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Gordon Wenham, Cheltenham
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RÉSUMÉ

Walter Brueggemann nous livre une Théologie de l'Ancien Testament impressionnante et originale. Il considère que la théologie de l'Ancien Testament doit se fonder sur les textes tels qu'ils se présentent à nous, et non pas sur des reconstructions critiques des sources. En même temps, il trouve inadaptée toute tentative de systématiser le témoignage de

l'Ancien Testament ou de le lire christologiquement. Son ouvrage vise à mettre en lumière le pluralisme de l'Ancien Testament. On peut saluer l'enthousiasme avec lequel Brueggemann s'attache à montrer la pertinence de l'Ancien Testament pour aujourd'hui, mais il faut regretter certaines dissonances entre le programme qu'il s'est fixé et ce qu'il accomplit effectivement dans sa Théologie.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Brueggemanns Theology of the Old Testament ist ein beeindruckendes und außergewöhnliches Werk. Der Verfasser betont nachdrücklich, daß eine Theologie des Alten Testaments mit der uns zur Verfügung stehenden Endform der Texte arbeiten muß, nicht mit rekonstruierten Quellen, und daß alle Versuche, das Zeugnis des Alten Testaments zu systematisieren bzw. christologisch zu interpretieren, verfehlt sind.

Brueggemanns Werk ist so angelegt, daß es den Pluralismus des Alten Testaments hervorhebt, d.h. es ist unterteilt in 'Kernaussage', 'widersprechende Aussage' usw. Der vorliegende Artikel begrüßt Brueggemanns mit großem Enthusiasmus vorgetragenes Anliegen, die Relevanz des Alten Testaments für die heutige Zeit aufzuzeigen. Dennoch gilt es darauf hinzuweisen, daß zwischen Brueggemanns Vorhaben und der tatsächlichen Ausführung einige Diskrepanzen bestehen.

Since the great Old Testament theologies of Eichrodt and von Rad appeared in English translation in the 1960s there have been a number of shorter treatments of the subject, but no major work. At last with Brueggemann's 800-page work we have a study that will stand alongside Eichrodt and von Rad as one of the significant twentieth-century contributions to Old Testament theology. Brueggemann's work is not just big, it is exciting, refreshing, critically self-aware and provocative.

The freshness of its ideas is matched by the vigour of its style, which prevents the reader tiring on the trek through the Old Testament's thirty-nine books.

The theology proper falls into five parts, but it is preceded by a long historical review of previous critical approaches to the writing of Old Testament theology culminating in Brueggemann's statement of his own programme. Brueggemann traces the origins of Old Testament theology to the Reformation. It developed in the

nineteenth century as an academic discipline unshackled by confessional or church constraints but blinkered by its appeal to Enlightenment rationalism, which prevented it taking seriously the Old Testament assertions about God (pp. 2–15).

In the wake of Barth's revolution Old Testament theologians such as Eichrodt and G. E. Wright once again took seriously the normativeness of its faith and endeavoured to show the distinctiveness of biblical faith against the background of the ancient Near East. This was the period of the Biblical Theology movement, which Brueggemann sees reaching its logical conclusion in Childs' insistence that Old Testament texts must be read canonically within a Christian frame of reference (pp. 17–45). However the arrival of sociological criticism with Gottwald and rhetorical criticism with Mulenbug showed that there is no innocent reading of biblical texts: every scholar brings his own agenda and presuppositions with him. The apparent unity of earlier historical-critical scholarship about how the Old Testament must be interpreted simply reflects their white middle-class positivist assumptions: now according to Brueggemann we must recognise we are all biased, and therefore we should adopt a pluralist approach to interpretation (pp. 49–60).

In his second chapter Brueggemann continues his methodological review by examining the contemporary situation, which like many others he terms post-modern. Post-modernism is characterised by pluralism, so there is no exclusively right interpretation. Canonical criticism would impose a unitary conservative interpretation on the text, whereas historical criticism would impose an atheistic sceptical one (pp. 62–63). A post-modern approach to Old Testament theology must recognise certain points. Firstly, we cannot penetrate behind the texts to the real historical situation or to the essence of God himself. We only know God through the biblical texts, so an Old Testament theology must stick to what the texts say (p. 65). Furthermore we must recognise

the plurality of approaches within the Old Testament: some texts focus on worship, others on the word. Brueggemann confesses to being 'much more interested in the latter: 'the present writer is unflagging in his empathy toward that revolutionary propensity in the text' (p. 74). Modern critical study has emphasised how much of the Old Testament took its final shape in the exile or soon afterwards, and this ought to influence our understanding of its theology (pp. 74–80). This ought to make the Old Testament theologian particularly appreciative of Jewish approaches to theology and dialogue with it seriously (pp. 80–84). Brueggemann characterises his own approach as postliberal or non-foundational, by which he means 'an attempt to exposit the theological perspectives of the text itself, in all its odd particularity, without any attempt to accommodate to a larger rationality, either of modernity or of classical Christianity' (p. 86).

He then reviews briefly a number of other contemporary scholarly approaches to Old Testament theology (Childs, Levenson, Barr, Rendtorff, Tribble, Pixley and Black Theology), before discussing four recurrent issues for the Old Testament theologian. These are historical criticism, church theology, the Jewishness of the Old Testament, and public possibilities.

While recognising that a historical appreciation of the setting of the Old Testament books is useful for interpretation, Brueggemann mounts a sustained attack on much historical criticism. It has focused on the incidentals and forgotten the central issues. The Old Testament is about God, but he is bracketed out if not denied by many critics.

In principle, historical criticism runs the risk that the methods and assumptions to which it is committed may miss the primary intentionality of the text. Having missed that, the commentaries are filled with unhelpful philological comment, endless redactional explanations, and tedious comparisons with other materials. Because the

primal Subject of the text has been ruled out in principle, scholars are left to deal with these much less interesting questions (p. 104).

Very often historical criticism has been informed by a rationalistic disbelief in miracles and an antipathy to church tradition and authority (p. 103). He is scathing about the developmentalism inherent in Wellhausen's view of Israelite history, which he holds could only have arisen in an era of smug self-congratulation (p. 15). In particular Wellhausen's characterisation of post-exilic Judaism as 'decadent, degenerate, and legalistic' fostered the anti-semitism that ultimately led to the holocaust (pp. 94, 104, 653).

But to bounce back from sceptical historical criticism into a Christian reading of the Old Testament (*à la* Childs) would according to Brueggemann be just as serious a mistake. He criticises Childs as 'massively reductionist' (p. 92). Systematic theology cannot cope with the different voices in the text but seeks to harmonise them. It

cannot tolerate the unsettled polyphonic character of the text... Thus, for example, if theology, in its metaphysical propensity, holds to an affirmation of God's omnipotence, an interpreter must disregard texts to the contrary... If it is claimed that God is morally perfect, the rather devious ways of the God of the Old Testament must either be disregarded or explained away (p. 106).

In fact the Old Testament does not agree with Christian doctrine or witness to Jesus Christ.

The truth of the matter, on any careful reading and without any tendentiousness, is that *Old Testament theological articulation does not conform to established church faith*, either in its official declaration or in its more popular propensities. It is clear on my reading that the Old Testament is not a witness to Jesus Christ, in any primary or direct sense, as Childs proposes, unless one is prepared to sacrifice more of the text than is credible (p. 107).

However Brueggemann treats Jewish approaches more kindly. He commends

the insights of Jewish narrative critics like Sternberg, who are alert to the ambiguities and playfulness of the biblical text (p. 111). He observes that at many points Jews and Christians agree about the meaning of the text: indeed though they disagree about the identity of Jesus, they are both still looking for the messiah to come, either for the first or second time (p. 109). It is Christian supersessionism that is most to blame for the neglect by Christians of Jewish interpretation. Supersessionism holds that the church has replaced the Jews as the people of God, and therefore the Old Testament should be interpreted in a Christian way. But Brueggemann cites with approval John Paul II's comment that God's covenant with Israel 'has never been revoked by God' (p. 112).

By contrast with historical criticism, church and Jewish interpretation, Brueggemann discusses public possibilities much more briefly. He holds that the study of Old Testament theology should not just be the concern of the church or the Jews, but it should impact the whole world.

It concerns the rise and fall of empires and the living and dying of human persons and communities... The Old Testament insists that there is a moral shape to the public process that curbs the raw exercise of power (p. 113).

So from time to time in his *Theology* Brueggemann contrasts the affirmations of the Old Testament with modern attitudes. He points to the hope the Old Testament offers over against the despair that issues from enlightenment thinking, its emphasis on community against modern autonomous individualism, and its Mosaic revolution of distributive justice as opposed to the dominant military consumerism of the West (pp. 561, 485, 735-41).

Having clarified his own theological stance by comparing it with others Brueggemann starts on his account of Old Testament theology. He holds that God in himself does not fit any preconceived categories, so we must focus on the

speech about God in the Old Testament. We must bracket out questions of historicity and ontology: it is what the text says that matters. Taking his cue from various law court scenes in the Old Testament Brueggemann suggests that the best way to describe this theological discourse is testimony. When testimony is presented in court, the judge and jury cannot go behind the testimony to the 'real events', rather they have to decide whether they can accept the testimony as true or not. So when the scriptural testimony is accepted it becomes revelation: 'when utterance in the Bible is taken as truthful, human testimony is taken as revelation that discloses the true reality of God' (p. 121).

Following Barr Brueggemann holds that this testimony is embedded not in individual words but in sentences. 'The sentence is the unit of testimony that most reliably is taken as revelation' (p. 123). His *Theology* therefore proceeds by classifying all sorts of statements about God, with verses or paragraphs of Scripture cited in full. His first major section, chapters 3–7, is entitled 'Israel's Core Testimony' and deals with the fundamental positive assertions about God and his character within the Old Testament.

Chapter 4, 'Testimony in Verbal Sentences', examines various things God is said to do in the Old Testament. He creates, promises, delivers, commands, and leads. The content here is quite familiar, but its presentation as testimony in a law court gives it an interesting spin. Among Brueggemann's more provocative assertions in this chapter are that the Old Testament does not assert creation *ex nihilo*, or the fall, and that it is male chauvinist to hold that Israel's faith is primarily about redemption not creation (pp. 158–60). Homosexual practice is banned in the Old Testament because it causes impurity, not for reasons of justice,² so the biblical views need not bind the modern church (pp. 194–6).

Chapter 5 on adjectives applied to God indicate fundamental abiding characteristics, such as his grace, mercy, steadfast love. Noting that the Old Testament has

no adjectives for omniscient or omnipresent Brueggemann argues that it is uninterested in such ideas, unlike systematic theologians (p. 225).

Chapter 6 deals with nouns, which again reflect God's constancy. There are firstly metaphors of God's governance, God as judge, king, warrior, father, and secondly metaphors of sustenance, artist/potter, healer, gardener, mother, shepherd. He admits that 'the great preponderance of noun-metaphors for Yahweh are patriarchal' (p. 264), but he is not sure whether this represents deliberate polemic against Canaanite fertility religion or is just part of ancient patterns of speech. He thinks modern writers should make reparations for this patriarchal language, but he does not say how (pp. 265–6).

Chapter 7, 'Yahweh Fully Uttered', discusses how different Old Testament writers make use of these ideas. According to Brueggemann an Old Testament theology is concerned with thematisation not systematisation. In fact at the core of Israel's testimony about Yahweh is a fundamental contradiction, expressed most crisply in Exodus 34:6–7 where God is portrayed as sovereign, forgiving iniquity but by no means clearing the guilty. God's forgiveness and judgment are incompatible (p. 270), nevertheless the ideas recur in the Old Testament especially in the stories of the wilderness wanderings. Also in much of the Old Testament the covenant is fundamental. Though some scholars deny its antiquity, as Old Testament theologians we need not worry about this, but simply acknowledge it 'is pervasive and definitional for Yahweh' (p. 297).

Part 2, chapters 8–12, is entitled 'Israel's Countertestimony'. Here Brueggemann develops his law court analogy by comparing parts of the Old Testament to cross-examination. Objections to the claims about Yahweh made in the central texts are here raised. In the psalms of lament questions like 'How long, O Lord' or 'Why' are often asked. The exile produced its own crop of problems. Has God abandoned his people? Is he sovereign?

(pp. 319–23). Chapter 9 discusses the concept of God's hiddenness and providence as they are expressed in the wisdom books and biblical narrative.

Chapter 10 'Ambiguity and the Character of Yahweh' looks at those passages where God seems devious or ready to deceive. Jeremiah accuses the LORD of deceiving him (20:7), he changes his mind in Genesis (cf. 6:5 and 8:21) and about supporting Saul in 1 Samuel, while in 2 Samuel 24:1 the LORD is said to incite David to number the people, an act later condemned as sinful.

Chapter 11 'Yahweh and Negativity' discusses ideas that seem even more contrary to the positive image of Yahweh given in Israel's core testimony. These include the covenant curses, the commands to annihilate the Canaanites, the suffering inflicted on Job, and the hopeless pessimism of Ecclesiastes. In Chapter 12 Brueggemann insists that it is essential to maintain the positive and negative views within the Bible. 'This tension between the two belongs to the very character and substance of Old Testament faith' (p. 400). It is akin to the contrast between Good Friday and Easter in the New Testament.

Section 3, Chapters 13–18, entitled 'Israel's Unsolicited Testimony' deals with Old Testament teaching not directly about Yahweh but closely related issues, in particular God's partnership with Israel (ch. 14), with mankind (ch. 15), with the nations (ch. 16) and with creation (ch. 17). In chapter 13 Brueggemann reviews Israel's experience under the covenant from its cheerful beginning to the exile and restoration. He argues that the covenant is both conditional and unconditional and that Sanders characterization of first-century Judaism as 'covenantal nomism' fits the Old Testament as well (p. 419).

Under the rubric of 'The Human Person as Yahweh's Partner' Chapter 15 Brueggemann discusses traditional topics such as the image of God in man. As elsewhere in his *Theology* Brueggemann relies heavily on the Psalms and the prophets to construct his views. He argues that man is both answerable to God, yet

God needs man's prayers, and that the Old Testament picture of man in community is better than modern day individualism (pp. 457, 485–6).

Chapter 16 reviews various texts that deal with Yahweh's relationship with the nations, from the destruction of the Canaanites to the oracles against the nations, from the negative picture of Babylon in Isaiah to the more positive outlook in Daniel. It ends with a plea that prophetic perspectives on the nations should influence modern thinking about international affairs (pp. 497, 502, 512–3, 526–7).

'Creation as Yahweh's Partner' (chapter 17) describes the threat to creation from chaos and death, and the counterbalancing hope that God is in control. In the last chapter of the section on Yahweh's partners Brueggemann draws parallels between the various relationships, which all begin well, suffer disruption and then are restored. Once again he denies that it is accurate to describe the disruption to the divine-human partnership as a fall (p. 553). He contrasts the hope of restoration that the Old Testament offers with the despair that must result from an Enlightenment view of human autonomy (p. 561).

Part 4, chapters 19–25, 'Israel's Embodied Testimony', deals with a variety of institutions that mediated God's presence in Old Testament times. Brueggemann picks out the Torah (ch. 20), kingship (ch. 21), prophecy (chapter 22), the cult (ch. 23) and wisdom (ch. 24) as mediators of God's presence. In so far as he focuses in this part on the historical institutions and their development rather on their witness to Yahweh, this part of his *Theology* feels more like part of a history of Israelite religion or de Vaux's *Ancient Israel* than an Old Testament theology. There are few surprises in this section, but in discussing the cult he again seizes the opportunity to berate Protestant scholarship, especially Wellhausen, for failing to appreciate its value (pp. 651–3).

The fifth and final section of the book (chapters 26–29), 'Prospects for Theologi-

cal Interpretation', match the introductory two chapters of the book in being essentially programmatic, developing once again Brueggemann's approach to Old Testament theology. He reiterates many of the points already made elsewhere in the book. He insists that in future Old Testament theology must be pluralist: it must break with the monopolistic interpretations of the church on the hand and academic scholarship (critical positivism) on the other. Hitherto interpretation has been in the hands of rich white Westerners: now we must recognise diverse voices within the Old Testament (e.g. priestly and Deuteronomic) and different interpretations of it (pp. 707–711). But though there may be variations within the Old Testament and between its interpreters, they do present a different construal of reality from the dominant metanarrative of our age termed by Brueggemann 'military consumerism'. 'Israel's testimony yields a world as deeply opposed to military consumerism as it is to every other alternative metanarrative that lacks the markings of the central Character' (p. 720).

Chapter 27 is a plea to recognise the authority of the Old Testament, and to avoid the distractions of historical criticism. He comments wryly: 'Utilization of historical research as an instance of theological scepticism seems to me evident in the current rage to date everything in the Old Testament late. Thus: "it is late, therefore it did not really happen, therefore it could hardly be authoritative"' (p. 721).

Chapter 28, 'Some Pervasive Issues', reminds us of some of the continuing problems facing writers of Old Testament theology. Historical criticism must be congruent with the text and with the intellectual environment. In other words it must concentrate on historical issues, such as the dating of texts, without importing the rationalistic scepticism that has tended to characterise criticism since the Enlightenment. Second, Old Testament theology must avoid being too Christian. It is wrong to insist that the only way to read the Old Testament is in

the light of the New. Childs' approach is 'inherently reductionist, because it reduces the polyphonic, elusive testimony of the Old Testament to one single, exclusivist construal . . . thereby violating the quality of generative openness that marks the Old Testament text' (p. 732). Third we must recognise the validity of Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament. 'Jewish imaginative construals of the Old Testament text are, in Christian purview, a legitimate theological activity' (p. 735). Fourth, we should note that the Mosaic revolution is central to the Old Testament and the starting point of its theology. Therefore its concerns for distributive justice should be ours. Our world is dominated by consumerism, which despite its name really puts power into the hands of wealthy elites, whether rich nations, rich companies, or rich individuals. 'Israel's testimony, with its uncompromising and irreducible commitment to justice, stands as the primary alternative to the deathly ideology of technological, military consumerism' (p. 741).

His final chapter, 'Moving toward True Speech' argues that Old Testament theology must be interpreted and mediated by a community committed to its values in its own life. Such a church would be characterised by five commitments: 1) to live by the economics of the Torah; 2) to exercise power benevolently like OT kings should have (Ps. 72); 3) to welcome prophets even when they are uncomfortable; 4) to bring all life into God's presence through worship; and 5) to use the Wisdom books to transform daily life (p. 745). When Joshua bade farewell to Israel, he invited them to put away the gods their fathers had served and to decide whether to serve the LORD or not. That, according to Brueggemann, is the challenge that Old Testament theology puts to the church today.

Reflections

Brueggemann's *Theology* is an enormously stimulating work. His engagement with the text and with modern life is deep and sincere, and his

passionate desire to communicate, indeed to sell, the Old Testament to the great American public comes over repeatedly in this work. Inside and outside the church today the Old Testament tends to be written off as out-of-date and irrelevant, and Brueggemann shows that such attitudes are quite misguided. Hence it will be read with profit not just by academics but by pastors and others engaged in Christian ministry. His insistence that interpretation should be carried out in community by those committed to living by the Old Testament is challenging and a powerful reminder that theology involves the whole being not just the head or the soul.

But what do we make of Brueggemann's theology, and does his performance fulfil the ideals he sets out at the beginning? The fullness with which I have set out his ideas indicates my profound sympathy with his work. In particular value his engagement with the Old Testament and his respect for its authority. I appreciate his insistence that we must focus on what the text says and not try to go behind it to what really happened or what God is really like. We are bound to see these facts through the lens of Scripture. His desire to let the different voices within the Old Testament speak is surely right too: his metaphors of Core Testimony and Countertestimony are very attractive. His appeal to rhetorical criticism and the exilic setting of much of the Old Testament is also valuable.

But in many of these areas Brueggemann could have gone further, or to put it another way, he could have been more consistent. He rightly affirms that we must understand what the text is saying, as opposed to investigating what it is referring to, whether historical event or God. And when we investigate its meaning we must focus on the sentence, not on individual words as the so-called biblical theology movement did. But though it is better to focus on sentences than on words, it would be even better to focus on the discourses in which the sentences are set. Even a sentence out of context can be a pretext, and for all Brueggemann's protestations that he wants to move away from systematisation, I sometimes felt his

quotes from the Bible smacked of old-fashioned proof-texting. It would be have been better to have set these sentences within the context of the books from which they come and what they contribute to the message of each book rather than cite verses from a variety of books, just because, for example, they all describe God as judge.

This point could be developed another way. Brueggemann pays lip-service to the value of rhetorical criticism, admittedly the surface rhetorical criticism of Muilenburg and Tribble, but in fact he makes little use of it. The deep rhetorical criticism of Perelman and practised by writers such as Sternberg, Duke, Amit and Renz³ is not discussed by Brueggemann. This criticism sees each work of literature as a message from an author to a reader and aims to explicate the argument of the work and how the author seeks to persuade his reader to accept and act on his message. So far this approach has been applied only to a limited number of biblical books. But if Brueggemann is serious about focusing on what the texts themselves are trying to say, the sentences which he quotes need to be understood within the framework of each biblical book.

Communication takes place in historical contexts, so that reconstruction of the communicative situation is very useful to the rhetorical critic. Reacting against the excesses of historical criticism Brueggemann does not pay much attention to the historical contexts in which the biblical text was written, though this can helpfully focus the intention of the text. For example, many of the biblical books appear to have been edited or reached their final form during or soon after the exile, and this illuminates the way in which they must have been understood at the time. The account of Nathan's oracle when retold by Chronicles seems to underline the fact that the promise to David is 'for ever', which in the absence of a Davidic king in Jerusalem when Chronicles was written surely invites a messianic reading. In a similar way the book of Psalms was presumably put together as an anthology

in post-exilic times, yet it has been noted that the pre-exilic royal psalms are put in prominent places within this collection again suggesting hopes for a new king were not dead⁴. But Brueggemann does not discuss this: maybe because it tells against his dislike of closed readings and Christian readings in particular.

Allied to his neglect of the historical setting of the texts is Brueggemann's surprising inattention to the historical books as a source of Old Testament theology. Von Rad's first volume was entitled 'The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions', but Brueggemann hardly mentions the books of Judges to Kings as theological works and gives surprisingly short shrift to the story line of the Pentateuch. (In his *Theology* Brueggemann quotes most often from the Psalms and the prophets.) This is particularly odd in a scholar so alive to the post-modern turn, which has made us aware of metanarratives, the grand stories into which we fit all of our thinking. The modern metanarrative is the theory of evolution with its vision of a long slow ascent of life culminating in the achievements of human technological culture. But the traditional metanarrative of Western Christendom is the biblical story from creation to the second coming, yet for all his profession of post-modernist principle Brueggemann ignores it.

Finally despite his appeal to the authority of the Old Testament and his claim that it alone offers hope to a despairing society, Brueggemann is quite eclectic in his commendation of its ethics. Like many preachers he realises it is easier to commend those points that do not touch the hearer too directly. To advocate morality in foreign policy or redistribution of wealth sounds good, but your average reader is not likely to be disturbed by it. But touch on personal morality, which the Bible speaks often about, or green issues and perhaps suggest we might alter our

life-styles or drive cars less and a preacher or author will upset a lot of people. I fear consciously or subconsciously Brueggemann may have drawn attention to those features of Old Testament theology that play easiest to liberal middle-class Americans, and denied or left out aspects that they would find objectionable.

To conclude, I find Brueggemann's aims in writing his *Theology* splendid and its performance exhilarating, but at the end I am left a little disappointed. I suppose my ideal Old Testament theology would be a cross between von Rad and Brueggemann. I believe with Brueggemann that an Old Testament theology should focus on the final form of the text, not on its putative sources, but with von Rad that we should listen to what these texts say as wholes, not to individual sentences within them. Finally, I think that taking more account of the exilic or post-exilic setting of the biblical books edited in that era would make a christological reading of them more plausible than Brueggemann is ready to grant.

Notes

- 1 Walter Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997) ISBN 08006-3087-4 pp. xxi + 777.
- 2 An odd assertion since the ban on homosexual practice occurs within sections of case law or moral exhortation e.g. Leviticus 20:13; Deuteronomy 23:18.
- 3 M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984). R. K. Duke, *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990). Y. Amit, *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing*. (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1992). T. Renz, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).
- 4 J. C. McCann, *A Theological Introduction to the Book of the Psalms* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993)