

Many thanks again for your response,

Always sincerely,

January 8, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.
Dear Dr. Albright:

I have had to stop and nurse a severe cold, like many others, and hence the delay in getting this MMS to you. Some hold to the notion that astronomy and chronology can act independently of historical demand, and hence I have taken the pains to demonstrate how dependent the moon is upon an established regnal outline. It is exceedingly interesting to me that the Bible text should come to the aid of the sixth century B.C. preparatory to important dates in the Ezra-Nehemiah era, when we have many date synchronisms in the Bible and archeology as well.

For over a year I have been working on the dates of the Assuan Papyri, and now I feel more certain that I have found the key. As soon as I can, I wish to show the argument to Dr. Neugebauer, for we have already had some discussion regarding it. The Papyri have an important bearing upon the nature of the ancient Jewish calendar.

Technical studies are hard to assemble, and mistakes in figures are prone to creep in; but the part I am most anxious about is the meaning of the Bible text, and hence your criticism will be most helpful. For my own part I feel a bit more independent than was the case three years ago, for in the mean time I have calculated the Nisan new year and Passover dates for over 1000 years of consecutive Bible narrative, and in this period have not found one clash with the Scripture dates. I am desirous of getting Dr. Neugebauer's reaction with reference to the nature of the Babylonian calendar--whether he considers that it was all observation, or also included calculation. The work that I have done on the Scripture dates results in the conclusion that ancient Jewish time was a matter of calculation and observation, contrary to the frequent statement that it was observation only.

Thanking you for your encouragement and help,

I am always sincerely yours,

4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.
Jan. 20, 1942.

Not sent

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.
My Dear Dr. Albright:

Have been working away on the Assuan problem, but have not as yet finished. However, I hope to have it ready soon. Am very much interested in the "Seal of Eliakim." I had not seen this piece of research when I came to Baltimore recently. Otherwise I would have first written you with regard to the dates. Your archeological evidence is much broader than I had at hand when I worked out the sixth century Ezekiel dates. However, when we come to the fifth century B.C., there are many date synchronisms which demand that the regnal series of both centuries agree. When I get this finished, I hope to win your assent with reference to the outline.

I had to send to Harvard for Kugler's "Von Moses bis Paulus." The book was not here in the Congressional Library. It has just come, and I have had photostats made for reference, but cannot as yet criticise Kugler's argument. I overlooked the finding of the book of the law in the 18th of Josiah and Passover the same year (page 135) as "nur moglich bei Jahresanfang im Herbst." (Wellhausen's clever discovery.)

Am enclosing an Easter study which I would like to get published in some monthly journal to reach people who agitate strained positions, like Olmstead, for example, with reference to crucifixion chronology. (I have not heard anything further regarding his book which was to come out this spring.) Is it asking too much for you to read this over, and if you think it worth while, let me know of some periodical with which I can correspond?

It is a human interest story, and not very technical, and yet it is based upon indispensable principles upon which the scripture dates are founded, and some of which Olmstead and his associates have disregarded. I have in mind the April number of the American Journal of Semitic Languages, 1911, in which Sprengling presents a 30-year series of passovers from 471 to 410 B.C.--some before full moon, some after, even some before the spring equinox! And as a result of this confused reckoning, he has at least ten translation periods ending before the conjunction! I have not seen any criticism of this --have you? Olmstead himself is just as fallacious in his crucifixion argument when he insists that Friday, April 7, the Jewish day of full moon, 30 A.D. was the passover day for that year, and overlooks the fact that this incident has to agree with the Sabbath healing of the blind man that occurred four days after Tabernacles of the previous year, 29 A.D. If we place the passover on the day of full moon, or before it, the translation period is wrecked.

There is a grand harmony in the scripture dates, Dr. Albright, and I hope that the way may open to demonstrate it. I learned much from my session with you recently--I felt guilty to take so much of your time. But I thank you sincerely for the privilege.

If you have not time to look over the enclosed MS, just return it and if possible recommend some publisher. Thanks.

Yours very sincerely,

Feb. 13, 1942.
4 Crescent Place, Takoma Park, Md.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Dr. Albright:

The trip to Brown University was inspiring and most helpful. Both Dr. Neugebauer and Dr. Sachs gave me valuable references, and Dr. Neugebauer also turned over to me photostats of pages from his cuneiform reckoning that show the variations of the ancient Babylonian translation periods. In addition he loaned me his copy of Dr. Parker's first report on the Assuan Papyri. This I had not seen. It was published last July.

In this report Dr. Parker states that his computations are based upon Eduard Mahler's Babylonian tables. These came yesterday to the Library through the Union Catalog Loan Division. They are indeed interesting to me. If Mahler follows the customary rules for civil dating the phasis--I have not had time as yet to read his text throughout--then he frequently has the moon's first appearance located before conjunction, like Sprengling! In any event, I do not see how he (Dr. Parker) can construct a Jewish calendar, as Dr. Olmstead insists, upon the Mahler Babylonian forms, even with Sidersky's corrections, for all these azimuth tables from Maimonides on, represent the earliest appearance of the new light.

The Assuan problem is progressing, but I need more time on the problem in order to demonstrate the relation between the Jewish and Babylonian reckonings. Am enclosing an analysis and outline of the of the principles governing the scripture dates--both Biblical and calendrical. The article is about 30 pages long, and includes four tables and five diagrams. If you care to read it all, shall be glad to send it on. But possibly you will prefer to decide from the shorter analysis whether the J.B.L. readers would be interested.

No synchronal scripture date has as yet shown up that is not solved by the astronomical rules mentioned in the OUTLINE. But in order to prove these synthetic dates, the regnal outline has to be fool proof, and hence the reason you found me working in the sixth century B.C. Von Moses bis Paulus also came recently, but there has been no time as yet to go into ~~his~~ Kugler's argument. Dr. O. Neugebauer gave me the report of P.V. Neugebauer on some lunar observations made in Babylonia in the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar. If these mark an eclipse date, then there will be an additional monument to peg up the sixth century B.C. At the Observatory, Glenn Draper is much interested in this P.V.N. report.

Please accept my thanks again for your help and interest. I do not wish to encroach upon your university engagements.

Yours very sincerely,

March 25, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

P.S. Have reviewed several of the recent articles in J.B.L. on Crucifixion Chronology, and they do not go further than textual criticism. A study on calendation might go over.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

March 27th, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter of the 25th, with the attached sheets, has been received. By all means send your article to the editor of JBL, Prof. Erwin R. Goodenough, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, for consideration. If you prefer you can send it to me with enclosed postage for forwarding to him, in which case I will write a covering letter to enclose with it, since I am a member of the editorial committee. Owing to the interest aroused by Olmstead's papers (especially his paper in the Anglican Theological Review, XXIV, 1 (Jan., 1942), pp. 1-26), your paper will be most timely. I suggest only that you substitute "Pentateuchal" for "Mosaic," in order not to complicate the issue, since it is very hard to distinguish between material which actually goes back in its extant form to Moses and matter which reflects later interpretation or codification of the Mosaic tradition.

Very cordially yours,

W.F. Albright

Anglican Theological
Review
Prince and Lemon Sts.
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.
Dear Dr. Albright:

Thanks for your prompt reply. Mr. Draper at the Observatory has consented that I use his name in collaboration, since I have been in conference with him continuously for nearly four years. I therefore arranged for him to check PART II (Astronomical argument) at once, but it will take a few days to get the MS back from the Observatory. It is increasingly difficult these days to get into the Naval Observatory, and each time I have to make special arrangements with the Captain in order to pass the Marine guard.

In the mean time am sending on PART I, and will forward its mate surely by the first of next week. PART I has a colored drawing, which I know of course the JBL would not use. If Dr. Goodenough decides to print the article, I will send on the proper drawings suitable for the engraver.

It will help me as to style and form if you will advise whether the citations in Latin should be translated, or left in their original text. Thanks for the suggestion with regard to the word Pentateuch. I note that the JBL incorporates the scripture references into the body of the text. If you think that I should rearrange the copy in this form, I will do so, but you can forward the enclosed MS to Yale, and I will change a copy I have here.

It means a great deal to me to "launch the ship" after at least seven years of study. The argument is in harmony with the principles of computation employed by standard almanac centers--it is based upon their authorities. But the moon, the Jews, and the Bible have also to be recognized, and it is most encouraging to be told that this triumvirate of authority has been satisfied. It remains to be seen what the world will accept.

I shall always be grateful to you.

With sincerest regards,

March 31, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.
Washington, D.C.

Please return

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

April 7th, 1943

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter of the 5th has been received. You have written an excellent reply to Filson's letter. I think it should be published in large part, perhaps entirely, as an addendum to your original article, since it seems to clear up the question of the barley harvest so well. I have only the following observations to make. I should omit the last two paragraphs of your letter if you decide to submit it to JBL for publication (though it would be a good thing to mention Nilsson's excellent book for general orientation. Inreferring to the Gezer Calendar I suggest that you give the date cir. 900 B.C., now accepted by all competent scholars on the basis of the script. In 1909, when Marti wrote, very little was known about early Hebrew script, and Marti knew still less.

I tried to get my copy of Allis to Washington, but found it today in the librarian's office. I should have sent it to you directly. It is now in Miss Disney's hands for photostating the four pages on "Antiquity." Mind you, I do not endorse them at all, but they represent the only way in which a thorough-going conservative of the old school can make verbal inspiration "walk on all fours" without most flagrant conflict with science. In this connection, I do hope that you give up trying to get the early chronology of the Bible to work smoothly, since you will only spoil the nice reputation you have now acquired as a scientific chronologist!

Cordially,

W. F. Albright

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Dr. Albright:

I have the manuscript ready, and will send it in a day or so--just as soon as Mr. Draper can finish going over it. The pages that have special reference to Dr. Olmstead, or to any other current theory, are clipped, and if you think any one is being hit too hard, please let me know. I do not believe that the Oriental Department of the Chicago University knows very much about the translation period. Certainly, since Sprengling's impossible table came out in 1911, Dr. Olmstead ought not to fall into the same trap!

However, Dr. Parker is a good thinker; and yet, I think that there is a better reason for the failure in exactness between the Egyptian and Aramaic dates than has yet been presented. Parker's shoulders make a good base from which to proceed. The problem has advanced from the treatment of Knobel and Fotheringham.

Thanking you for your inspirational interest,

Yours very sincerely,

April 28, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

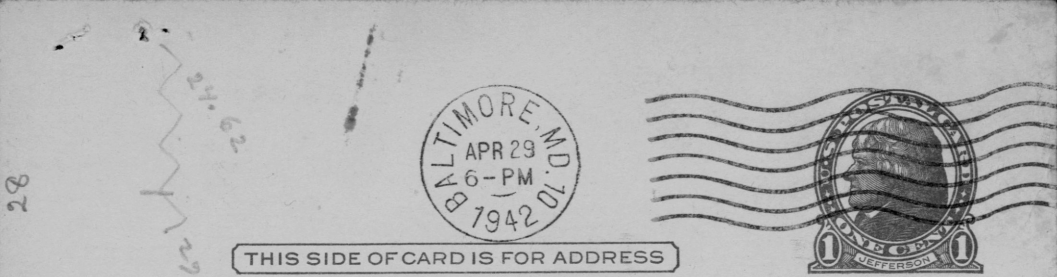
Dr. W. F. Albright:

Have just been over to the Observatory, and Mr. Draper has promised to send you a letter today. I checked again with him all the points pertaining to the Olmstead account of crucifixion reckoning, and he thinks that the Chicago professor has been fully taken care of.

Now, with regard to the plates: I know that 13 etchings and 1 half tone are a large order for one paper. But the technical argument would never be understood without the cuts, and neither do I like to wait until next spring for publication if it can be avoided. If the JBL is full up for the balance of this year, and cannot make place for the article, then I would be in favor of trying the Am. Philos. Soc. Mr. Crasch (Smithsonian) urges me in this direction. But if the JBL can and will publish the story by August or September, as you suggest, I will furnish the plates, it being understood of course that the plates are then personal property. Some of them can be used to advantage in the meridian problem.

Now, Dr. Albright, if I am taking too much of your time, or advantage of your very kind interest in a technical problem that is hard to launch, just say so. In any event, I greatly appreciate your gracious help.

May 8. 1942.



Miss Grace Amadon,

4 Crescent Place,

Takoma Park, Md.

Baltimore, April 29th, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter of the 28th has been received. I await your article with anticipation and will go over it again carefully before I send it on with my recommendati to Dr. Goodenough, editor of JBL. If there is anything I think should be modified I shall let you know before the paper is submitted, in order to incorporate your reactions in it. The figures in the text should all be prepared for economical reproduction as line-cuts before the paper in sent to New Haven.

Cordially,

W. F. Albright

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.
Dear Dr. Albright:

Miss Amadon has asked me to write you with reference to her argument in her study on ancient Jewish calendation.

As to the rules of calendation employed by the ancient Jewish people, we have been in more or less total darkness. The few threads of information which we are able to glean from the records indicate that the ancient calendar rules were astronomically sound, requiring more knowledge of the motions of the sun and moon than has been credited to the ancient Jewish people.

Miss Amadon has found a rule of lunar calendation, by investigating the astronomical data of the Nautical Almanacs of of the 19th century; but from the laws of astronomy, all centuries would have produced the same information if the almanac data had been available for the period of the Jewish nation.

One cannot say that Miss Amadon's calendar rules are the ancient canons so long as we do not have more authentic statements from the ancient Jews themselves. All that we can ever hope for is to reproduce formulae which consistently synchronize with the few definite records of the past. No investigator of ancient Jewish time has thus far found rules of lunar calendation which accomplish this quite as well as the rules which Miss Amadon has discovered. I merely desire to say that astronomically the rules are sound, and that they apparently are in harmony with the data of the ancient records.

Therefore, I am pleased to subscribe to the belief that the ancient Jewish people had rules that, if not those of Miss Amadon, at least synchronized with them.

Yours very sincerely,

(Glen H. Draper)

Naval Observatory
May 8, 1942

Editor L.E. Froom,
"The Ministry,"
General Conference of Seventh-day
Adventists,
Washington, D.C.
Dear Mr. Froom:

Your letter received. I will say this in reply:

Dr. Simon Newcomb, the great American astronomer, once said, "Where our ignorance is complete, all hypotheses which do not violate known facts are admissible." As to the rules of calendation used by the ancient Jewish people, we have been in more or less total darkness. The few threads of information which we are able to glean from the records indicate that the ancient calendar rules were astronomically sound, requiring more knowledge of the motions of the moon and sun than has been credited to the ancient people.

Miss Amadon has found a rule of lunar calendation, by investigating the astronomical data of the Nautical Almanacs of the 19th century; but from the laws of astronomy, all centuries would have produced the same information, if the almanac data had been available for the period of the ancient Jewish nation. There is a great deal of material in Miss Amadon's work which must yield to the importance of these calendar rules, although it is all required for completeness in the process of proving her theory to be the best thus far discovered.

One cannot say that these calendar rules are the ancient canons so long as we do not have more authentic statements from the ancient Jews themselves. All that we can ever hope for is to reproduce formulae which consistently synchronize with the few definite records of the past. No investigator has thus far found a rule of lunar calendation which accomplishes this quite as well as the rules which Miss Amadon has discovered.

Therefore, I am pleased to subscribe to the belief that the ancient Jewish people had rules that, if not those of Miss Amadon, at least synchronized with them.

Very sincerely yours,

(Glenn H. Draper)

P.S. I do not mean to say that I think Miss Amadon has used her own rules to the best advantage at all times, nor that there is no room for further investigation; I merely desire to say that astronomically the rules are sound, and that they apparently are in harmony with the data of the ancient records.

September 19, 1941.
Naval Observatory,
Washington, D.C.

COPY

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Oriental Department,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Dr. Albright:

Miss Amadon has asked me to write you with reference to the argument in her study on ancient Jewish calendation.

As to the rules of calendation employed by the ancient Jewish people, we have been in more or less total darkness. The few threads of information which we are able to glean from the records indicate that the ancient calendar rules were astronomically sound, requiring more knowledge of the motions of the sun and moon than has been credited to the ancient Jewish people.

Miss Amadon has found a rule of lunar calendation, by investigating the astronomical data of the Nautical Almanacs of the 19th century; but, from the laws of astronomy, all centuries would have produced the same information if the almanac data had been available--and particularly the period of the Jewish nation.

One cannot say that Mis Amadon's calendar rules are the ancient canons so long as we do not have more authentic statements from the ancient Jews themselves. All that we can ever hope for is to reproduce formulae which consistently synchronize with the few definite records of the past. No investigator of ancient Jewish time has thus far found rules of lunar calendation which accomplish this quite as well as the rules which Miss Amadon has discovered. I merely desire to say that astronomically the rules are sound, and that they apparently are in harmony with the data of the ancient records.

Therefore, I am pleased to subscribe to the belief that the ancient Jewish people had rules that, if not those of Miss Amadon's, at least synchronized with them.

Yours very sincerely,

May 8, 1942,
Naval Observatory,
Washington, D.C.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Johns Hopkins University,
Gilman Hall,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Dr. Albright:

Am so sorry to hear that you have been ill. After all you are your own captain, and you should know better than to work all the time! The University people all say that you are the busiest man there.

Dr. Moulton approved of the story for Popular Astronomy, and promised to write to Mr. Gingrich about it. I have been working on the Mahler Babylonian tables, and can show further how he reckoned the translation periods. They are quite different from the Jewish. Dr. Neugebauer gave me the P.V. Neugebauer--Wiedner Report on an ancient Babylonian text with reference to the 37th year of Nebuchadnezzar. It is an observation of moon and planets that synchronizes with this regnal year, and helps to peg up the sixth century B.C. The day-by-day description of the month has given me new and interesting citations, and I wish to add some of these to the article sent you. Others also have come to light. Will send them on in a day or two, together with a few corrections.

The Bible part of the study first sent you has been accepted by the "Ministry" here in Washington--a periodical on Theology and Evangelism. This monthly is publishing a series of five studies on the subject--Establishing the Crucifixion Date. The arguments are Biblical and Calendrical, and I have been careful not to use twice the material that has been introduced into the Astronomical Section which is in your hands.

There seems to be no end to the arguments that are coming to light on this ancient Jewish calendation. I am doing my best to make good on this piece of research, and I am daily reminded of the help and inspiration that you have given me. I desire to return the favors if the opportunity comes.

Yours very sincerely,

May 28, 1942.
Takoma Park, Md.
4 Crescent Place.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Johns Hopkins University,
Gilman Hall,
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Dr. Albright:

It was indeed a relief to me to know that you consider the MS suitable for the JBL readers. As soon as you hear from Editor Goodenough whether he accepts it or not, kindly let me know so I can arrange at once about the engraving, for there is not too much time between now and fall.

How would it be if either you or Mr. Goodenough would write a few lines of introduction stating that the argument is based upon astronomical principles defending Friday of the crucifixion as 14 Nisan, upon which the national paschal supper was observed after the sunset beginning of the day (ineunte), and not after the sunset ending(exeunte)? -- an encouragement to readers to read on!

If you know the published name of Dr. Parker's Babylonian moon tables which you say is out, I shall be glad to have it. Am planning to go to Michigan on Sunday, and I hope to have time to go on to Chicago to see him. He does not impress me as being sensational at all.

Thanks again and always for your help,
Yours very sincerely,

June 10, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

June 10th, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

Following your telephone call of yesterday evening I have sent your paper to Goodenough for JBL, together with Draper's letter, my hearty recommendation and reference to Neugebauer's offer to go over the paper if it is submitted to him. I went over the paper with a fine comb again, reading and weighing every word, adapting it to JBL practice with regard to references, etc., and eliminating or changing certain historical or biblical references where you would be misunderstood. Unless economy dictates too strongly, I think the paper will be accepted. However, since the journal will have to be considerably reduced in length owing to the demands of economy, it may be turned down because of its length. We shall see.

Very cordially yours,

W.F. Albright

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

June 12th, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter of the 10th crossed mine of the same date. A gentleman from Chicago is now visiting me and he says that Parker and Dubberstein have not yet actually published their Late-Babylonian chronological tables, contrary to the statement of Olmstead in his just-published book on Jesus.

Thanks for the suggestion about a possible introductory statement. We shall have plenty of time to consider the details later. I hope Goodenough accepts the article, but the amount of available space in the Journal has decreased considerably during the past few months.

Cordially,

W.F. Albright

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

August 17th, 1942

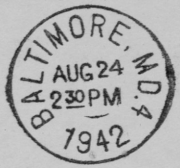
Dear Miss Amadon,

I asked Goodenough to return your paper to me, in order to secure your latest revision, as you suggested. Meanwhile he had got it back from Burrows (who was teaching in Chicago, whence the delay), with the recommendation to print it with the addition of two editorial notes which he sent to Goodenough, one note dealing with the rabbinic practice of sacrificing a lamb before sunset on the 14th of Nisan and eating it after sunset on the 15th of Nisan, the other noting the uncertainty in which we are with regard to pentateuchal practice and ~~[illegible]~~ noting that this does not necessarily affect the validity of your conclusions about N.T. times.

From what you said in our last talk, I understand that you would like to make some additions to the discussion from the Babylonian standpoint (Schoch, Parker, et al.) and that you are willing to still further cut down biblcal allusions, except where they are indispensable to the argument. I await word from you -- the paper is in my hands.

Cordially,

W. F. Albright



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Miss Grace Amadon,

4 Crescent Place,

Takoma Park, Md.

Baltimore, Aug. 24, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter of the 21st has just reached me. I shall leave for New York Thursday, to be gone until Monday. I suggest that you come over Wednesday, the 26th, in the morning or after 4:00 p.m. in the afternoon -- the morning is better, since I shall be teaching in the early afternoon and the building is closed at 4:00 p.m. I shall be here continuously, I expect, through September.

Cordially,

W. H. Gaylight

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

September 14th, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

I shall write Goodenough immediately telling him that he will have your article and the plates by the first of October, as you promise in your letter of the 12th. I am very sorry to hear about your accident, and hope you will recover rapidly.

Shalmaneser III tells us in several inscriptions that Aḥabbu Sir'ilâya (pronounced at that time Aḥáb Sir'iláí), Ahab the Israelite, was a member of the great Syrian coalition which encountered the Assyrian king at Qarqar in the sixth year of his reign (he reigned 858- B.C., according to the Assyrian post-dating system). Twelve years later he received tribute from Yaua mar Ḫumrî, that is, from Jehu of Beth-ʿOmrî (lit. "House of Omri," the official Israelite name for Samaria. The usual translation "son of Omri" is entirely wrong and has long since been discarded by competent scholars. The difference in form is due to the fact that Hebrew he and ʿayin were unpronounceable to the Assyrians. There is not the slightest possible doubt about either identification.

Cordially,

W. F. Albright

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Sept. 25th, 1942

Dear Miss Amadon,

Sorry for my delay in replying to your letter of the 18th. The fact is that all my mail has been held up for nearly a week, and I am now trying to catch up with it. — The enclosed table seems to be safer than the Eusebian chart, though I am not sure that the statements in question can be made to "walk on all fours," i.e., harmonize perfectly, according to our perverted modern scientific point of view. However, by all means include it: it can do no harm and may be very useful.

Cordially,

W.F. Albright

P.S. Address Professor E.R. Goodenough, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Based on the Passover of Jesus and the disciples

Sent to Albright

Crucifixion Year (Passover to Pentecost)

		Nisan	
	Fri	14	- Passover = evening inemute. Crucifixion = 9th hour.
	Sab	15	- "Holy convocation" = 1st day of feast -*
1	Sun	16	- "Morrow after sabbath"- Wave sheaf - Resurrection--Sunday. [Lev.23:11
2	M	17	
3	Tu	18	= "seven days' feast of unleavened bread." [Lev.23:6
1 4	W	19	
5	T	20	
6	F	21	- "Holy convocation" = 7th day of feast - [Lev.23:8
7	S	22	
8	Sun	23	
9	M	24	
10	Tu	25	
2 11	W	26	
12	T	27	
13	F	28	
14	S	29	
15	Sun	30	
16	M	1	I
17	Tu	2	Y
3 18	W	3	A
19	T	4	R
20	F	5	
21	S	6	
22	Sun	7	
23	M	8	
24	Tu	9	
4 25	W	10	
26	T	11	
27	F	12	
28	S	13	
29	Sun	14	
30	M	15	
31	Tu	16	
5 32	W	17	
33	T	18	
34	F	19	
35	S	20	
36	Sun	21	
37	M	22	
38	Tu	23	
6 39	W	24	
40	T	25	- Ascension--"being seen of them forty days" [Acts 1:3
41	F	26	
42	S	27	
43	Sun	28	
44	M	29	
45	Tu	1	S
7 46	W	2	I
47	T	3	V
48	F	4	A
49	S	5	N
50	Sun	6	- Pentecost = "morrow after seventh sabbath"--Lev.23:16.

"And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete:

"Even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord." [Lev.23:15,16.

* The "high day" of John 19:31. Compare Leo. 23:6,7 and Num. 28:16,17.

It is definitely stated by all the Evangelists that Jesus arose on the first day of the week, and by Luke that He was thereafter seen of His disciples for forty days. This chronology involves both a Sunday Pentecost, and a 14 Nisan crucifixion Friday, as can easily be demonstrated by counting forward and backward on the accompanying table. The date for Pentecost is that of the modern Jewish almanac. It is also Pentateuchal.

for context

Based on the Passover of Jesus and the disciples

Crucifixion Year (Passover to Pentecost) —

Sent to Albright

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14	S	29		
15	Sun	30		
16	M	1	I	
17	Tu	2	Y	
18	W	3	A	
19	T	4	R	
20	F	5		
21	S	6		
22	Sun	7		
23	M	8		
24	Tu	9		
25	W	10		
26	T	11		
27	F	12		
28	S	13		
29	Sun	14		
30	M	15		
31	Tu	16		
32	W	17		
33	T	18		
34	F	19		
35	S	20		
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43	Sun	28		
44	M	29		
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46	W	2	I	
47	T	3	V	
48	F	4	A	
49	S	5	N	
50	Sun	6		- Pentecost = "morrow after seventh sabbath"--Lev.23:16.

* The "high day" of John 19:31. In Lev. 23:6,7, the 15th is called the first day of the feast of unleavened bread — an expression introduced into the gospels only by Luke (22:1). A similar phrase — "the first day of unleavened bread" — has entirely different meaning in that it refers to the 14th of Nisan when both paschal lamb and unleavened bread were eaten together. Cf. Ex. 12:18 and Num. 9:11, with Matt. 26:17, Mark 14:1,12, and Luke 22:7. Cf also Num. 28:16-18

"And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven sabbaths shall be complete:

"Even unto the morrow after the seventh sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord." [Lev.23:15,16.

My Dear Dr. Albright:

The proofs of the J.B.L. article came last Saturday, and they have all been checked and sent back to Prof. Goodenough. I am anxious to find out how much the reprints will cost, and in addition a dozen copies of the Magazine. Mr Jacobs is slow in responding to my inquiry about the price, but I suppose he will get at it as soon as the copy is paged.

I am writing this note, however, expressly to thank you for opening the way for the publication of my article, and hope that the opportunity may come for me to do something in your interest.

Yours very sincerely,

Nov. 18, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

March 13th, 1943

Dear Miss Amadon,

Sorry for my delay in replying to your letter of Feb. 28th. I have been even busier than usual. I enclose a letter from Dr. Filson of Chicago, which you may want to read. Please return it to me (no hurry) after reading it or copying the pertinent paragraph. The inconsistencies to which he alludes in Olmstead's book are very curious, since they certain affect the supposed precision of his treatment. I think that part of Filson's criticism is justified; as I told you, the important part of the article, which cannot be duplicated or even found elsewhere, is the calendric-astronomical. Not that I expect you to accept Filson's observations, since some of them depend on wholly different presuppositions from yours.

Do leave the chronology of the Flood alone! Suppose you read the third chapter of my book (1940) From the Stone Age to Christianity, where you will find my answer to your first paragraph. All Western Asiatic dates must be brought down between fifty and a hundred years to agree with the latest downward revision of the older chronology, to which you refer. The earlier biblical dates cannot be used to establish a chronological system on any kind, however they are explained; this position is now held by the most conservative scholars, e.g., Oswald T. Allis, in his new book, The Five Books of Moses (1943), pp. 261-4.

Cordially,

W. F. Albright

My Dear Dr. Albright:

You can have the answer that I sent to Professor Filson if you think it would be interesting to JBL readers, but I would like to make a few changes in the style. I will have it ready in a few days and will send the MS on to you.

Many thanks for loaning your copy of Allis to the printing office. The various schools of chronology are so wide apart that I am interested in what he has to say regarding the historicity of Genesis. Your advice about this research came after I had worked out the calendation--not of course the chronological outline--and I was quite impressed with the discovery that the writer of Genesis seems to have tied his dates to actual positions of both sun and moon.

Many good things have been written about this Genesis calendar, upon which also the earliest lists of moons in Babylonia have a definite bearing. I am much interested in the earlier dating of the Gezer stone. Perhaps this ancient agricultural record may be a representative of very early periods also.

Thanking you again, Dr. Albright, for your increasingly valuable suggestions,

Yours very sincerely,

April 13, 1942.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

Review of Study on A.J.C.

Dr. W.F. Albright,
Gilman Hall,
Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md.

My Dear Dr. Albright:

Since the publication of the study on Ancient Jewish Calendation, the questions which have come back to me mainly center around three principal points. Inasmuch as the JBL readers may be interested in a brief review of the subject, ~~enclosed~~ the following is a summary of the answers which were returned ~~=~~ to those making requests.

1. How Was Barley Harvest Related to the Ancient Calendar?

Many of the primitive nations appear to have employed agricultural calendars. In support of this conclusion the Gezer stone is possibly witness ca 900 B.C.[1] Schoch also reports the following with reference to early Babylonians:

"Die Babylonier regulierten nach dem Stande der Wintergerste den Jahresbeginn von — 3500 bis — 500. War die Gerste im Addaru zurück, so wurde ein Addaru b geschaltet, damit sie in Airu reif war." [2]

And again, Schoch recites almost the same with regard to the ancient Jews:

"Die alten Juden regulierten also ähnlich wie die Babylonier ihr Jahr nach dem Stande der Wintergerste. Fiel aber der erste eines Monats auf Mars 16 oder früher, so war dieser Monat ein Veadar (oder Adar) des alten Jahres." [3]

Some time after the redaction of the calendar by Hillel II, a severe polemic overtook the Jews regarding the problem of intercalation, and the Karaites challenged the Rabbanites with these words:

"They [the Rabbanites] have introduced the calculation of the calendar, and changed the divine festivals from their due seasons." [4]

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1 K. Marti, "Ein landwirtschaftlicher altpalästinensicher Kalender." Ztschr. f. alttestamentl. Wiss. 29, 1909, 222 ff.
2 Karl Schoch, Planeten-Tafeln für Jedermann, col. xlii. Berlin, 1927.
3 Ib. col. xliii.
4 Philip Birnbaum, The Arabic Commentary of Yefet ben 'Ali the Karaite on the Book of Hosea. Philadelphia, 1942, xxviii.

But earlier, about 1000 A.D., Albîrûnî had explained how barley harvest affected the calendar reckoning:

"The mode of prognosticating the state of the corn was practically this, that one of his [Anan's] followers went out on the 23rd Shebât, to examine--in Syria and the countries of a similar climate--the state of the barley-seed. If he found that the Safâ, i.e. the prickles of the beard of the ear of corn, had already come out, he counted from that day till Passover 50 days; if he found that it had not yet come out, he intercalated a month into the year." [5]

Such was Karaite reaction about the ninth century A.D., and it possibly may have corresponded in some respects to the ancient calendar. However, Albîrûnî mentions a Jewish calendar reform about 200 years after the time of Alexander. These are his words:

"The mathematicians, therefore, computed for them [the Jews] the cycles, and taught them how to find by calculation, the conjunctions and the appearance of the new moon, etc." [6]

Sidersky agrees with Albîrûnî, stating that he had particularly good Jewish sources in hand, although they are not mentioned by name. Nevertheless, Sidersky insists that calculation of the calendar went back much farther in point of time than the Arabic chronologer allows, and refers, among others, to the men of Issachar, whom David appointed as calculators about 1000 B.C. (1 Chron. 12:32). They were leading officers in the ranks that crowned David king, and in Jewish literature they are commonly recognized as astronomers.

In support of ancient calculation, we should also include Posnanski's reference to an interesting fragment from Saadiah Gaon (ca 900 A.D.):

"But we know that Saadiah asserted that the new moons had always been fixed by calculation, and that they commenced summoning witnesses, &c, only after Zadok and Boethos and others had maintained that the Torah enjoined to fix the new moons by observation; and that they did

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[5] Albîrûnî, The Chronology of Ancient Nations, tr. Sachau, London, 1879, 69.
[6] Ibid. 68.

so for the purpose of showing that calculation and observation coincided." [7]

I see no difficulty in the widely quoted Gamaliel citation in itself.--a "single passage," however, which Dr. Ogg brings forward in support of empirical adjustment of the ancient lunar year to the solar. In the first century A.D. we find an astronomical court in session in Jerusalem, known as the Beth Din. Possibly the ancient Jews were stirred to this activity through Babylonian influence. But more probably they had always observed the skies like Job and Abraham. However, this court of witness was conducted with great secrecy--sod ha ibbur was the name for intercalation. And when outcry was made for sanctification of the new month, if a very young crescent, or possibly even a cloud streak had been seen, the officers of the Jewish senate had to know exactly what course to pursue, and what answer to return to ~~the~~ insistent people. "The tribunal knew beforehand," is Maimonides' claim, "whether the moon could be seen or not." [8] And they obtained this experience through the "calculation of the synagogue" in relation to agricultural feasts and stellar science--not by empirical adjustment.

And of material consequence to this problem of intercalation is the fact that pentateuchal law had given the Jewish people an exact point of time to which the full moon of barley harvest could tie. According to the original ~~ancient~~ command, the first matured heads of barley were to be plucked from the ripening harvest, and offered in the temple on the second day of the feast of unleavened bread--the sixteenth of the first month (Lev. 23:11 and Antt.III.X.5). A sheaf of ripe barley on the sixteenth day of Nisan in the season of full moon--this was a very exact ~~the~~ synchronism! We have

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[7] Samuel Poznanski, "Anti-Karaite Writings of Saadiah Gaon," Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. X, 273.

[8] Rabbi Mosis Maimonidae, De Sacrificiis Liber, tr. Compiegne de Veil, Londini, 1683, 384.

not as yet any record from ancient Babylonia with so ~~exact~~ precise a formula for starting the lunar year. From the documents in hand it is difficult to tie the ancient Sumerian loan contracts or the return of the corn even to a definitely fixed month of the year, much less to a certain fixed day of the month, as with the primitive Jews.[9] Landsberger admits--

"Andere Angaben der Wirtschaftstafeln, wie Bewässerung, Aussaat, Dattel-, Sesamernte, heranzuziehen, scheint vorläufig, teils wegen der Unsicherheit der Deutung, teils wegen der Geringheit des Materials, nicht ratsam." [10]

And so, the Jewish witnesses who reported on the new moon in the first century served about the same purpose as the astronomers in the clock house here at the Naval Observatory. For our standard almanacs are computed in harmony with the laws of gravitation several years in advance; but the solar and lunar constants are checked from time to time by actual observation of sun, moon and planets. For all practical calculations these values are unchangeable.

And although we do not know all with reference to the ancient Jewish secret of calculating the year, yet we do know that the barley and wheat harvests, the oil and vintage, the state of the flocks, and the positions of sun, moon and stars were all in agreement with the various seasons. And it is also clear that the ancient lunar year was an epoch in a cycle with all the astronomical details of which it had to be in harmony. These facts make it possible to ~~establish~~ outline a biblical chronology that is based upon both natural law and calculation of the stars and planets.

Now with regard to intercalation in the year 33 A.D. On page 232 of the December JBL, if April 3 be substituted for May 4, the embolismic passover date for 33 A.D., then there would result a succession of four

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[9] Benno Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyer, Erste Hälfte, Leipzig, 1915, 21.

[10] Ibid.

common years--from 32 to 35 inclusive. And the resulting lunar year would then be over 40 days shorter than the solar! But why not make an adjacent year embolismic instead of 33 A.D.? For the reason that each of the other years--32, 34 and 35--has a passover date about the middle of April, when barley is beginning to ripen in Syria. They therefore do not require intercalation as in the case of 33, which had a full moon in very early April. And it can be added that all the moon tables in JBL are based upon the plan to date the passover as near as possible to the middle of April. When the full moon occurs the first week in April, it will commonly happen that the new moon occurs before the equinox, and this seems always an event to have been avoided in the ancient calendation. The circumstance is demonstrated in the dates of the Assuan papyri. If the Assuan embolisms be carried forward in a projected series to the first century, it will be discovered that the year 33 A.D. turns out to be a Jewish leap year, that is, with a Veadar month in the spring.

2. Time of Eating the Passover Lamb. Yes, Professor Albright, most scholars do count the ancient passover as being slain at the end of the fourteenth day, and therefore eaten in the early evening of the fifteenth. But where is the authority for this except in the Talmud, Maimonides, and the modern rabbinical calendar? Neither the Bible nor Josephus say anything about a 15-Nisan passover. By these two authorities the ancient passover was slain, kept, and eaten on 14 Nisan. Such was the case with the "second" passover (Num. 9:11), and also with the first passover, in connection with which it was commanded to eat unleavened bread "on the fourteenth day of the month at even" (Ex. 12:18). That this eating of unleavened bread accompanied the lamb supper is inferred in verse 8; and obviously, "that night" must refer to the only night mentioned--the

night of the fourteenth in verse six.[11]

It seems a reasonable demand that the burden of proof for a 15-Nisan passover should rest with the scholars. But, if they accept the Talmudic 15th, they should consistently employ in their calendation the dehiyoth and the resultant 353 and 385 days to the lunar year. And in addition, the feast of pentecost should then in conformity occur on the 7th of the third month, instead of the Talmudic 5th or 6th. However, these calendaric features the biblical synchronisms challenge.

3. The Chronology of Luke and John. The diagram on page 276 of the December JBL represents the writers Luke and John as each having an independent method of chronology. Luke definitely infers that his 40-day period begins on resurrection Sunday (Acts 1:3). But he apparently contimes the same period out to the "fiftieth day" (τῆς πεντηκοστῆς), which is translated pentecost. To this computation his companion Paul adds his testimony. The festal argument with respect to Paul's succinct reasoning is as follows:

> For, since the sacrifice of "Christ our passover" (1 Cor. 5:17) is an expression that points to crucifixion Friday as the day of slaying the passover lamb, even so does the resurrection of Christ as the risen "first fruits" point to resurrection Sunday as the day of offering the symbolic sheaf (1 Cor. 15:20).

This Sunday we may conclude from the law in Leviticus, and with Luke, Paul and Josephus,[12] to have been the sixteenth day of Nisan. Consequently, the independent computation of Luke would appear to have counted our commonly accepted Sunday pentecost as the fiftieth day inclusive, which he obviously must have considered to be the from Sunday of the resurrection as the typical day of offering the sheaf of first fruits. Hence this sixteenth day of the first Jewish month automatically reverts to death Friday as the fourteenth.

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[11] If it is but remembered that the Jewish day has always begun with night, the problematic passover of the OT and NT thereby becomes simplified.
[12] Antt. III.X.5.

John, on the contrary, reckons in at least two ways that Friday of the crucifixion was fourteen Nisan. First, by designating the fourth day after the previous feast of tabernacles to have been the Jewish Sabbath. This computation made 22 Tishri = Tuesday, as given in the diagram. By counting forward, the intervening 28 weeks and 3 days (199 days in all) end on Friday as the Jewish fourteenth. In addition, John presents a second simpler reckoning by merely stating that the Sabbath during which Jesus lay in the tomb was a "high day" (John 19:31). That it was indeed the first day of the convocation feast of unleavened bread can be concluded from the decision of the chief priests, who said, "Not on the feast," with which they hoped to escape conflict by hurrying through the arrest and illegal night trial of Jesus.

John also refers to this feast sabbath in his description of the communion supper (John 13:29). "Buy those things that we have need of against the feast" is a thought that he imputes to ~~the mind of the other~~ some of the disciples. But, the feast mentioned could not have been a yet future passover supper, which, according to the Synoptic report at least, had already been eaten, or else was then in progress. Obviously, therefore, it must have been the feast of convocation, the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. 23:3) occurring on 15 Nisan. And thus we may account for John's high day as the coincidence between the feast sabbath on the fifteenth, and the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath. And so, according to John, crucifixion Friday was the fourteenth, the same as with Luke!

And as further evidence of agreement in the time of Christ with respect to the festal dates, let us not pass over the unity that existed on the day of pentecost, which all the disciples observed on one and the same day, together with Jews from all over the world. This circumstance would imply that no discord had as yet materially disturbed the ancient Jewish calendar.

A good book to read on early calendation is Professor Martin P. Nilsson's Primitive Time-Reckoning.

Grace Amadon, April 20, 1943

My dear Dr. Albright:

I have been good, but have reluctantly laid aside the flood argument for the present, though it presents what biblical chronology needs--the actual length of the lunar months. Seasoning won't hurt the conclusions, however, and perhaps sometime you may be willing to read them over.

My pencil has jumped ahead--not 10,000 years (sic!)-- to the sixth century B.C. whose dates we discussed a year ago, and which I hope to be able to submit to actual proof from the biblical standpoint. You have the correct dates in the Seal of Eliakim, and I would have known that a year ago if I had not been working with some one else's outline. But, on the contrary, you have only documentary support for your positions. The problem merits internal evidence from the Bible itself, and at least I can say that I am making headway. The key to this whole chronology seems to be the beginning of the Jewish year, and this, not only Kugler, but many others have sidestepped. There are, it seems, in the whole field of biblical chronology as commonly interpreted, very few actual proofs.

Would you mind letting me know if you think that the summary will be published in JBL which was recently sent you. If so, I desire to arrange with Mr. Maurice for a few additional offprints.

Thanking you always for your considerate help and inspiration,

Yours very sincerely,

May 12, 1943,
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

Dear Dr. Albright:

Thanks very much for your worth while criticism. Would an outline like the enclosed, with the references more complete however, help my study by way of making it more understandable? It was not my original intention to include a review of the Jewish year for centuries earlier than the Neo-Babylonian period. But, from the trend of your criticism, it probably would be better. I have written this paper for the class in OT research here at the Seminary under Dr. Wood. As you undoubtedly know, they firmly believe that Daniel was taken captive in the "third" of Jehoiakim, as in Dan.1:1.

From what you say in the "Seal of Eliakim," I did not expect you to agree with Carchemish in 604 B.C. But, according to 2 Kings 24:1, it looks as though Jehoiakim revolted from the Chaldaeans in his third year, after he had paid taxes to Nabopolassar for three years. This is the way Scaliger puts it:

"Regi Aegyptio stipendia pendebat Ioakim rex Judaeorum. Sed mutavit dominū: & Regi Nabopollassaro tributarius factus. Quo defuncto descivit a Chaldaeis, anno regni fui quarto ineunte, qui est primus Nabochodonosori. Sed iterum a Nabochodonosoro victus in ejus potestatem venit."--"Emendatione Temporum," 1593, 79.

Consequently, it seems as if it were the matter of the taxes which made Nabopolassar send his co-regent son with an army into Syria, and after which later in the following year, Necho marched up to the Euphrates for an attack at Carchemish. Necho had set up Jehoiakim as king, and from him had received liberal taxes (2 Kgs. 23:35), and hence this fickleness on the part of Jehoiakim would be sufficiently exasperating to cause war between Nebuchadnezzar and Necho. Just how far south through Syria the Babylonian king went in his raid I do not know.

Dr. Wood asked me to let him have this study for his class to review, and I would like to use it if possible. If it passes the class, it will help some, but I should like to meet your criticisms too. At any rate, I will read Begrich with the same eagerness with which I have read Kugler. But the book is not here in Washington, and it is doubtful if Stechert can get it, for I have tried. If you have a copy and would loan it to me for a time, I would greatly appreciate the favor. Am sending Allis back now. If he had proofs, they could not be hurt. His weakness lies, it seems to me, in his lack of good proof.

Always with best wishes, and many thanks
for your help,

June 14, 1943.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

My Dear Dr. Albright:

Here you are, Doctor. I do not wish to impose on you these hot days. May be some day I will get a letter from you saying, "Won't you please", etc? The trouble is your field is so new to me that I am having to spend all my spare time reading on archaeology instead of playing around a bit. I have not even absorbed the language yet.

With regard to the enclosed study, will you please check in the margin if the argument is not clear, and if you do not agree? Also if you have Levy's reference at hand about the accession period, please write it in the margin. I cannot help but be pleased to discover the rule of correspondence between the Jews and Babylonians, and I shall wait with interest to hear whether you agree. Perhaps you will not. In any event, it relieves the uncertainty that ante- and post-dating bring into the problem, and it shows that Kugler is wrong on his Jewish regnal years beginning in the spring.

Yours very sincerely always, and with all good wishes
for your continued success,

June, 1943 (Can't find the date!)
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

P.S. I do not think that T.M. even went to town in his criticism on your new book.

G.A.

My Dear Dr. Albright:

It is awfully good of you to undertake to criticise my answer to Parker's criticism. My paper is supposed to be only ten pages long, but with thirteen pages, including the engraving, I could not give consideration to every one of his arguments, some of which were quite foolish.

He may not be to blame, however, for the unusual confidence that seems to exist at the Oriental Institute with reference to Schoch's lunar theory. I am planning for another study that will go into this problem more deeply from an astronomical standpoint.

Mr. Draper went through the study with his usual care, and concluded that it would win ninety per cent of those interested in biblical chronology. However, he added that if he could find one instance where the ancient Jews kept the passover before full moon, he would be able to break the postulate! I have been combing every available source for such an episode, and I do not think that one is to be found!

I hope that you will have an interesting time at the New Orleans session.

Yours very sincerely, and
many thanks,

November 1, 1943.
4 Crescent Place,
Takoma Park, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE - 18, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

August 14th, 1944

Dear Miss Amadon,

This is just a belated note of apology and thanks — of apology for never having followed up my promise to criticize your answer to Parker's criticism. I was so busy last year and this early summer that I fell behind on practically all commitments and had to watch my correspondence piling up. Anyway, your article has been published, and it is perfectly obvious from a new perusal that my critical observations would have little significance. I might have suggested a fews changes of wording calculated to make your criticism of Parker more forceful. My thanks are due for your papers in The Ministry, which you were so kind as to send me.

The whole question of N.T. chronology has been notably clarified by your papers and replies to criticisms and objections.

You have doubtless read Thiele's long paper on "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," in the current JNES — in fact, you must know him personally. I am writing him now, giving my opinion of his meritorious — but probably over-ambitious-treatise.

Very sincerely yours,

W.F. Albright

My dear Dr. Albright:

How nice to hear from you once more! And your letter is so encouraging. I felt guilty in asking for your criticism, knowing that you are always so busy. After I sent in my answer to Parker's criticism, I wrote him, giving him a little outline of my reply. I thought perhaps he would withdraw his "challenge" that reflected so little real credit to the University. But no, he only wished to argue further.

Dr. Feigin wrote me a friendly letter, and said that he was pleased. He asked for a copy of the article, and said that he was going to study into the problem--but no calendation! he said. Now how can one solve a calendar problem and leave out the calendation? Perhaps the JBL has asked him to reply.

Yes, I know Thiele. I have done a little work on the kings of Judah and Israel. I sent to Chicago for a film of Begrich, and then had the enlargements made here at the LC laboratory. I highly prize the book and also the friend who recommended it to me. I am not able to criticize Thiele's outline as yet. There are certain synchronisms that check the chronological outline between Solomon and Ezekiel. I have been hoping that the Conference would ask me to go to work on this problem, but no move has been made as yet.

Your friend Dr. Filson also wrote me. He is still interested in NT chronology. Please let me thank you again for your great kindness in helping me get started.

Yours very sincerely,

August 16, 1944
4 Crescent Place
Takoma Park, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE - 18, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

August 19th, 1944

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letter of the 16th has been received. I think that Parker's dogmatic tone, contrasted with your extremely courteous reply, will mislead most uninformed biblical scholars who read the two articles into siding with him. I suppose his intransigeant stand is the result of politics in the Oriental Institute, since he is one of Olmstead's men. As for my friend Feigin, you can't take him seriously at all, since he never will bother with anything he doesn't understand or that would take a great deal of work to comprehend.. JBL has most certainly not asked him to reply; it is again the pressure of departmental politics in the Oriental Institute. Feigin is perfectly capable of dealing with a complex chronological problem like that of the date of the Hebrew Conquest of Canaan without mentioning the existence of archaeological evidence.

I wrote Thiele that he had done a good job, and that I liked particularly his treatment of the Assyrian synchronisms, especially that between Tiglath-pileser III and Azariah. I then went into some detail about the question of method, insisting that the years given in Chronicles for events in the reign of Asa are of great importance and cannot be passed over in silence, etc., etc.

Very sincerely yours,

W. F. Albright

My Dear Dr. Albright:

You ask me about Dr. Thiele's chronology.

The last few days I have had a little time to review Thiele's chronological outline. There are a few outstanding features upon which I can ~~pass on~~. comment. Two years ago you read critically thirty or more pages which I had written on the biblical Jewish year. You concluded that I had gone over to the extreme opposite of Kugler. You may not remember my arguments, but they still hold good for the autumn-beginning for Judah, and the spring-beginning for the ten tribes. Thiele has the right premise, but he has too ~~so~~ little proof for his foundation principles ~~that I wonder that his graduate committee let him get by~~, especially since ~~when~~ there are so many opponents in the field. He proposes the "trial and error" method of proof. That is no proof, however, especially when an outline shifts as his does. His argument needs the best that the Bible offers--and there is abundance from which to choose--with regard to the biblical regnal year.

I would not mind sending Cameron a ~~right-to-the-point~~ criticism if you think it best. ~~Or, would it be better to offer a study to Dr. Pfeiffer? And further~~, have ~~you~~ changed your mind about the regnal year? That is important for me to know, for if I should send anything to JBL, I would like to use ~~the~~ my chart with the 586 date for the destruction of Jerusalem. You seem to favor Thiele's thesis, but I am at sea regarding some of the old positions we discussed. I should like to know if you

For example: His table ties together the 1st of Amel-Marduk, the 37th year of the captivity, and the 12th Jewish month on the basis of a Nisan-beginning Ezekiel year. But this ~~combination~~ will not work except with an autumn-beginning captivity year. If the Ezekiel year begins in the spring, then either the first captivity year starts before Jehoiakim dies, or else the 37th captivity year coincides with the 12th month in the 2nd year of Amel Marduk. The error does not show in ~~the~~ Thiele's table on account of its arrangement, but I enclose a table for you showing how the years work out. coordination

Then again, with reference to Josiah, Thiele seems to have ~~has entirely~~ missed the point that establishes proof of his autumn-beginning year. The LXX and Lucian add to 2 Kings 22:3 "in the eighth month." This date gave the young king sufficient time to prepare for the passover the coming spring--all in his 18th year. Both Sanda and Wellhausen accept this reading. Furthermore, the silver collection itself has the earmark of an autumn episode--even from Moses to Nehemiah.

Regarding Ezek. 40:1, several authoritative scholars look upon rosh hashana at the time of here as indicative of the "tenth day of the seventh month," not the month of Nisan. The phrase has a counterpart in Deut.11:12, which we know refers to the fall-beginning of the agricultural year. I do not believe that Thiele's interpretation here is correct. or the Gezer calendar.

But possibly, as you say, we cannot work on the basis of a formula for Israel. If so, we must then have synchronisms that will check on the ~~wrong~~ questionable Assyrian synchronisms.

My criticism of Thiele is that he has largely assumed his foundation principles. I was surprized when I came to go through his material. ~~The~~ outline I am not through with. If we cannot find general formulas His ~~that~~ upon which to base two centuries of Israelitic rule, then we shall have to with other ~~Apocalyptic~~ synchronisms than those connected with ~~beat~~ ~~square~~ antedating and post dating by which we will equate the two systems of Israel and Judah. I know that you do not support a spring-to-spring Israelitic year. ~~This basis~~, there, we must have a ~~book~~ series of supporting synchronisms.

Yours very sincerely always,

August 27, 1944
4 Crescent Place
Takoma Park, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE - 18, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

August 30th, 1944

Dear Miss Amadon,

Yours of the 27th has been received. Since I wrote you last I have --stimulated by Thiele -- drawn up my n-th outline of chronology, none of which has happily ever appeared in print. This time I think I have something which is worth printing, though I don't try to make all data walk on all fours like Begrich and Thiele. In mathematics and science of sufficient precision to fit mathematical formulae data must agree; in dealing with data of entirely different character, many of which are probably inexact, this method is impossible. One can only base himself on sources which are demonstrably more secure and adjust everything to historical probability.

I agree with you that in Judah the year was compute from the autumn (so also in the Gezer Calendar), but I am wholly unconvinced by the spring theory of Israelite chronology. I agree enthusiastically that nothing can be proved here by the "trial-and error" method. Most of the synchronisms were calculated subsequently to the period to which they apply; note the flat contradiction between the chronology of I Kings and the datings in Asa's reign in II Chron. 15-16 (Asa's 36th year, mentioned after his 35th and before his 39th, falling before the death of Baasha).

I have reread Kugler, Begrich and Mowinckel, and feel confident of the date 587 for the Fall of Jerusalem -- the only one which really fits the synchronism between cuneiform and Hebrew sources at the death of Josiah in 609 B.C. Following the only admissible post-dating system, Josiah died about May 1, 609, and was followed for three months by Joahaz. About August Joiakim replaced him, completing his accession year the following September or October (according to the archaizing Jewish system), in March-April according to the Babylonian. In the

spring or autumn of 598 he began his eleventh year (post-dating), dying shortly afterwards and being followed for three months by Joiachin. The latter's accession year ended in the spring or fall of 597, when his first year (post-dating)began. This first year was also the first year of his reign in Mesopotamia (where the post-dating system had always been employed, so far as we know), and was prudently termed "the first year of Joiachin's captivity." The 37th year would begin in the spring or autumn of 561. -- So far, I think, we agree. But since Jerusalem fell in Ab according to uniform and very ancient Jewish tradition, this is the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, which consequently began at that time in the spring. Hence I adhere to the year 587 for this date, whereas you turn to 586. There are plenty of other points to be raised, but this seems to be the nub.

I have no objection in principle to beginning the post-dating practice in Judah before Josiah, but I am convinced that the change of the "new year for kings" to the spring accompanied it. In no case can this change go back into Hezekiah's reign.

I agree about Ezek 40:1, which applies to the religious festival at the beginning of the old Jewish year.

Very sincerely yours,

W.F. Albright

W.F. Albright

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

October 14th, 1944

Dear Miss Amadon,

Yours of the 13th has just been received. I suggest that you look up Edgerton's paper in American Journal of Semitic Language, LIII (1937), pp. 188 on. There you will find the exact reference to Borchardt's book, which contains the only accessible photographic reproduction of the Ebers Calendar (cf. p. 190, n. 5). The name of the king, Amenophis I, appears in the heading, and since the prenomen is given, there cannot be the slightest doubt about the exact identity of the king. Besides, the rest of the papyrus was writen some decades earlier. -- Unless you learn Egyptian you will find the treatment of this calendar by Eduard Meyer, Borchardt, Edgerton et al. pretty hard going.

Dr. Thiele was here in passage the other day. I showed him my comments in the Bulletin of the ASOR (current number), which he took quite gracefully. My own article will probably appear in December, if I get time to write it (next Tuesday I lose my tonsils, in an effort to get rid of possible causes for my latest illness).

Cordially,

W. F. Albright

"Die mittel zeitlichen festlegung von punkten der ägyptischen geschichte und ihre anwendung" von Ludwig Borchardt. Kairo, Selbstverlag, 1935.

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My Dear Doctor Albright:

Many thanks for your prompt reply to my request regarding the Ebers Calendar. I had to send to Chicago for the book, but it has not yet come. I hope that you are making speedy recovery from your operation, which is apt to be aggravating. Like seasickness, however, one does not mind the ordeal after it is over. I have read with interest your comments on Thiele in ASOR, and then sent in my subscription for two years.

Last year I tried to arouse Dr. Neugebauer's interest in Schoch's "short" translation periods, but was not very successful. I am not an observer, but when authoritative astronomers from way back insist that the moon takes from one to three days and over to make her first appearance, I feel inclined to accept their word in preference to a table that is constructed in such a way as to produce only short interluniums. The Catholic Church calendar was so arranged, according to Hagen, that Easter never occurs on the full moon. Similarly, the modern rabbinical calendar was so built up that the 15th day of Nisan never occurs on Monday, Wednesday or Friday. !!!

For several days I have been working on the problem of the biblical accession year in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. I was inclined to accept Levy's statement about Jer. 25:1, but now that I have read his Forschungen on the history of the Near East, I am doubtful. Admittedly he has a good chronological outline, but some of his dates are colored by his spring-beginning Jewish year. The Bible is quite clear that the Jewish year was autumn-beginning. Kugler did not examine all the proofs. As for the accession year, either Jewish or foreign, we have at least twelve "first" years mentioned in the OT; but the Hebrew word for "first" differs in different centuries, and so far as I can discover, there is no single term representing accession year. From a critical standpoint, Jer. 25:1 appears to be comparable with 2 Chron. 29:3. Jeremiah apparently uses a spring-beginning calendar for most of his foreign regnal years, and the Jewish calendar for the kings of Judah. Daniel appears to follow the same rule. Ezekiel has only one calendar--Jewish. Haggai and Zechariah are spring-beginning. Again, with the exception of the Persian record that was found regarding the "first year of Cyrus," Ezra and Nehemiah are Jewish--and that for foreign kings!

It centainly seems important to differentiate between the various biblical calendars. Every writer appears to be a law unto himself. Probably also calendaric records were interpolated that were foreign to a writer's trend. These differences in calendars may account for a difference in dates that occur with reference to the same event.

Thanks again, Doctor, for your gracious response. May you have the divine blessing of God to aid your recovery. I am counting on seeing your chronological proofs in print.

Yours always sincerely,

October 24, 1944
4 Crescent Place
Takoma Park, Md.

Bochardt

My Dear Dr. Albright:

Many thanks for your prompt reply to my request regarding the Ebers Calendar. I had to send to Chicago for the article by Bochardt, and of course it has not yet come. I hope that you are making speedy recovery from your operation, which is apt to be aggravating. But, it is like seasickness, which one does not mind after it is over.

I have read with relish your comments on Thiele in ASOR. I then sent in my subscription for two years. Last year I tried to stir up Dr. Neugebauer's interest in Schoch's "short" translation periods, but was not very successful. I am not an observer, but when leading astronomers from way back insist that the moon takes from one to three days and over to make her first appearance, I feel inclined to accept their word in preference to a table that is constructed in such a way as to produce only short interluniums.

For several days I have been working on the problem of the accession year in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. I was inclined to accept Levy's statement about Jer. 25:1, but now that I have read his Forschungen on the history of the Near East, I am doubtful. Admittedly he has a good chronological outline, but the dates are colored by his spring-beginning Jewish year. The Bible is quite clear that the Jewish year was fall-beginning. I now have at least four good arguments. As for the accession year, either Jewish or foreign, we have at least twelve "first" years mentioned in the OT, but the word for "first" differs in different periods, Jer. 25:1 appears to be comparable to 2 Chron. 29:3. He apparently uses one calendar for his foreign regnal years--I mean Jeremiah--and the Jewish calendar for the kings of Judah. Daniel appears to follow the same custom. Ezekiel has only one calendar--Jewish. Haggai and Zechariah are spring-beginning. Again, Ezra and Nehemiah are Jewish, with the exception of the Persian record that was found regarding the "first year of Cyrus." It certainly is important to differentiate between the various calendars that were in use, and every writer appears to be a law unto himself. This difference in calendars probably accounts for the difference in dates that occur with reference to the same event. Josephus, for example, has the temple made desolate in the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar--burned--(X.VIII.5), while in the "second year of Cyrus" the new temple was begun. (Apion I.21) These dates he took from Jewish books, and as such they agree with the Jewish calendar. But they also agree with the Persian "nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar", as in 2 Kings 25:8 and Jer. 52:12, which obviously represents a spring-beginning calendar. And so Daniel was fasting and praying in the "third year of Cyrus," (Persian time) when the event of laying the corner stone took place two weeks later in the "second year of Cyrus," Jewish time. Ezra calls it the "second year of their coming."

Thanks again, Doctor, for your gracious help. May you have divine help in your recovery.

Yours very sincerely,

October 24, 1944
4 Crescent Place

My Dear Dr. Albright:

When Dr. Lindsjo was here in September, he said that he knew you. Hence you may be interested in his report of a visit with Dr. Parker, with whom some astronomical facts seem finally to have taken root. Parker wrote me again late in the summer, but I felt that I was not making any headway with him. I answered him that my greatest criticism against him personally was his assumption that Babylonian reckoning--if we can call Schoch's tables such--agrees with the meridian of Jerusalem.

Dr. Thiele, of course, is Parker's loyal supporter, and from E.M. College the warped ideas of lunar astronomy as promoted by the Oriental Institute, trickle eastward. Parker thinks that I am too hard on Schoch, but I wrote him that scholarship concludes that I am too easy. He criticises me for referring to Scaliger, and now Albiruni comes in for his share. The fact is that as time has advanced, so has lunar astronomy, and Schoch and Olmstead to the contrary, we at least know when the moon is rising or setting! The Arabs used pure observation of the new moon, while apparently the Babylonians in the Neo kingdom did not. It remains to be proved--not documented--whether Parker has the answer to this .

The new moon is not always seen earlier in the west than at Babylon. The problem depends upon the meridian where the conjunction occurs near sunset. This is either east or west of Jerusalem. When this lunar meridian occurs, say in the Atlantic ocean, then in America, the month (lunar) begins a day earlier than in the east. The astronomy here is very intriguing--we worked out a few tables at the Observatory three years ago. The Jews of the dispersion understood this, and hence their fire signals for their brethren in the east.

I have heard nothing about you since your operation and of course have been wishing you well. You have been very kind in writing me so many letters, and none are more welcome. I greatly appreciate your interest. I wish that I could come to Johns Hopkins and study. There are so many things that I do not know.

Yours very sincerely always,

December 5, 1944
4 Crescent Place
Takoma Park, Md

My Dear Dr. Albright:

Was disappointed in not seeing you in New York, and am sorry to know that you have been sick again. Different ones expressed disappointment at not seeing you. I too have been sick and in fact gave up going until the last minute. Enclosed is a copy of the resume sent Dr. Flight. Dr. Ernest Wright tells me that you are planning to publish in ASOR your outline of the Israelite-Judaean kings, and I am looking forward to seeing it? With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

January 8, 1945
4 Crescent Place
Takoma Park, Md.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
BALTIMORE - 18, MARYLAND

ORIENTAL SEMINARY

February 17th, 1945

Dear Miss Amadon,

Your letters of Dec. 8th (enclosing a copy of one from Lindsjo with your comment) and Jan. 8th have been received. During the latter part of December and most of January I was flat on my back with acute sciatica, so my correspondence simply piled up. Now I am wearing a very effective new brace and the sciatica is also much better, so I am able to work again (though still dependent on a sedative for sleep).

Neugebauer has a magnificent survey of ancient astronomy in the current JNES, recently received. He comes out strongly en passant for observation, not calculation, of the New Moon in Babylonia. I don't think either Olmstead (who has broken his leg recently, poor fellow, and will retire from active teaching at the end of this academic year) or Parker will like some of his work, especially since he quietly rejects practically of their ideas. When Neugebauer and Sachs on Babylonian astronomy appears in a few years (I hope), we shall have a really first-class handbook. Sometimes you have cited somewhat doubtful authorities (though never as poor [redacted] as Olmstead's reliance on L'art de vérifier les dates, which scandalized Neugebauer), but what Alberuni says about practice in his and preceding times is much more pertinent in this case than the opinions of most recent chronologers, who can't quite divest themselves of modern preconceptions.

My chronological study (which has been deferred indefinitely because of my illness) will not deal seriously with calendric matters, but only with approximate dates; it is macrochronological, not microchronological.

Cordially,

W. F. Albright