

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

VOLUME X

JANUARY 1972

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

<i>Hasel, Gerhard F., The Significance of the Cosmology in Genesis I in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Parallels</i>	I
<i>Lugenbeal, Edward N., and James A. Sauer, Seventh-Sixth Century B. C. Pottery from Area B at Heshbon</i>	21
<i>Rubencamp, Cosmas, The Anthropology of Jean Zurcher: A Catholic Appreciation</i>	70
<i>Shea, William H., An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period: III</i>	88
Book Reviews	118



ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

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

SIEGFRIED H. HORN
Editor

JAMES J. C. COX, LEONA G. RUNNING, KENNETH A. STRAND
Associate Editors

Sakae Kubo *Book Review Editor*
ROY E. BRANSON *Circulation Manager*

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES publishes papers and short notes in English, French and German on the following subjects: Biblical linguistics and its cognates, textual criticism, exegesis, Biblical archaeology and geography, ancient history, church history, theology, philosophy of religion, ethics and comparative religions.

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

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in January and July of each year. The annual subscription rate is \$ 5.00. Payments are to be made to Andrews University Seminary Studies, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, USA.

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

The articles in this journal are indexed, abstracted or listed in: Book Reviews of the Month; Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus (Biblica); Index to Religious Periodical Literature; International Bibliography of the History of Religions; Internationale Zeitschriften-schau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete; New Testament Abstracts; Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; Religious and Theological Abstracts; Subject Index to Periodical Literature—Mosher Library; Theologische Zeitschrift; Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COSMOLOGY IN GENESIS I IN RELATION TO ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PARALLELS

GERHARD F. HASEL

Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan

When in 1872 George Smith made known a Babylonian version of the flood story,¹ which is part of the famous Gilgamesh Epic, and announced three years later a Babylonian creation story,² which was published the following year in book form,³ the attention of OT scholars was assured and a new era of the study of Gn was inaugurated. Following the new trend numerous writers have taken it for granted that the opening narratives of Gn rest squarely on earlier Babylonian mythological texts and folklore. J. Skinner speaks, in summing up his discussion of the naturalization of Babylonian myths in Israel, of "Hebrew legends and their Babylonian originals."⁴ More specifically he writes "... it seems impossible to doubt that the cosmogony of Gn 1 rests on a conception of the process of creation fundamentally identical with that of the

¹ The first news of this flood account was conveyed by Smith in 1872 through the columns of *The Times* and a paper read to the Society of Biblical Archaeology on Dec. 3, 1872, which was printed in the Society's *Transactions*, II (1873), 213-234.

² In a letter by Smith published in the *Daily Telegraph*, March 4, 1875.

³ G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (London, 1876).

⁴ John Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; 2d ed.; Edinburgh, 1930), p. xi, who followed H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (HKAT; Göttingen, 1901), p. I; an English translation of the introduction of the commentary is published as *The Legends of Genesis. The Biblical Saga and History*, Schocken Book (New York, 1964). The term "legend" is the unfortunate translation of the German term "Sage" by which Gunkel meant the tradition of those who are not in the habit of writing, while "history" is written tradition. Gunkel did not intend to prejudge the historicity of a given narrative by calling it "legend."

Enuma eliš tablets.”⁵ Thus by the turn of the century and continuing into the twenties and thirties the idea of a direct connection of some kind between the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of creation was taken for granted, with the general consensus of critical opinion that the Hebrew creation story depended on a Babylonian original.

The last six decades have witnessed vast increases in knowledge of the various factors involved in the matter of parallels and relationships. W. G. Lambert and others⁶ remind us that one can no longer talk glibly about Babylonian civilization, because we now know that it was composed of three main strands before the end of the third millennium B.C. Furthermore, it is no longer scientifically sound to assume that all ideas originated in Mesopotamia and moved westward as H. Winckler’s “pan-Babylonian” theory had claimed under the support of Friedrich Delitzsch and others.⁷ The cultural situation is extremely complex and diverse. Today we know that “a great variety of ideas circulated in ancient Mesopotamia.”⁸

In the last few decades there has been a change in the way in which scholars understand religio-historical parallels to Gn 1-3. In the past, scholars have approached the ancient Near Eastern creation accounts in general from the point of view that there seems to be in man a natural curiosity that leads him to inquire intellectually, at some stage, “How did

⁵ Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁶ W. G. Lambert, “A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis,” *JTS*, N.S. XVI (1965), 288, 289; cf. A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia. Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (2d ed.; Chicago, 1968); S. N. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer* (2d ed.; Garden City, 1959).

⁷ This theory led to the unfortunate “Bible versus Babel” controversy in the first decade of the twentieth century. Cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig, 1902); Alfred Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1904; 3d rev. ed., 1916). Criticisms of this approach are given by William L. Wardle, *Israel and Babylon* (London, 1925), pp. 302-330; Leonard W. King, *History of Babylon* (London, 1915), pp. 291-313.

⁸ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

everything begin? How did the vast complex of life and nature originate?" In the words of a contemporary scholar, man sought "to abstract himself from immersion in present experience, and to conceive of the world as having had a beginning, and to make a sustained intellectual effort to account for it."⁹ Here the speaking about creator and creation in the ancient Near Eastern creation accounts is understood to be the result of an intellectual thought process. Over against this understanding of the ancient Near Eastern creation myths and myths of beginning there are scholars who believe that in these myths the existence of mankind in the present is described as depending in some way on the story of the origin of world and man.¹⁰ This means that in the first instance it is a question of the concern to secure and ensure that which is, namely, the world and man in it. It recognizes that the question of "how" man can continue to live and exist has prior concern over the intellectual question of the world's and man's beginning.¹¹

Correspondences and parallels between the Hebrew creation account of Gn 1:1-2:4¹² and the cosmogonies of Israel's earlier

⁹ S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1963), p. 65.

¹⁰ This has been well summarized by R. Pettazoni, "Myths of Beginning and Creation-Myths," in *Essays on the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)*; Leiden, 1967), pp. 24-36; cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1966 ff.), pp. 28, 29. N. M. Sarna (*Understanding Genesis*, Schocken Book [New York, 1970], pp. 7-9), points out correctly that the so-called Babylonian Epic of Creation, *Enuma elish*, was annually reenacted at the Babylonian New Year festival. However, the "inextricable tie between myth and ritual, the mimetic enactment of the cosmogony in the form of ritual drama . . . finds no counterpart in the Israelite cult" (p. 9).

¹¹ Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 29; B. W. Anderson, *Creation versus Chaos* (New York, 1967), pp. 83-89.

¹² C. Westermann explained the complementary relationship between Gen. 1:1-2:4a and 2:4b-25 in the following way: "In Genesis 1 the question is, From where does everything originate and how did it come about? In Genesis 2 the question is, Why is man as he is?" *The Genesis Accounts of Creation* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 24. Thus the complementary nature of the two creation accounts lies in the fact that Gn 1 is more concerned with the entirety of the creation of the world and Gn 2 more with the entirety of particular aspects of

and contemporary civilization in the ancient Near East have to be approached with an open mind.¹³ The recognition of correspondences and parallels raises the difficult question of relationship and borrowing as well as the problem of evaluation. N. M. Sarna, who wrote one of the most comprehensive recent studies on the relationship between Gn and extra-biblical sources bearing on it, states: "... to ignore subtle differences [between Genesis and ancient Near Eastern parallels] is to present an unbalanced and untrue perspective and to pervert the scientific method."¹⁴ The importance of difference is, therefore, just as crucial as the importance of similarity. Both must receive careful and studied attention in order to avoid a misreading of elements of one culture in terms of another, which produces gross distortion.¹⁵

The method employed in this paper is to discuss the similarities and differences of certain terms and motifs in the Hebrew creation account of Gn 1 over against similar or related terms and motifs in ancient Near Eastern cosmologies with a view to discovering the relationship and distinction between them. This procedure is aimed to reveal certain aspects of the nature of the Hebrew creation account.

Tēhôm—Tiāmat

Since the year 1895 many OT scholars have argued that there is a definite relationship between the term *tēhôm* (deep) in Gn 1:2 and *Tiāmat*, the Babylonian female monster of the primordial salt-water ocean in *Enuma elish*.¹⁶ Some scholars

creation. Cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Chicago, 1968), pp. 31-34.

¹³ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 289, makes this point in reaction to earlier excesses by scholars who traced almost every OT idea to Babylonia.

¹⁴ Sarna, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

¹⁵ See Kitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff.; Sarna, *op. cit.*, pp. xxii ff.; Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff.

¹⁶ This identification was made especially by H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen, 1895), pp. 29 ff.

to the present day claim that there is in Gn 1:2 an "echo of the old cosmogonic myth,"¹⁷ while others deny it.¹⁸

The question of a philological connection between the Babylonian *Tiāmat* and the Biblical *tēhôm*, "deep," has its problems. A. Heidel¹⁹ has pointed out that the second radical of the Hebrew term *tēhôm*, *i.e.*, the letter ה (h), in corresponding loan-words from Akkadian would have to be an א (?) and that in addition, the Hebrew term would have to be feminine whereas it is masculine.²⁰ If *Tiāmat* had been taken over into Hebrew, it would have been left as it was or it would have been changed to *ti|e'āmā* (תאמא).²¹ Heidel has argued convincingly that both words go back to a common Semitic root from which also the Babylonian term *tiamtu*, *tāmtu*, meaning "ocean, sea," is derived. Additional evidence for this has come from Ugarit where the word *thm|thmt*, meaning "ocean, deep, sea," has come to light,²² and from Arabic *Tihāmatu* or

¹⁷ Cf. Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 39; B. S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (2d ed.; London, 1962), p. 37; S. H. Hooke, "Genesis," *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. by H. H. Rowley and M. Black (London, 1962), p. 179.

¹⁸ W. Zimmerli, *Die Urgeschichte, I. Mose 1-11* (3d ed.; Zürich, 1967), p. 42; Kitchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 90; Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 149; K. Galling, "Der Charakter der Chaosschilderung in Gen. 1, 2," *ZThK*, XLVII (1950), 151; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World* (Rome, 1970), p. 13; D. F. Payne, *Genesis One Reconsidered* (London, 1968), pp. 10 ff.; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (2d ed.; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1967), p. 80, n. 5; and many others.

¹⁹ A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, Phoenix Book (Chicago, 1963), p. 100. Heidel's argumentation has been accepted by Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 146; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 5; Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11; and others.

²⁰ Sarna, *op. cit.*, p. 22, agrees that *tēhôm* is not feminine by grammatical form, but points out that "it is frequently employed with a feminine verb or adjective." See also the discussion by M. K. Wakeman, "God's Battle With the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery" (unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1969), pp. 143 ff.

²¹ Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

²² It is often found parallel to the Ugaritic *ym*; cf. G. D. Young, *Concordance of Ugaritic* (Rome, 1956), p. 68, No. 1925. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome, 1955), p. 332, No. 1925; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (Leiden, 1955), p. 61; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische*

Tihâma which is the name for the low-lying Arabian coastal land.²³ On this basis there is a growing consensus of opinion that the Biblical term *têhôm* and the Babylonian *Tiāmat* derive from a common Semitic root.²⁴ This means that the use of the word of *têhôm* in Gn 1:2 cannot be used as an argument for a direct dependence of Gn 1 on the Babylonian *Enuma elish*.²⁵

In contrast to the concept of the personified *Tiāmat*, the mythical antagonist of the creator-god Marduk, the *têhôm* in Gn 1:2 lacks any aspect of personification. It is clearly an inanimate part of the cosmos, simply a part of the created world. The "deep" does not offer any resistance to God's creative activity. In view of these observations it is unsustainable to speak of a "demythologizing" of a mythical being in Gn 1:2. The term *têhôm* as used in vs. 2 does not suggest that there is present in this usage the remnant of a latent conflict between a chaos monster and a creator god.²⁶ The author of Gn 1 employs this term in a "depersonalized"²⁷ and "non-mythical"²⁸ way. Over against the Egyptian cosmogonic mythology contained in the Heliopolitan, Memphite, and Hermopolitan theologies, it is of significance that there is in Gn 1:2 neither a god rising out of *têhôm* to proceed with creation nor does this term express the notion of a pre-

Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel (2d ed.; Berlin, 1962), p. 52; Wakeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-161.

²³ U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Jerusalem, 1961), p. 23; Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

²⁴ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 293; Kaiser, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Kitchen, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 146; P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament* (Leiden, 1958), p. 187 and n. 2; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 80, n. 5; D. Kidner, *Genesis* (London, 1967), p. 45.

²⁵ With Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 146.

²⁶ For a detailed discussion of the relationship between *têhôm* and corresponding Sumerian, Babylonian, and Egyptian notions, see the writer's forthcoming essay, "The Polemic Nature of the Genesis Cosmology," to be published in *VT*, XXII (1972).

²⁷ Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁸ Galling, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

existent, personified Ocean (Nun).²⁹ With T. H. Gaster it is to be observed that Gn 1:2 "nowhere implies...that all things actually issued out of water."³⁰

In short, the description of the depersonalized, undifferentiated, unorganized, and passive state of *tēhôm* in Gn 1:2 is not due to any influence from non-Israelite mythology but is motivated through the Hebrew conception of the world.³¹ In stating the conditions in which this earth existed before God commanded that light should spring forth, the author of Gn 1 rejected explicitly contemporary mythological notions. He uses the term *tēhôm*, whose cognates are deeply mythological in their usage in ancient Near Eastern creation speculations, in such a way that it is not only non-mythical in content but antimythical in purpose.

The Separation of Heaven and Earth

The idea of a separation of heaven and earth is present in all ancient Near Eastern mythologies. Sumerian mythology tells that the "earth had been separated from heaven" ³² by Enlil, the air-god, while his father An "carried off the heaven."³³ Babylonian mythology in *Enuma elish* reports the division of heaven and earth when the victorious god Marduk forms

²⁹ Nun, the primeval ocean, "came into being by himself," *ANET*³, p. 4. For discussions of the distinctions between Egyptian cosmogonic speculation and Gen. 1, see H. Brunner, "Die Grenzen von Zeit und Raum bei den Ägyptern," *AfO*, XVII (1954/56), 141-145; E. Hornung, "Chaotische Bereiche in der geordneten Welt," *ZAS*, LXXXI (1956), 28-32; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), pp. 167 ff.; E. Würthwein, "Chaos und Schöpfung im mythischen Denken und in der biblischen Urgeschichte," in *Wort und Existenz* (Göttingen, 1970), pp. 29 ff.; and *supra*, n. 26.

³⁰ T. H. Gaster, "Cosmogony," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville, 1962), I, 703; cf. Sarna, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³¹ On the distinction between the Hebrew world-view and that of its neighbors, see Galling, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 155; Würthwein, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 178 ff.

³² N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (2d ed.; New York, 1961), p. 37; cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³³ Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, p. 82.

heaven from the upper half of the slain *Tiāmat*, the primeval salt-water ocean:

IV: 138 He split her like a shellfish into two parts:
139 Half of her he set up and ceiled it as sky.³⁴

From the remaining parts of *Tiāmat* Marduk makes the earth and the deep.³⁵ The Hittite Kumarbi myth, a version of a Hurrian myth, visualizes that heaven and earth were separated by a cutting tool:

When heaven and earth were built upon me [Upelluri, an Atlas figure] I knew nothing of it, and when they came and cut heaven and earth asunder with a copper tool, that also I knew not.³⁶

In Egyptian mythology Shu, the god of the air, is referred to as he who "raised Nut [the sky-goddess] above him, Geb [the earth-god] being at his feet."³⁷ Thus heaven and earth were separated from an embrace by god Shu (or, in other versions, Ptah, Sokaris, Osiris, Khnum, and Upuwest of Assiut), who raised heaven aloft to make the sky.³⁸ In Phoenician mythology the separation is pictured as splitting the world egg.³⁹

The similarity between the Biblical account and mythology lies in the fact that both describe the creation of heaven and earth to be an act of separation.⁴⁰ The similarity, however, does not seem to be as significant as the differences. In Gn 1 the firmament (or heaven) is raised simply by the *fiat* of God. In contrast to this, *Enuma elish* and Egyptian mythology have water as the primal generating force, a notion utterly foreign to Gn creation.⁴¹ In Gn, God wills and the powerless, inani-

³⁴ *ANET*³, p. 67.

³⁵ According to a newly discovered fragment of Tablet V. See Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³⁶ O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (2d ed.; Baltimore, 1966), p. 193.

³⁷ Coffin Texts (ed. de Buck), II, 78a, p. 19, as quoted by Brandon, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The date is the Middle Kingdom (2060-1788 B.C.).

³⁸ Morenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-182.

³⁹ H. W. Haussig, ed., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (Stuttgart, 1961), I, 309, 310.

⁴⁰ Westermann, *Genesis*, pp. 47 ff., 160 ff.

⁴¹ Sarna, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

mate, and inert waters obey. Furthermore, there is a notable difference with regard to how the "firmament" was fashioned and the material employed for that purpose, and how Marduk created in *Enuma elish*. The separation of waters in Gn is carried out in two steps: (1) There is a separation of waters on a horizontal level with waters above and below the firmament (expanse) (Gn 1:6-8); and (2) a separation of waters on the vertical level, namely the separation of waters below the firmament (expanse) in one place (ocean) to let the dry land (earth = ground) appear (Gn 1:9, 10).

These notable differences have led T. H. Gaster to suggest that "the writer [of Gn 1] has suppressed or expurgated older and cruder mythological fancies."⁴² But these differences are not so much due to suppressing or expurgating mythology. They rather indicate a radical break with the mythical cosmogony. We agree with C. Westermann that the Biblical author in explaining the creation of the firmament (expanse) "does not reflect in this act of creation the contemporary world-view, rather he overcomes it."⁴³ Inherent in this presentation of the separation of heaven and earth is the same antimythical emphasis of the author of Gn 1 which we have already noted.

Creation by Word

It has been maintained that the concept of the creation of the world by means of the spoken word has a wide ancient Near Eastern background.⁴⁴ It goes beyond the limits of this paper to cite every evidence for this idea.

⁴² T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament* (New York, 1969), p. 6.

⁴³ Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 160, against G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, 1962), I, 148: "This account of Creation is, of course, completely bound to the cosmological knowledge of its time." Zimmerli, *op. cit.*, p. 53; P. Van Imschoot, *Theology of the Old Testament* (New York, 1965), I, 98: Gn 1 "borrowed from the ideas of those days about the physical constitution of the world, . . ."

⁴⁴ See the discussion with literature by Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-177; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 143; Westermann, *Genesis*,

In *Enuma elish* Marduk was able by word of mouth to let a "cloth" vanish and restore it again.⁴⁵ "A creation of the world by word, however, is not known in Mesopotamia."⁴⁶ This situation is different in Egypt. From the period of Ptolemy IV (221-204 B.C.) comes a praise to the god Thoth: "Everything that is has come about through his word."⁴⁷ In Memphite theology it is stated that Atum, the creator-god, was created by the speech of Ptah. The climax comes in the sentence:

Indeed, all the divine order really came into being through what the heart thought and the tongue commanded.⁴⁸

The idea of creation by divine word is clearly apparent.⁴⁹ This notion appears again. "... the Creator [Hike = magic itself] commanded, a venerable god, who speaks with his mouth...."⁵⁰ S. G. F. Brandon points out that the notion of creation by word in Egyptian thought is to be understood that "creation was effected by magical utterance."⁵¹ Further-

pp. 52-57; D. J. Frame, "Creation by the Word" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1969).

⁴⁵ *ANET*³, p. 66; IV: 19-26; Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 ff.

⁴⁶ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer*, pp. 79, 80, makes the point that the Near Eastern idea of the creative power of the divine word was a Sumerian development. "All that the creating deity had to do... was to lay his plans, utter the word, and pronounce a name" (p. 79). This he believes was an abstraction of the power of the command of the king.

⁴⁷ L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 28.

⁴⁸ *ANET*³, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Detailed discussions of the Egyptian idea of creation by divine word in relation to the OT idea of creation by divine word have been presented by K. Koch, "Wort und Einheit des Schöpfergottes in Memphis und Jerusalem," *ZThK*, 62 (1965), 251-293, and Frame, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 ff. Koch claims that the OT idea of creation by divine word is derived from the Memphite cosmogony. But a direct dependence is to be rejected. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis*, p. 56; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 177. In Egypt creation comes by a magic word, an idea alien to Genesis creation.

⁵⁰ Brandon, *op. cit.*, p. 37, from a Coffin Text dated to 2240 B.C.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

more, creation by magical power of the spoken word is only one of many ways creation takes place in Egyptian mythology.⁵²

N. M. Sarna considers the similarity between the Egyptian notion of creation by word and the one in Gn 1 as "wholly superficial."⁵³ In Egyptian thought the pronouncement of the right magical word, like the performance of the right magical action, is able to actualize the potentialities inherent in matter. The Gn concept of creation by divine fiat is not obscured by polytheistic and mantic-magic distortions.⁵⁴ Gn 1 passes in absolute silence over the nature of matter upon which the divine word acted creatively. The constant phrase "and God said" (Gn 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26) with the concluding refrain "and it was so" (Gn 1:7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 30) indicates that God's creative word does not refer to the utterance of a magic word, but to the expression of an effortless, omnipotent, unchallengeable word of a God who transcends the world. The author of Gn 1 thus shows here again his distance from mythical thought. The total concept of the creation by word in Gn 1 is unique in the ancient world. The writer of Gn 1 attacks the idea of creation by means of a magical utterance with the concept of a God who creates by an effortless word.⁵⁵ It is his way of indicating that Israelite religion is liberated from the baneful influence of magic. But he also wishes to stress the essential difference of created being from divine

⁵² E. D. James, "The Conception of Creation in Cosmology," in *Liber Amicorum. Studies in Honor of C. J. Bleeker (Suppl. to Numen, XII; Leiden, 1969)*, pp. 99-102.

⁵³ Sarna, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵⁴ L. Scheffczyk, *Creation and Providence* (New York, 1970), p. 7.

⁵⁵ E. Hilgert, "References to Creation in the Old Testament other than in Genesis 1 and 2," in *The Stature of Christ. Essays in Honor of E. Heppenstall*, ed. by V. Carner and G. Stanhiser (Loma Linda, Calif., 1970), pp. 83-87, concludes that in Gn 1 there is a complete lack of a primeval dualism, *i.e.*, a cosmic struggle from which a particular god emerged victorious. Yahweh is asserted always to have been the supreme omnipotent God. This is true also of other OT creation passages.

Being, *i.e.*, in Gn 1 creation by word is to exclude any idea of emanationism, pantheism, and primeval dualism.

The Creation and Function of the Luminaries

Astral worship was supported in a variety of forms by the entire civilization of the ancient Near East, especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Among the Sumerians the moon as the major astral deity was born of Enlil and Ninlil, the air-god and air-goddess respectively. He was known as Nanna. Nanna, the moon-god, and his wife Ningal are the parents of Utu, the sun-god or the sun.⁵⁶ In Egypt the sun in its varied appearances was the highest deity, so that in the course of time many gods acquired sun characteristics. On the other hand, the moon had an inferior role. The daily appearance of the sun was considered as its birth.⁵⁷ The moon waned because it was the ailing eye of Horus, the falcon god. It goes without saying that both sun and moon as deities were worshiped. In Hittite religion the "first goddess of the country" was the sun-goddess Arinna, who was also the "chief deity of the Hittite pantheon."⁵⁸ In Ugarit the deities of sun and moon are not as highly honored as other deities. One text asks that sacrifices be made to "the sun, the lady [= moon], and the stars."⁵⁹ The great Baal myth has a number of references to the sun-goddess who seeks Baal.⁶⁰ A separate hymn celebrates the marriage of the moon-god Yarih, "the One Lighting Up Heaven," with the goddess Nikkal.⁶¹

In *Enuma elish* one could speak of a creation of the moon only if one understands the expression "caused to shine"⁶² as indicating the creation of the moon. It is to be noted that

⁵⁶ Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, p. 41.

⁵⁷ H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (2d ed.; New York, 1961), p. 28.

⁵⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁹ Text 52 (= SS), 54.

⁶⁰ Text 62 (= IAB); 49 (= IIIAB).

⁶¹ Text 77 (= NK).

⁶² *ANET*³, p. 68.

the order of the heavenly bodies in *Enuma elish* is stars-sun-moon.⁶³ The stars are undoubtedly referred to first because of the astral worship accorded them in Babylonia and "because of the great significance of the stars in the lives of the astronomically and astrologically minded Babylonians."⁶⁴

The stars are not reported to have been created; the work of Marduk consists singularly in founding stations for the "great gods . . . the stars" (Tablet V:1-2).⁶⁵ There is likewise no mention of the creation of the sun.

Against this background the contrast between the Biblical and the non-Biblical ideas on sun, moon, and stars becomes apparent. "Indeed," says W. H. Schmidt, "there comes to expression here [in Gn 1:14-18] in a number of ways a polemic against astral religion."⁶⁶

(1) In the Biblical presentation everything that is created, whatever it may be, cannot be more than creature, *i.e.*, creatureliness remains the fundamental and determining characteristic of all creation. In *Enuma elish* Marduk fixes the astral likenesses of the gods as constellations (Tablet V:2), for the gods cannot be separated from the stars and constellations which represent them.

(2) In the place of an expressly mythical rulership of the star Jupiter over the other stars of astral deities in *Enuma elish*, we find in Gn the rulership of a limited part of creation, namely day and night through the sun and the moon, both of which are themselves created objects made by God.

(3) The heavenly bodies in the Biblical creation narrative are not "from eternity" as the Hittite Karatepe texts claim for the sun-god.⁶⁷ The heavenly bodies do have a beginning; they are created and are neither independent nor autonomous.

(4) The author of the Biblical creation story in Gn 1 avoids

⁶³ Not as Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 117, says, "stars, moon, sun."

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *ANET*³, p. 68.

⁶⁶ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 119; cf. Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁶⁷ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

the names "sun" and "moon," which are among Israel's neighbors designations for deities. A conscious opposition to ancient Near Eastern astral worship is apparent, for the common Semitic word for "sun" was also a divine name.⁶⁸

(5) The heavenly bodies appear in Gn 1 in the "degrading"⁶⁹ status of "luminaries" whose function it is to "rule." They have a serving function and are not the light itself. As carriers of light they merely are "to give light" (Gn 1:15-18).

(6) The Biblical narrative hardly mentions the stars. The Hebrew phrase "and the stars" is a seemingly parenthetical addition to the general emphasis on the greater and smaller luminaries. In view of star worship so prevalent in Mesopotamia,⁷⁰ it appears that the writer intended to emphasize that the stars themselves are created things and nothing more. An autonomous divine quality of the stars is thus denied. They are neither more nor less than all the other created things, *i.e.*, they share completely in the creatureliness of creation. With von Rad and others we may conclude that "the entire passage vs. 14-19 breathes a strongly antimythical pathos"⁷¹ or polemic. Living in the world of his day, the writer of Gn 1 was undoubtedly well acquainted with pagan astral worship, as were the readers for whom he wrote. The Hebrew account of the creation, function, and limitation of the luminaries demonstrates that he did not borrow his unique thoughts from

⁶⁸ Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

⁶⁹ Von Rad, *Genesis*, p. 53.

⁷⁰ E. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1949), p. 82, presents evidence for the general tendency of giving divine attributes to the stars. T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (2d ed.; New York, 1961), pp. 320 ff., links certain characteristics of astral worship with the seasonal myth of the dying and rising god of fertility (Tammuz, Osiris, Adonis, Attis, etc.).

⁷¹ Von Rad, *op. cit.*, p. 53; cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 119: "Ja, hier [Gn 1:14 ff.] äussert sich auf mehrfache Weise eine Polemik gegen die Astralreligion." Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Sarna, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 ff., 76; H. Junker, "In Principio Creavit Deus Coelum Et Terram. Eine Untersuchung zum Thema Mythos und Theologie," *Biblica*, 45 (1965), 483; J. Albertson, "Genesis 1 and the Babylonian Creation Myth," *Thought*, XXXVII (1962), 231; Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

the prevailing pagan mythical views. Rather he combats them while, at the same time, he portrays his own picture of the creatureliness of the luminaries and of their limitations.

The Purpose of Man's Creation

We need to discuss also the matter of the purpose of man's creation in Sumero-Akkadian mythology and in Gn 1. The recently published Atrahasis Epic,⁷² which parallels Gn 1-9 in the sequence of Creation-Rebellion-Man's Achievements-Flood,⁷³ is concerned exclusively with the story of man and his relationship with the gods.⁷⁴ It should be noted, however, that this oldest Old Babylonian epic⁷⁵ does not open with an account of the creation of the world. Rather its opening describes the situation when the world had been divided among the three major deities of the Sumerian-Akkadian pantheon. The seven senior-gods (Anunnaki) were making the junior-gods (Igigi) suffer with physical work.

I: i:3-4 The toil of the gods was great,
The work was heavy, the distress was much—⁷⁶

The work was indeed so much for the junior-gods that they decided to strike and depose their taskmaster, Enlil. When Enlil learned of this he decided to counsel with his senior-god colleagues upon a means to appease the rebel-gods. Finally, the senior-gods in council decided to make a substitute to do the work:

"Let man carry the toil of the gods."⁷⁷

⁷² W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḥasis. The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford, 1969).

⁷³ A very cautiously argued comparison between the Atrahasis Epic and the early chapters of Genesis is presented by A. R. Millard, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," *Tyndale Bulletin*, XVIII (1967), 3-18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6. Note now also the article by W. L. Moran, "The Creation of Man in Atrahasis I 192-248," *BASOR*, 200 (1970), 48-56, who deals with the origins and nature of man in Atrahasis.

⁷⁵ In its present form it dates to ca. 1635 B.C.; see Lambert-Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43. ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

In *Enuma elish* the gods were also liberated from work by the creation of man.⁷⁸ The idea that man was created for the purpose of relieving the gods of hard labor by supplying them with food and drink was standard among the Babylonians.⁷⁹ This motif may derive from Sumerian prototypes. In the Sumerian myth *Enki and Ninmah* we also find that man is created for the purpose of freeing the gods from laboring for their sustenance.⁸⁰

The description of the creation of man in Gn 1:26-28 has one thing in common with Mesopotamian mythology, namely, that in both instances man has been created for a certain purpose. Yet this very similarity between Gn 1 and pagan mythology affords us an excellent example of the superficiality of parallels if a single feature is torn from its cultural and contextual moorings and treated independently. T. H. Gaster makes the following significant statement:

But when it comes to defining the purpose of man's creation, he [the scriptural writer] makes a supremely significant advance upon the time-honored pagan view. In contrast to the doctrine enunciated in the Mesopotamian myths... , man is here represented, not as the menial of the gods, but as the ruler of the animal and vegetable kingdoms (1:28) ...⁸¹

In Gn 1 "man is the pinnacle of creation," to use the words of N. H. Sarna.⁸² On the other hand, in Mesopotamian mythology the creation of man is almost incidental, presented as a kind of afterthought, where he is a menial of the gods to provide them with nourishment and to satisfy their physical needs. The author of Gn 1 presents an antithetical view. The very first communication between God and man comes in the form of a divine blessing:

⁷⁸ Tablet IV:107-121, 127; V:147, 148; VI:152, 153; VII:27-29; *ANET*³, pp. 66-70.

⁷⁹ For other Babylonian texts which contain this idea, see Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63, 65, 66.

⁸⁰ Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, pp. 69, 70.

⁸¹ Gaster, *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 704.

⁸² Sarna, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Be fruitful and increase, fill the earth and subdue it, rule over the fish in the sea, the birds of heaven, and every living thing that moves upon the earth (1:28 NEB).

This is followed by the pronouncement that all seed-bearing plants and fruit trees "shall be yours for food" (1:29 NEB). This expresses divine care and concern for man's physical needs and well-being in antithesis to man's purpose to care for the needs and well-being of the gods in Mesopotamian mythology. In stressing the uniqueness of the purpose of man's creation the Biblical writer has subtly and effectively succeeded, not just in combatting pagan mythological notions, but also in conveying at the same time the human-centered orientation of Gn 1 and the sense of man's glory and freedom to rule the earth for his own needs.

The Order of Creation

There is general agreement that there is a certain correspondence between the order of creation in *Enuma elish* and Gn 1. In Gn 1 the order is light, firmament, seas and dry land with vegetation, luminaries, animal life in sea and sky, animal life on earth, and man. A comparison with *Enuma elish* indicates certain analogies in the order of creation: firmament, dry land, luminaries, and lastly man.⁸³ These orders of creation certainly resemble each other in a remarkable way. But there are some rather significant differences which have been too often overlooked. (1) There is no explicit statement in *Enuma elish* that light was created before the creation of luminaries. Although scholars have in the past maintained that *Enuma elish* has the notion of light before the creation of the heavenly luminaries, such a view is based on dubious interpretations of certain phenomena.⁸⁴ (2) There is no explicit reference

⁸³ See the convenient summary of the order of creation in Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 129, which is, however, not correct on all points.

⁸⁴ Against Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 101, 102, 129, 135 and E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, "The Anchor Bible" (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), p. 10. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 5, points out correctly that the reference in Tablet I:68 concerning the halo which surrounded Apsu and which

in *Enuma elish* to the creation of the sun. To infer this from Marduk's character as a solar deity and from what is said about the creation of the moon in Tablet V is too precarious.⁸⁵ (3) Missing also in *Enuma elish* is the creation of vegetation, although Marduk is known to be the "creator of grains and herbs."⁸⁶ Even if the creation of vegetation were mentioned in the missing lines of Tablet V, its appearance would have been *after* the luminaries whereas in Gn it is *before* the luminaries.⁸⁷ (4) Finally, *Enuma elish* knows nothing of the creation of any animal life in sea and sky or on earth.⁸⁸

A comparison of creative processes and their order indicates the following: (1) Gn 1 outlines twice as many processes of creation as *Enuma elish*; and (2) there is only a general analogy between the order of creation in both accounts; it is not identical.⁸⁹

We can turn only briefly to the question of dependence.⁹⁰ Against the view of earlier scholars, A. Heidel, C. F. Whitley, J. Albertson, and others⁹¹ seem to be correct in pointing out that the general analogy between both stories does not suggest a direct borrowing on the part of Gn 1 from *Enuma elish*. It is not inconceivable that the general analogy in the order of creation, which is far from being identical, may be accounted

was put on by Marduk, the solar deity, has nothing to do with the creation of light as Gn 1:3 f. describes it.

⁸⁵ With C. F. Whitley, "The Pattern of Creation in Genesis, Chapter 1," *JNES*, XVII (1958), 34, and Albertson, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

⁸⁶ Tablet VII:2; *ANET*³, p. 70.

⁸⁷ Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁸⁸ Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 f., has given reasons for doubting that the missing lines of Tablet V could have contained an account of the creation of vegetation, of animals, birds, reptiles, and fishes. His doubts have since been justified; see B. Landsberger and J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "The Fifth Tablet of *Enuma Eliš*," *JNES*, XX (1961), 154-179.

⁸⁹ Whitley, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35, is correct in concluding that "there is no close parallel in the sequence of the creation of elements common to both cosmogonies."

⁹⁰ For a recent discussion on the various views with regard to the question of dependence, see Albertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-239.

⁹¹ Heidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-139; Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Albertson, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 13; etc.

for on the basis of the assumption that both stories may have sprung from a common tradition of remote origin in the pre-patriarchal period when the Hebrew ancestors dwelt in Mesopotamia.⁹²

As a matter of fact, a comparison of the general thrust of *Enuma elish* and Gn 1 makes the sublime and unique character of the latter stand out in even bolder relief. The battle myth which is a key motif in *Enuma elish* is completely absent in Gn 1. J. Hempel seems to be correct when he points out that it was the "conscious intent" of the author of Gn 1 to destroy the myth's theogony by his statement that it was the God of Israel who created heaven and earth.⁹³ Along the same line W. Eichrodt sees in the use of the name Elohim in Gn 1 a tool to assist Israel to clarify her concepts of God against pagan polytheistic theogony.⁹⁴ E. Würthwein suggests that the placing of the creation accounts in Gn at the beginning of a linear history emphasizes a contrast to the cyclical nature of mythology, which is especially significant in view of the fact that creation in Gn 1 comes to a close within a certain non-repeatable period of creative time that closed with the seventh day. In his view this should be understood as a polemic which marks off, defends, and delimits against such mythical speculations that maintain a constantly repeating re-enactment of creation.⁹⁵ Furthermore, it should not go unnoticed that the creation of the *tanninim*, "sea monsters," in Gn 1:21 reflects a deliberate effort to contradict the notion of creation in terms of a struggle, which is a key motif in the battle myth of pagan cosmogony. It also puts emphasis upon the creatureliness of

⁹² This view has been held in some form or other by, among others, Ira M. Price, *The Monuments and the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1925), pp. 129 f.; Heidel, *op. cit.*, p. 139; Albertson, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁹³ J. Hempel, "Glaube, Mythos und Geschichte im Alten Testament," *ZAW*, LXV (1953), 126, 127.

⁹⁴ W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1961), I, 186, 187; cf. Sarna, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.; Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. LVI.

⁹⁵ Würthwein, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

the *tannînim* as being identical to that of other created animals.⁹⁶

Our examination of crucial terms and motifs in the cosmology of Gn 1 in comparison with ancient Near Eastern analogues indicates that the author of Gn 1 exhibits in a number of critical instances a sharply antimythical polemic. With a great many safeguards he employs certain terms and motifs, partly taken from his ideologically incompatible predecessors and partly chosen in contrast to comparable concepts in ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies, and fills them in his own usage with new meaning consonant with his aim and world-view. Gn cosmology as presented in Gn 1:1-2:4a appears thus basically different from the mythological cosmologies of the ancient Near East. It represents not only a "complete break"⁹⁷ with the ancient Near Eastern mythological cosmologies but represents a parting of the spiritual ways which meant an undermining of the prevailing mythological cosmologies.⁹⁸ This was brought about by the conscious and deliberate antimythical polemic that runs as a red thread through the entire Gn cosmology. The antimythical polemic has its roots in the Hebrew understanding of reality which is fundamentally opposed to the mythological one.

⁹⁶ For a detailed discussion, see the writer's forthcoming essay, *supra*, n. 26.

⁹⁷ So Sarna, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff., who points out that the Genesis creation account in its "non-political," "non-cultic," and "non-mythological" nature and function "represents a complete break with Near Eastern tradition" (p. 9). Independent of the former, Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 29, maintains that "the biblical account is theologically not only far different from, but totally opposed to, the ancient Near Eastern myths."

⁹⁸ Childs, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff., speaks of the "concept of the world as present in Genesis 1" being in "conflict with the myth" (p. 39). "The Priestly writer has broken the myth . . ." (p. 43). However, he also claims that the Biblical writer "did not fully destroy the myth," but "reshaped" and "assimilated" it in a stage of "demythologization" (pp. 42, 43). Later he concludes that "Israel succeeded in overcoming myth because of an understanding of reality which opposed the mythical" (p. 97). However, myth was "overcome" already in Gn 1 and not merely "broken" there.

SEVENTH-SIXTH CENTURY B.C. POTTERY FROM AREA B AT HESHBON¹

EDWARD N. LUGENBEAL
Madison, Wisconsin

JAMES A. SAUER
Cambridge, Mass.

Introduction

During the 1968 excavations at *Tell Heshbân* a single 7 × 7 m. square, Area B.1, was opened up on the southern shelf of the tell.² It was planned and staffed to be a deep sounding and after the seven-week season it had reached the earliest materials yet uncovered at the site. The sherds from the lower loci of this square are the concern of the present article.

Stratigraphic Context

The preliminary report of the 1968 season contained a description of the stratigraphic results in Area B, and that report should be consulted in conjunction with the present discussion and interpretation.³ The upper loci of the square

¹ This article is the result of joint research to which each of the authors contributed fairly specific parts. Lugenbeal was responsible for the preparation of the pottery plates, the photographs, the typological system of numbering, the ware descriptions, and the second draft of the text. Sauer contributed the initial and the final drafts of the text.

Both authors would like to express their thanks to Siegfried H. Horn, the director of the Heshbon Expedition, for allowing us to work on and publish this material from the 1968 season. Those who graciously helped by placing unpublished materials at our disposal were Crystal Bennett, Rudolph Dornemann, H. J. Franken, and A. Douglas Tushingam. G. Ernest Wright is to be thanked for generously allowing the use of his personal library. Grateful recognition must also go to Kathleen Mitchell of Andrews University for devoting many hours to copying the pottery drawings in India ink and readying the plates for publication.

² See the contour map of the tell published in the preliminary report of the 1968 season, *AUSS*, VII (July, 1969), Figure 1.

³ Dewey M. Beegle, "Heshbon 1968: Area B," *AUSS*, VII (July, 1969), 118-126 (cf. also pp. 217-222).

are not of direct concern here, and instead four stratigraphic phases which include and relate to the earliest loci will provide the necessary context for the pottery.⁴

Phase 1 involves those loci throughout the square which rest under or which are cut by the various architectural features of Phase 2. The loci which are included are: 23B, 26, 30, 31, 32/46, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56. These loci slope from NW to SE, rather sharply at times, and have no associated installations or architecture within the square. No whole or restorable pottery came from them, only sherds of average size, and there was no evidence that any of them were occupational surfaces. Other than an intentional fill, only wash layers could explain this combination of features. Since the depth of the accumulation (three meters, when digging ceased) argues against a wash from the upper slopes of the tell, it would seem that these loci represent a fill which leveled the contours of the tell, at least in a portion of the southern quadrant.

At present it would seem that the wall complex (see Phase 2) which is above these loci cannot serve as the explanation for the fill below, since foundation trenches from several of these walls (cf. 17B, 27, 29) cut deeply into the underlying fill loci. If additional work substantiates this, then a retaining wall might be expected farther south on the tell perimeter. And if the fill was part of a major leveling operation in preparation for building construction, then these architectural remains should be found elsewhere in the vicinity as well. It is, however, possible that the fill in this area was not calculated to level up the slopes for more construction, but was rather only a convenient dump.

For the source of the massive fill material may have been the summit of the tell itself. In Area A, Squares 2 and 4, bedrock was discovered very close to the modern surface of

⁴ Our use of the term "phase" here is not meant to imply subdivisions within a single stratum, but only sequences of stratigraphically related loci.

the mound.⁵ Just above bedrock in Square 4 were several Iron Age loci, which, from the ceramic designation in the report, would seem to be roughly contemporary with the pottery from the Area B fill.⁶ If this is so, these loci above bedrock on the summit of the tell proper may well represent the remnants of the original occupational layers from which the Area B fill material was quarried. The purpose of this earth moving could have been to extend the contours of the tell for some kind of construction or expansion, but it could also have been a clearing operation for foundational construction on the summit of the mound.

Phase 2 includes those walls which rest on or cut through the fill loci of Phase 1. Wall 17B (probably including locus 40), Wall 27, and Structure 29 cut through the fill as far down as they were exposed before digging ended. Wall 28 cut only the upper layer of fill and was not founded as deep as Walls 17B and 27. Walls 21 and 25 rested on the uppermost layer of fill and had no foundation trenches. Finally, Walls 17B and 25 seem to have had late upper rebuilds which are labeled 17A and 25A.

Phase 3 includes those loci which seem to seal against or over the walls of Phase 2. No surfaces sealed against the walls consistently, but Loci 18, 24, 23A, 34 and 35 did run against their related walls in some places. Loci 14B, 15B, 16B and 22, as well as 19 and 20, may have been makeup fills under the Phase 4 loci, but several of these also seem to have been cut by the Phase 2 walls (cf. *Index*).

Phase 4 includes those loci which seal over the structural complex of Phase 2 and the related loci of Phase 3. They are: (13), 14A, 15A and 16A.

Thus, the Phase 1 fill loci lie under or are cut by the Phase 2 walls. These walls seem to have several loci that seal against

⁵ Bastiaan Van Elderen, "Heshbon 1968: Area A," *AUSS*, VII (July, 1969), 148, 154, 165.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

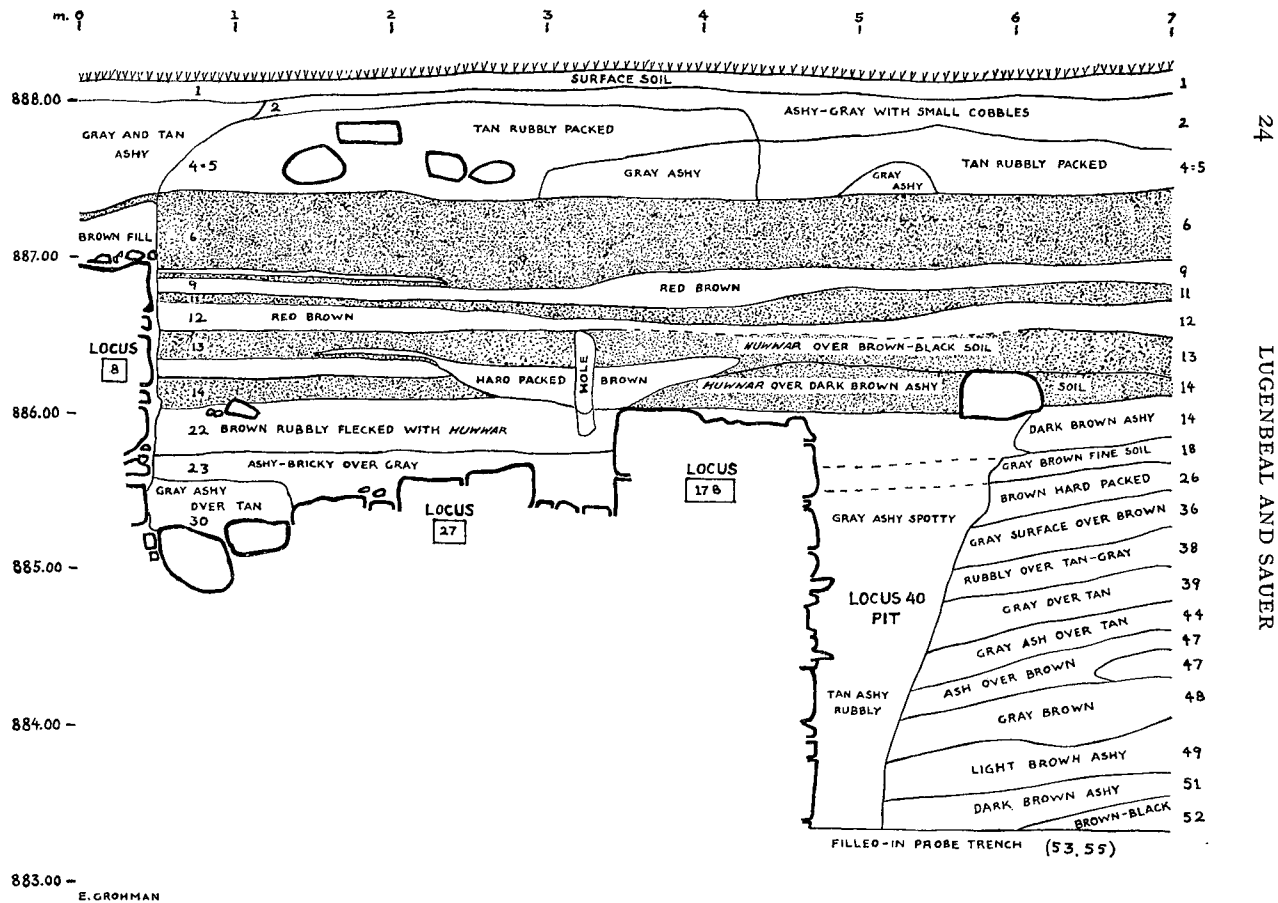


Figure 1. Tell Hesban, Area B, Section of West Balk. All numbers indicate loci; boxed numbers indicate walls

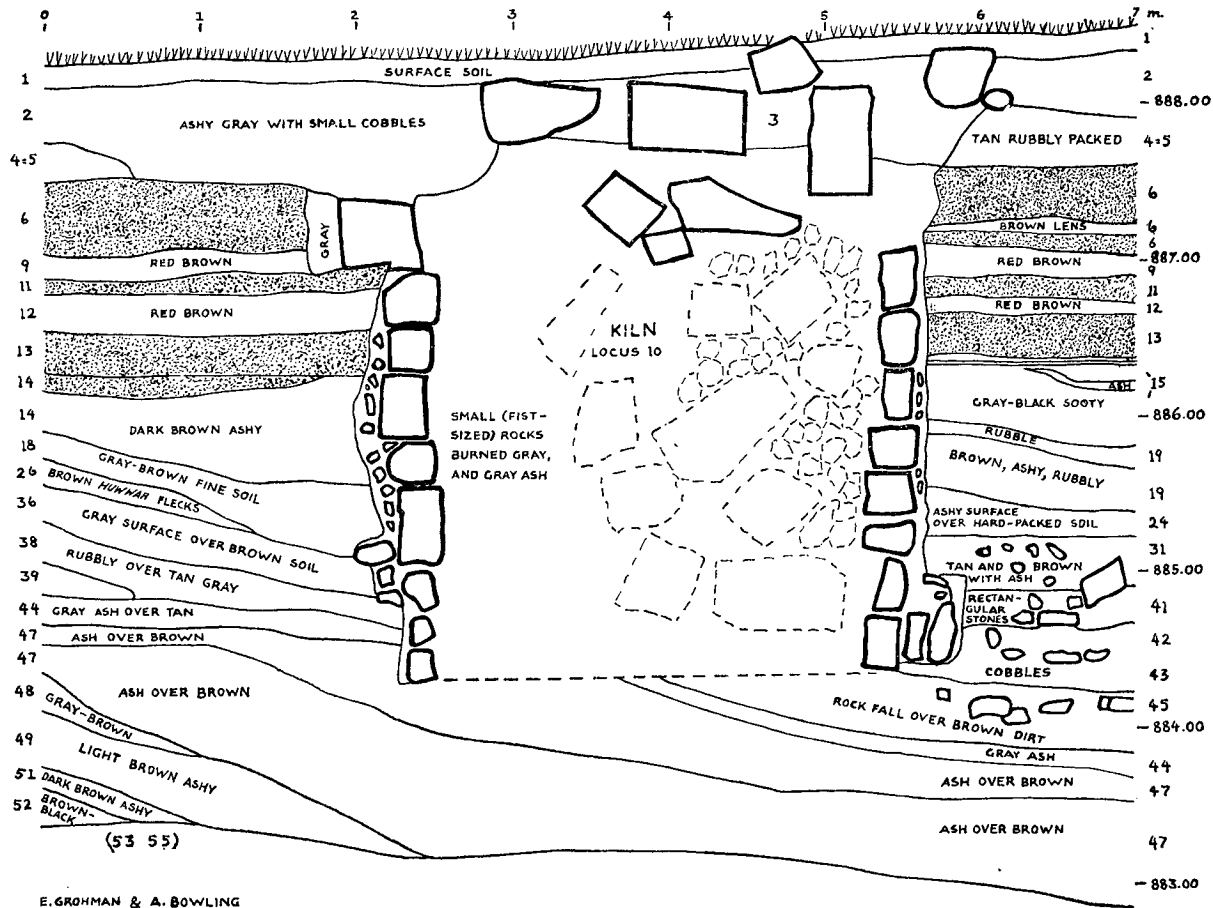


Figure 2. *Tell Heshbân*, Area B, Section of North Balk. All numbers indicate loci

or over them, Phase 3, after which the Phase 4 loci seal over the walls and these latter loci. Before turning to the pottery from these phases, fully detailed stratigraphic information will be provided.

A concise locus index is to be found immediately below and it should be used in conjunction with the section drawings (Figures 1, 2).⁷ Reference should also be made to the architectural top plan which was published in the preliminary report.⁸ The locus descriptions contain cross references to the top plan and sections, as well as complete indexes to the pottery which is published in this article.

LOCUS INDEX⁹

14A Huwwar Layer. Under 13. Over 14B, 22, 17B. Prob. equals 15A and 16A. Cut by 8 and 10. Levels: NW Top 886.25, SW Top 886.22, SW Bottom 886.01. Sections: N, W.

14B Dark Brown Ashy Layer. Under 14A. Over 18 (and 17B?).¹⁰ Prob. equals 15B. and 16B. Poss. equals 22. Cut by 10 (and 17B?). Levels: NW Bottom 885.90. Sections: N, W.

15A Huwwar Layer. Under 13. Over 15B, 17A-B, and 29. Prob. equals 14A and 16A. Cut by 10. Levels: NE Top 886.34. Section: N.

⁷ The north and the west section drawings are reproduced here since they relate to the great majority of the loci under consideration. Of the four sections they are also the clearest because the south balk area was disturbed not only by Pit 8 but by the excavation stairway, and the east balk area ran into considerable stone fall.

⁸ *AUSS*, VII (July, 1969), Figure 4.

⁹ This locus index is based entirely on the locus list prepared under the supervision of Dewey Beegle. While some interpretation has been included, every attempt has been made to provide the necessary raw data in a concise and clear manner.

¹⁰ The data are ambiguous regarding the uppermost loci which are cut by 17B (40) and 29. Beginning with loci 26 and below on the west, and loci 31 and below on the east, there is no problem; they are definitely cut by these foundation trenches. The loci immediately above 26 and 31, 18 and 24, seem at times to be cut as well, but there are also indications that they seal against walls 17B and 29 themselves. If 18 and 24 do seal against walls 17B and 29, and the ambiguity that sets in at this point might suggest that they do, then it is very likely that 14B, 15B, and 19 also seal against or over walls 17 and 29, as is the case with 16B and 22.

- 15B Gray-Black Sooty Layer. Under 15A. Over 19 (and 17A-B, 29?). Prob. equals 14B and 16B. Poss. equals 22. Cut by 10 (and 17A-B, 29?). Levels: NE Bottom 885.77. Section: N.
- 16A Huwwar Layer. Under 13. Over 16B. Prob. equals 14A and 15A. Levels: SE Top 886.13.
- 16B Gray Layer. Under 16A. Over 20 and 17A-B. Prob. equals 14B and 15B. Poss. equals 22. Levels: SE Bottom 886.02.
- 17 East-West Wall. Upper rebuild 17A only in the east. Lower phase 17B across the square. Structure 29 bonded into 17 on the north. Walls 21, 25, 27, and 28 built against 17 from the south, but not bonded into it. Under 14A (and 14B?), 15A (and 15B?), 16B, 22, 20. Over 56 and unexcavated. Foundation trench 17 prob. equals 40 and cuts through loci 26 and below, 31 and below, and 23B and below. Possibly cuts through 14B, 15B, 19, 18, and 24. 18, 24, and 23A sometimes seal against 17B. 19, 34, and 35 may seal against 17. Levels: 17A Top 886.25, 17B Top 885.65-886.03. Section: W. Top Plan. Pottery: cf. Locus 40.
- 18 Fine Gray-Brown Layer With Ash Lenses. Under 14B. Over 26. Prob. equals 24. Poss. equals 23A. Sometimes seals against 17B. Cut by 10 (and 17B?). Sections: N, W.
- 19 Rubbly Ashy Layer. Under 15B. Over 24. Poss. cut by 17B and 29, but poss. seals against 17B and 29. Section: N.
- 20 Rock Fall. Under 16B. Over 35, 17A-B, 25, 28, 34. Levels: SE Top 886.02.
- 21 North-South Wall. Built against 17B from the south, but not bonded into it. No foundation trench. Under 22. Over 23B. Sealed against by 23A. Top Plan.
- 22 Brown Rubbly-Ashy Layer, Flecked With Huwwar. Under 14A. Over 23A, 17B, 21, 27. Poss. equals 14B, 15B, 16B. Cut by 8. Section: W.
- 23A Ashy-Bricky Layer. Under 22. Over 23B. Poss. equals 18 and 24. Seals against 17B, 21, 27. Cut by 8. Levels: Top 885.74-885.43. Section: W.
- 23B Varied Gray Layer. Under 23A, 21, 25, 34, 35. Over 30. Cut by 8, 17B, 27, 28. Levels: Bottom 885.50-884.90. Section: W.
- 24 Ashy Surface Over Hard-Packed Clay. Under 19. Over 31. Prob. equals 18. Poss. equals 23A. Poss. seals against 17B and 29. Cut by 10 (and 17B, 29?). Levels: Top 885.35, Bottom 885.09-885.27. Section: N. Pottery: 5, 9, 96, 156, 162, 216, 223, 256, 276, 314, 448, 469, 480, 489, 505, 532.
- 25 North-South Wall. Built against 17A-B from the south, but not bonded into it. Two phases, upper 25A and lower 25B. No founda-

- tion trench. Under 20. Over 23B. Poss. sealed against by 34, 35. Levels: Top 886.17, Bottom 885.18. Top Plan.
- 26 Brown Hard-Packed Layer. Under 18. Over 36. Poss. equals 31. Cut by 10 and 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 885.68, NW Bottom 885.52. Thickness 15-18 cm. Sections: N, W.
- 27 North-South Wall. Built against 17B from the south but not bonded into it. Under 22. Foundation trench cut through 23B, 30, 32/46, 50, and 54. 23A sealed against 27. Levels: Top 885.55, Bottom Unexcavated. Section: W. Top Plan. Pottery: 60.
- 28 North-South Wall. Built against 17B from the south but not bonded into it. Under 20. Over 30 and 32/46. Foundation trench cuts 23B. Sealed against by 34? Levels: Top 885.45, Bottom 885.20. Top Plan.
- 29 Structure bonded into 17B from the north. Under 15A. Over 56. Foundation trench cut loci 31 and below, and possibly cut 15B, 19, and 24. 19 and 24 may seal against 29 however. Levels: Top 886.27, Bottom 884.14. Top Plan. Pottery: 432.
- 30 Gray Ashy Over Tan Layer. Under 23B. Over 32/46. Cut by 8, 17B, and 27. Levels: Top 885.50-884.90, Bottom 885.10-884.55. Thickness: 20-50 cm. Section: W.
- 31 Tan Brown Rubbly-Ashy Layer. Under 24. Over 37/41. Poss. equals 26. Cut by 10, 17B, and 29. Levels: Top 885.19-885.36, Bottom 884.97. Thickness 25-45 cm. Section: N. Pottery: 172, 196, 204, 222, 224, 227, 269, 311, 313, 315, 397, 398, 406, 451, 468, 475, 494, 499, 519, 541.
- 32/46 Brown Ashy, Cobbled Layer. Under 30. Over 50. Cut by 8, 17B, and 27. Levels: Top 885.10-884.55, Bottom 884.40-884.11. Thickness: 30-50 cm. Pottery: 11, 161, 368, 371, 395, 482, 493, 521, 549.
- 34 Gray Layer With Ash. Under 20. Over 23B. Cut by 17B. Poss. seals against 28. Levels: Top 885.50, Bottom 885.20-885.37. Thickness: 10-30 cm. Top Plan.
- 35 Layer. Under 20. Over 23B. Seems to seal against 25 and 17B. Top Plan. Pottery: 369.
- 36 Gray Surface Over Brown, With Rubble. Under 26. Over 38. Poss. equals 37, 41. Cut by 10, 17B (40). Sections: N, W. Pottery: 10, 91, 94, 112, 137, 141, 189, 203, 214, 232, 270, 272, 282, 325, 396, 428, 459, 484.
- 37 Rubble, Thin Layer of Ash. Under 31. Over 42. Partially surrounds rock fall 41. Poss. equals 36. Cut by 10, 29, 17B. Levels: Top 884.97, Bottom 884.68. Thickness: 15 cm. Pottery: 190, 235, 250, 350, 382, 394.
- 38 Rubbly Over Tan Gray Layer. Under 36. Over 39. Poss. equals 42. Cut by 10 and 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 885.31. Sections: N, W.

- Pottery: 4, 12, 37, 42, 43, 47, 49, 56, 139, 144, 149, 186, 193, 194, 226, 228, 236, 243, 249, 251, 292, 309, 316, 318, 323, 342, 345, 347, 349, 360, 361, 365, 366, 367, 378, 388, 389, 392, 399, 402, 420, 435, 437, 443, 444, 445, 450, 463, 487, 488, 490, 492, 506, 533, 534, 545, 554.
- 39 Gray Over Tan Layer. Under 38. Over 44. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 885.03, NW Bottom 884.83. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 13, 29, 69, 85, 102, 145, 150, 175, 180, 185, 231, 245, 293, 319, 321, 412, 486, 530.
- 40 Pit/Foundation Trench for Wall 17B. Under 18? Cuts 26 and below. Possibly cuts 14B and 18. Section: W. Pottery: 17, 126, 148, 151, 165, 183, 219, 220, 225, 310, 312, 331, 341, 353, 421, 542, 543, 547, 551.
- 41 Rock Fall. Under 31. Over 42. 37 partially surrounds 41. 41, 42, 43, and 45 are almost continuous rock fall. Cut by 10, 29, and 17B. Levels: Top 884.96, Bottom 884.70. Section: N. Pottery: 153, 239, 338, 457, 460, 491, 498, 536, 557.
- 42 Tan-Gray Rubbly Layer. Under 37/41. Over 43. Poss. equals 38. Cut by 10, 29, and 17B. Levels: Top 884.70, Bottom 884.50. Thickness 20 cm. Section: N. Pottery: 200, 230, 306, 433.
- 43 Tan-Gray, Cobbles and Rock Fall. Under 42. Over 45. Cut by 10, 29, 17B. Levels: Top 884.49. Thickness: 30-35 cm. Section: N. Pottery: 68, 80, 82, 143, 206, 209, 241, 242, 271, 339, 354, 374, 476, 515, 538.
- 44 Gray Ash Over Tan, Huwwar Flecks. Under 39 and 45. Over 47. Cut by 10, 17B (40), 29. Levels: Top NW 884.83. Thickness: NW 18 cm. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 14, 16, 18, 25, 26, 27, 35, 36, 38, 45, 46, 48, 55, 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 73, 78, 79, 97, 98, 104, 111, 114, 122, 129, 132, 133, 138, 155, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 174, 176, 177, 178, 181, 207, 217, 234, 247, 258, 261, 262, 263, 266, 275, 279, 295, 300, 317, 320, 326, 328, 336, 355, 376, 391, 408, 409, 411, 413, 414, 419, 424, 429, 430, 454, 458, 462, 467, 472, 481, 502, 510, 511, 522, 539, 544.¹¹
- 45 Rock Fall. Under 43. Over 44. Partially cut by 29, but continuous with 56 on which 29 and 17B rest. 41, 42, 43, and 45 are almost continuous rock fall. Partially cut by 10. Levels: Top 884.34-884.25, Bottom 883.70. Thickness: 60 cm. Section: N. Pottery: 8, 15, 19, 20, 32, 44, 50, 63, 66, 67, 105, 109, 110, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 134, 147, 157, 166, 170, 179, 182, 187, 195, 244, 246, 252, 257, 298, 302, 305, 307, 324, 340, 351, 358, 364, 377, 381, 384, 405, 407, 417, 423, 425, 439, 440, 441, 446, 447, 455, 470, 500, 501, 520, 535.
- 47 Ash Over Brown Layer. Under 44. Over 48. Cut by 17B (40) and partially by 10. Levels: NW Top 884.65. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 30, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 51, 53, 54, 57, 64, 71, 75, 77, 83,

¹¹ Much of the pottery attributed to Locus 44 of the north section comes from the Locus 47 layer immediately below.

- 86, 88, 90, 93, 99, 100, 103, 108, 121, 124, 125, 128, 131, 135, 140, 142, 152, 159, 160, 169, 173, 184, 192, 213, 221, 229, 233, 237, 238, 253, 255, 260, 264, 265, 267, 280, 283, 296, 297, 301, 327, 333, 334, 337, 344, 346, 357, 359, 363, 373, 375, 383, 386, 387, 390, 400, 403, 410, 422, 426, 431, 442, 452, 456, 464, 471, 473, 474, 477, 478, 495, 496, 504, 508, 509, 512, 514, 517, 529, 531, 540, 555, 556, 559.
- 48 Gray-Brown Layer. Under 47. Over 49. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 884.36, NW Bottom 884.09. Thickness: 25-0 cm. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 28, 84, 127, 259, 281, 299, 304, 370, 379, 516.
- 49 Light Brown Ashy With Rubble. Under 48, Over 51. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 884.09, NW Bottom 883.71. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 21, 23, 31, 52, 70, 74, 81, 106, 113, 119, 136, 191, 202, 208, 212, 218, 248, 294, 303, 352, 393, 404, 415, 416, 418, 438, 453, 465, 466, 479, 483.
- 50 Rubbly Brown Layer. Under 32/46. Over 54. Cut by 27 and 17B. Levels: Top 884.40-884.10, Bottom 884.13-884.04. Thickness: 10-30 cm.
- 51 Dark Brown Ashy Layer. Under 49. Over 52. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 883.71, NW Bottom 883.57. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 22, 24, 308, 362, 434, 507.
- 52 Brown-Black Layer, With Pebbles. Under 51. Over 53. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 883.57, NW Bottom 883.23. Sections: N, W. Pottery: 76, 92, 197, 380, 401, 523.
- 53 Light Tan With Rubbly Huwwar, Hard Packed. Under 52. Over 55. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 883.23, NW Bottom 882.60. Sections: N, W. ¹² Pottery: 72, 87, 89, 95, 101, 107, 130, 146, 154, 198, 199, 205, 215, 268, 273, 274, 277, 278, 284, 285, 291, 329, 330, 332, 343, 348, 372, 385, 427, 461, 485, 497, 503, 513, 518, 524, 550, 552, 553, 560.
- 54 Brown Cobbly Layer. Under 50. Over Unexcavated. Cut by 27 and 17B. Levels: Top 884.13-884.04, Bottom 883.99-883.85. Thickness: 5-30 cm.
- 55 Hard Packed Rubbly Tan Layer. Under 53. Over Unexcavated. Cut by 17B (40). Levels: NW Top 882.60, NW Bottom 882.00. Sections: N, W. ¹² Pottery: 123, 158, 201, 211, 254, 335, 356, 436, 449, 528, 537, 546, 548.
- 56 Rock Fall. Under 17B and 29. Possibly continuous with 45. Unexcavated.

¹² Loci 53 and 55 are not drawn on the north and west sections (cf. the preliminary report).

The Pottery

Of the 547 sherds published in this article,¹³ 509 come from the fill loci of Phase 1, and it is this stratigraphically defined ceramic corpus that is to be investigated. The loci of Phase 1 which are north of Wall 17B are apparently clean, without clear intrusive elements. South of Wall 17B late pottery was found in Loci 30 and 32/46, but only in two baskets and in small quantities.¹⁴ Pit 8, which was rather ill-defined but which cut through 30 and 32/46, would seem to be the source of this late material south of Wall 17B where the stratigraphy was less clear. Thus, taking into account the foundation trenches and the late pits (8, 10) which cut into the Phase 1 loci, those loci present a rather clear context in which to study their pottery.

By contrast, when the loci of Phases 2-4 are examined ceramically, the basic homogeneity of Phase 1 is gone. The loci of Phase 4 abound in late pottery and there is no question about their relative dating. In Phases 2 and 3 late pottery is present for most of the loci but apparently not in large quantities. It is not our task to discuss the dating of Phases 2 and 3, but rather only to indicate why the loci of these phases are essentially excluded from the corpus under consideration. Thus, there is no pottery included from Phase 4, and Phases 2 and 3 are represented by only 21 and 17 sherds respectively. Although these 38 sherds are not distinguished from the Phase 1 sherds, it must be remembered that they come from suspect loci.

On the whole the pottery to be presented is quite indigenous to Transjordan. Aside from the Assyrian ware, published parallels from Syria are virtually non-existent. Although some of the specific types are fairly well paralleled on the West

¹³ Although the sherds are numbered up to 560, since several numbers are skipped the total number of actual sherds published is 547.

¹⁴ The term "late pottery" is used for anything ascribed in the unpublished locus list to be Hellenistic or later.

Bank, the great majority of the major Heshbon types are not well attested in that region. Many of the West Bank parallels consist of rather isolated sherds in ceramic contexts that are otherwise quite unlike the Heshbon corpus. Some of the most frequently noted West Bank sites are: *Tell en-Naşbeh*, *Tell Goren V*, *Ramat Raḥel V*, *Kadesh Barnea* (the fortress phase), *Meşad Ḥashavyahu*.

From Transjordan very strong parallels come from a number of sites, particularly from the tombs in and around Amman. *Adoni Nur*, *Sahab B*, *Sahab A*, *Amman A*, *Amman B*, *Jofeh* and *Meqabelein* all share numerous major types with the Heshbon corpus. In addition, the pottery from the *Amman Citadel* sounding is said to exhibit some close relationships with the tombs and with the Heshbon corpus.¹⁵ Unpublished pottery from *Deir 'Allā* Phases M ff. also provides close parallels to a number of the most common Heshbon types, but others are less well represented there.¹⁶ Of the little pottery published from *Balu'ah*, some types are exactly similar to those from Heshbon, but the number of types is small. From *Umm el-Biyara* come a few parallels to specific types, but on the whole that pottery is quite different from the Heshbon corpus.¹⁷ A few parallels come from *Dhibān*, but the number of 7th cent. ff. forms at that site is limited. Other earlier Iron Age sites include *Nebo*, *Rumeith* (pottery to be published shortly), *Irbid Tombs*, and *'Arô'er*.¹⁸ Finally, Glueck's

¹⁵ We again express our thanks to Rudolph Dornemann for making his material available to us. The pottery of the *Citadel* which parallels the tombs and the Heshbon corpus is a typologically defined group rather than a stratified sequence.

¹⁶ We also wish to thank H. J. Franken for placing this pottery at our disposal. Hopefully the materials from Phase M ff. will provide some clarification of the relationships between certain West Bank forms and forms from Transjordan, since both are present in that general corpus.

¹⁷ This can be stated from having observed the *Umm el-Biyara* corpus firsthand, with Crystal Bennett's kind permission.

¹⁸ For the *Irbid Tombs* cf. R. W. Dajani, "Four Iron Age Tombs from Irbid," *ADAJ*, XI (1966), 88-101.

surveys provide some information bearing on the Heshbon corpus as well.

*Bowl Type 1 (1-93)*¹⁹ Very numerous, this bowl type constitutes approximately 1/6th of the total sherd corpus. Its most distinctive formal feature is an outset rim which exhibits a range of variations. On some sherds the outset is particularly pronounced (cf. 43, 56, 70) while on others an external groove is sufficient (cf. 10-16). A few have several grooves (cf. 36, 37, 78). Most of the rim shapes are rather rounded, if angular (cf. 2, 46) but some are more flattened (cf. 9, 12, 83). Although some of the sherds come from more shallow forms, to judge from the clear examples (cf. 13, 17, 34, 35, 70) and from the parallels to be cited below, it is likely that most had a slight carination in the sidewall. The parallels also suggest that the type had either a step-cut (cf. p. 60) or a disk base. Overall size and thickness vary considerably (contrast 1-11 with 22-30).

In surface treatment Bowl Type 1 again varies within certain limits. The ware is usually thin with a very hard external surface, although thicker and softer sherds are also present. Most of the sherds are burnished on both the interior and the exterior, but a large number are so treated only on the interior, and a few only on the exterior. The burnishing is done on a wheel and is usually widely spaced and applied with a fairly wide instrument, although some sherds are almost continuously burnished. A contrasting color effect is achieved in some cases by this wide-burnishing technique. Color variation falls into four basic categories. The unburnished examples are generally tan or buff, while the burnished

¹⁹ In this final draft the general sequence of types set up by Lugenbeal for the plates has been followed in the text, although some sherd drawings have been removed or reclassified. We will consider most of the sherds attested in the corpus although some of the miscellaneous sherds and more simple forms will be left undiscussed. In the text itself observations about form, ware, surface treatment, etc., will be made, but for more details the descriptive charts at the end of this article should be consulted.

sherds have slips that fall into a red, brown, or black range. The red range includes some pink and darker red, but the dominant color is a light red-orange. The equally common brown range includes metallic grays and browns, while the distinctive black range is represented by only several sherds (cf. 91).

Parallels: Genuine parallels to Bowl Type 1 come only from Transjordan.²⁰ The best published examples are from *Adoni Nur*, Fig. 1, 61-63. They are described as fine bowls which are covered with a red slip, two of which are wheel burnished on the interior and the exterior. They have the distinctive mild carination in the sidewall and two of them have step-cut bases while the third has a disk base (cf. *Bases*, p. 60). The type is also common at the *Amman Citadel*, but this material is unpublished. Glueck published one fine red wheel-burnished example from *Tell Deir 'Allā*, although he misdated it to Iron I (*EEP IV*, Plate 42:4; cf. Plate 132:7). Among the unpublished pottery of Phases M ff. from *Deir 'Allā* there is a finely burnished black example with a pronounced outset, but the form is not frequent in that corpus.

When one turns to the West Bank definite parallels are non-existent. The resemblance of certain published forms to the present type is only superficial, and they range widely in date. Still, a few of these West Bank types will be noted here: *Bethel* Plate 59:17, Plate 60:7; *Beth Shan* Fig. 67:7; *Lachish* Plate 99:600; *Gevar* Plate XLVIII:2n, Plate LXV:17; *Ramat Raḥel I* Fig. 11:4. Most of these are either too shallow without the carination or are apparently influenced by Late Assyrian forms (cf. Lines, "Late Assyrian Pottery," Plate XXXVII, 9).

Bowl Type 3 (95) This is a very small rim fragment, the stance of which is not easy to determine. It could be slightly

²⁰ We thus take exception to Amiran's statement that it resembles Judaeian types (cf. R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, p. 295).

deeper than it is drawn, and a parallel would support this stance. It would seem to be a medium-depth bowl with a fairly sharp carination near the rim and a curving sidewall. The rim itself is somewhat squared at the lip.

The ware is black and the surface itself is closely wheel-burnished black inside and out.

Parallels: *Sahab B* attests a very similar form also in black ware with black circular burnishing (p. 97:15). Another black-ware burnished bowl with a slightly less accentuated carination comes from *Amman B* p. 74:46. Rather far afield but striking is a black burnished bowl with a more triangular rim from *Tell Fakhariyah* (Plate 39:47).

Bowl Type 6 (102-149) This bowl type is well represented in the corpus. It has a rather squat, rounded sidewall,²¹ with a short outflaring rim. The rims can be simply flared (cf. 103, 109) or they may be thickened and squared (cf. 107, 112, 137). The upper shoulder of the sidewall is most frequently ridged (cf. 102, 107, 122), but again plain examples are attested (cf. 123, 131, 140). The ridges of the sidewall may also extend to the rim itself (cf. 107, 129, 130, 142). The overall size and thickness ranges of this type are fairly constant.

The surface treatment of Bowl Type 6 is also rather consistent. Although the ware is thicker the surface is still quite hard. Most of the sherds are widely wheel-burnished on both the interior and the exterior, but again a few examples are attested of interior or exterior burnishing only, or no burnishing at all. On the exterior the burnishing is usually located just on the ridges themselves, and not between them. Color variation is more restricted with this type as well, with the majority of the sherds falling into a light tan range. Several examples of light red are present, and one each of a whitish-buff, a gray-brown, and a gray-black interior with light buff exterior (cf. *Jar Type 1*, p. 50) is attested.

²¹ The stance of the form is most commonly like that of 107, 108, and 144.

Parallels: There are no published parallels from Transjordan, but two unpublished sites have produced the type. The *Amman Citadel* has such bowls; they are said to be clearly related yet differing in detail. As with Bowl Type 1, the unpublished Phase M ff. corpus from *Deir 'Allā* provides a parallel for the present bowl type. But whereas the Type 1 bowl was infrequent at Deir 'Allā, Type 6 is extremely common in the corpus.

For this type there seem to be no potential parallels from the West Bank.

Bowl Type 13 (158-195) This bowl type includes a wide range of variations, both in form and surface treatment. Formally the sherds share thin sidewalls, simple rims, and ridges just below the rim on the external sidewall. Some of the rims are slightly thickened (cf. 178, 192, the drawings of which are exaggerated); some are rounded (cf. 169, 170, 173); but most are evenly tapered (cf. 163, 168, 189). The sidewall shape varies from a straight-walled flaring form (cf. 161ff., 194-195), to an inverted hemispherical form (cf. 178ff.), to a slightly carinated form (cf. 189-192). While almost all of the sherds have a single ridge, two of them have multiple ridges (194-195). Except for 187, thickness is fairly constant, but overall size varies considerably.

Surface treatment is similar to *Bowl Type 1*, with the addition of some painting, however. The ware is thin with a hard surface, and most of the sherds are widely wheel-burnished on both the interior and the exterior. Some are unburnished but slipped, and others are burnished on the interior or exterior alone. Contrasting burnishing is also present, where the lines of burnish are a dark brown-black and the surface is a brown-orange. The dominant slip color is light red-orange, but a number of metallic gray-brown sherds are attested. One sherd is slipped with this gray-brown color but is unburnished (179). Sherds 180, 181, and 184 are painted on a red burnished surface, 180 having a band of red paint between two bands of black, and 181 and 184 having

a band of white between two bands of black. (See further below under *Painted Body Sherds*, p. 61.)

Parallels: Definite parallels from Transjordan are not yet known, although a number of sites attest forms that are similar to some of the variations of this type. From the tomb of *Adoni Nur* three bowls are published which share the hard ware, thin section, tapering rim, and external ridge of the present type (Fig. 21:72-74). Two of them are brown wheel-burnished, and one of these is painted. The burnishing agrees with the Heshbon type, but the painting is different. Also, all three of the forms are straight-walled and flare up from a step-cut base. While most of the Heshbon sherds are either slightly hemispherical or carinated, a flaring straight-walled subtype is present that could correspond to the bowl shape from the *Adoni Nur* tomb. Two undecorated examples from *Meqabelein* might be compared with the third *Adoni Nur* form (*Meqabelein* Plate XVII: 10, 12). From *Sāliyah* in Moab Glueck published three sherds which might also be noted here, although their surface treatments are described as being quite different (*EEP I*, Plate 20:14-16; cf. Plate 24). They do evidence the more inverted hemispherical stance of some of the Heshbon sherds, however, and one of them is painted (cf. also Plate 20:17-18). Fig. 2:54 of the forthcoming *Dhibān* report could also be brought in here, if only for the sake of completeness. None of these Transjordanian parallels is as certain as one would like. But they at least provide something of a context for the Heshbon type; and they indicate that this type has a tendency to be painted even if that painting varies from site to site.

The West Bank again offers nothing conclusive in the way of parallels.²²

Bowl Type 17b (211-219) This group of sherds includes some very closely related forms and some which are only formally

²² *Hazor III-IV* Plate CLXXX:9 could be noted, however.

similar.²³ As fairly shallow bowls they share gently carinated sidewalls, and each of them is thickened at the rim. The thickening of sherds 211 and 212 is the most characteristic type, although more prominent inward protrusion is also present (cf. 214, 216). Size and thickness vary greatly.

The closely related forms in the group have a soft ware and are closely wheel-burnished on both the interior and the exterior surfaces. Slip colors include dark red, light orange, and light tan. (See *Bowl Type 27*, p. 40, for a note about ware and surface treatment.)

Parallels: The clear Transjordanian parallels come from Sahab. *Sahab B*, p. 97:7-9 and 11 belong to this group, of which 9 is the closest parallel to the Heshbon forms (cf. especially 211, 212). From *Sahab A* comes another good example of this type (note the knob here and on *Sahab B*, p. 97:11), which is again most similar to Heshbon sherds 211 and 212 (Fig. 2:1). It should also be noted that a ware "showing a fine all over burnish in red or brown" is attested in sherds from the *Adoni Nur* Tomb (cf. p. 59). From Heshbon only the present bowl type and Bowl Type 27 display a surface treatment of that description.

As much as this bowl type is reminiscent of West Bank forms (cf. *Lachish* Plate 99:607; Plate 79:48; *TBM I* Plate 65:27; *Tell en-Nasbeh* Plate 57:1287; *Tell Goren* Fig. 14:12; Fig. 29:7), exact published parallels which share both form and finish do not seem to exist (cf. *Samaria 1968*, Fig. 14:12).

Bowl Type 25 (231-241) This type includes the mortars, the heavy ceramic imitations of the basalt originals. They have tripod supports, part of which sherd 241 still preserves. They are wide and shallow with coarse thick sidewalls, and the range of formal variations can be divided into four subtypes. The best-attested subtype has a squared and angular profile with a flat ridge on the external sidewall (cf. 231-233, 235-236,

²³ The drawings of 211 and 212 are the best. The other sherds are quite similar to these two, although differing in some ways that have been slightly exaggerated in the drawings.

238-239). Also squared but with multiple grooves on the external sidewall is sherd 234. Sherds 237 and 241 are more rounded in profile, but 241 is distinguished by its inverted rim and 237 by rather wide grooves on the external sidewall. They are all of a fairly standard size.

The surface treatment of these sherds is equally varied. Undoubtedly to imitate basalt, two of them are black-slipped and unburnished (235, 238). Four are red-slipped, of which at least two are ring-burnished (all are badly worn). Sherd 234 has a whitish-tan slip which is unburnished, and the others are apparently unslipped (they are also badly worn).

Parallels: Thus far only one potential parallel has been published from Transjordan, and that is from Dhiban. Although it is not possible to evaluate the section of the sherd from the photograph, it would clearly seem that it belongs with sherd 234, the grooved subtype (cf. *Dhībān, Part I*, Plate 18:16). An unpublished sherd from *Deir 'Allā* Phase M ff. also falls into this category.

On the West Bank the parallels are more numerous. *Tell en-Naşbeh* provides the only other example of a mortar with the squared ridge on the external sidewall (*TN* Pl. 63:1443). However, in the Assyrian sphere a rather close parallel is presented by a form from Fort Shalmaneser (cf. Oates, "Late Assyrian Pottery," Pl. XXXV:16). Two examples of the grooved ceramic mortars from the West Bank can be found in *Samaria* Fig. 26:17 and *Hazor II* Plate XCVIII:41. Otherwise they are somewhat rounded, squared or thickened, but without the external ridge or grooves (cf. *TN* Pl. 63:1442; *Samaria* Fig. 26:17; *Megiddo I* Plate 25:69; *Hazor I* Plate LI:29; *Hazor II* Plate LXVII:9; *Hazor III-IV* Plate CLXXXII:20).

Bowl Type 26 (242-252) This type is a large deep bowl with curving walls which end in an EB style holemouth rim. They could be termed "Holemouth Bowls." Some of the rims tend to be squared (cf. 242, 244, 248), while others are more rounded (cf. 245, 250). All of them share the formal feature of

a ridge on the outside just below the rim. This ridge is usually flattened (cf. 251 for the best drawing), but on sherd 250 it is the ridge of a bar handle. Sherd 248 may also have had a knob or handle attached to the ridge. Only one example (244) has grooves beneath the ridge. Size variation is not pronounced.

The surface treatment of these sherds is again varied. Red slip has been applied to 248 (exterior) and 250 (interior and exterior), and 248 is wheel-burnished as well. The bar handle of 250 has a black painted cross on the knob of the handle, and a sloppy white circle was added to surround the knob itself. Sherds 244 and 249 have black painted bands over a light tan or cream slip. Three bands are clear on 249, and they are quite evenly spaced with one at the rim, one under the ridge, and one slightly farther down the sidewall. The rest of the sherds are unburnished, unpainted, and of a light tan or buff color. (See below under *Painted Body Sherds*, p. 61).

Parallels: Thus far there seem to be no published parallels from either Transjordan or the West Bank.

Bowl Types 27, 29-31 (253-272, 274-277) This is a varied group containing some closely related sherds and some miscellaneous ones. The group is unified formally by the curving sidewalls and the vertical or slightly splayed-out rims of the sherds. Aside from the miscellaneous sherds there are three basic rim subtypes involved, a ribbed one (253-256), a singly grooved one (265-267), and a plain one (cf. 257ff.). Some of the plain subtypes are more elongated than others, and there are variations in thickness and overall size.

Variations in surface treatment correspond quite well with the formal distinctions. With two exceptions the plain rim subtype is of a softer ware similar to Bowl Type 17, while the ribbed rim and the grooved rim subtypes are of harder ware. The plain rim subtype is most commonly slipped and almost continuously polished (cf. Bowl Type 17). The slip color is dark red, pink, or light tan. Two of the plain rim subtypes are wheel-burnished, have harder ware, and are of an orange-red

color. Sherd 275 has wide wheel-burnishing while sherd 257 is more closely covered. Three of the ribbed rims are slipped red-orange on both the interior and the exterior, and are rather closely wheel-burnished. The fourth of this subtype is unburnished and seems to have a light tan slip. The three rims with single grooves are unslipped and unburnished. There is clear evidence that the type sometimes carries paint, although most of the present rim fragments are too small to preserve that section of the sidewall (cf. below under *Painted Body Sherds*, p. 61).

Parallels: A number of sites in Transjordan furnish parallels to Type 27. *Amman A* contains an exact miniature²⁴ of the type with soft ware, red wheel-burnishing inside and out, and black and white painted bands on the shoulder, all of which are features of the Heshbon type (p. 69: 5). The rim is simple and of the more elongated, splayed-out type, while the shorter rim variety is attested by a miniature in *Amman B* (p. 74: 48; but the drawing is poor; cf. the photograph on Plate XVIII:48).²⁵ Similar forms are present at the *Amman Citadel*, some having two grooves on the rim. Among the unpublished sherds from *Deir 'Allā* Phase M ff. the form is also attested, and Glueck publishes one example from the tell (*EEP IV* Pl. 132:5; cf. the photograph on Plate 42:2 and the description on page 457). From nearby *Tell el-Mazâr* another similar form with only black paint is published (*EEP IV* Pl. 132:6). The form is common at *Umm el-Biyara* (for a published example, cf. *Umm el-Biyara* fig. 2:10) and *Tawilan*, as well as at other such southern sites (cf. Glueck, *EEP II* Plate 24:1-5, and pp. 128ff.), but the surface treatment and painting are described in slightly different terms.

As usual, the parallels from the West Bank are meager and uncertain, but they show certain affinities with the type, so

²⁴ For another miniature cf. the cooking pot in *Amman B*.

²⁵ Also to be noted here should be the comment by Harding concerning the *Adoni Nur* tomb, which contained sherds "showing a fine all-over burnish in red or brown" (p. 59). Only Bowl Type 17 and Bowl Type 27 from the Heshbon corpus fit this description.

they should be noted. From *Tell Goren* comes a deep bowl with traces of wheel-burnishing and two brown bands of paint (*Tell Goren* Fig. 15:11). At *Tell en-Naşbeh* a reddish, slightly ring-burnished form is similar, and has several bands of black paint (*TN* Fig. 67:1516). Fig. 37:18-20 and Fig. 42:3-6 at *Ashdod* can be noted as well, along with two unpainted types from *Samaria* (*HE Samaria* Fig. 161:18 and *Samaria* Fig. 14:1).

Bowl Type 28 (273) This is a piece of Assyrian ware, characterized by its gracefully carinated shoulder and its splaying, rilled rim. The form would seem to be a fairly deep bowl, but a more shallow one is not ruled out because of the size of the sherd. It would be expected to have a round base.

The thin ware is extremely fine and well levigated, and the surface is hard. Metallic-gray close burnishing is found on both the interior and the exterior of the vessel.

Parallels: Assyrian ware as well as forms under the influence of Assyrian shapes are attested in Transjordan. Four examples are provided by the *Adoni Nur* tomb, Fig. 21:70 and 88, and Plate 7:75 and 76. From *Sahab B* (p. 98:17-19) and *Amman A* (pl. 69:3) come more bowls related to Fig. 21:70 of *Adoni Nur*. Although these bowls evidence the rilled rim of the present type, they seem to be too shallow and may be local imitations (cf. below under *Shallow Bowl Type 4*, p. 57).

On the West Bank the ware has also been found at a large number of sites since its first identification there by Petrie. Examples that can be cited are: *Gerar* Pl. LXV; *Tell en-Naşbeh* Pl. 54:1197; *Megiddo I* Pl. 9:12; *Ramat Rahel II* Fig. 18:21-23; *Samaria* Fig. 11:22; *Tell Goren* Pl. XXV:7-8; *Tell el-Far'ah* (*RB* 58) p. 419, Fig. 12:1-4, 6; *Dothan* (*BASOR* 135) p. 19; *Tell el-Kheleifeh B*, pp. 27 ff.

Northern Syria has also produced its share of this international ware. It is said to be present in the *Amuq* (p. 155), and a number of pieces are published in *Sendschirli* 5 Plate 24. At *Tarsus* the Assyrian influence is attested by a number of artifacts including pottery (p. 130). *Tell Halaf* (Vol. IV,

Plates 59-62) and *Tell Fakhariyah* (Plate 38:53-55 *et al.*) bring the pottery eastward to Assyria, and the excavations at *Nimrud* supply a critical corpus from the homeland.²⁶

Mugs (278-279) These two sherds are variant mug rim forms, of which the more typical is 279. Its inverted form is characteristic of a particular type of mug, and it can be reconstructed with a disk base, a globular body, and a handle that rises slightly above the rim.

Sherd 278 is of light tan ware which is badly weathered, while 279 is of a more reddish color. Neither of them is burnished.

Parallels: The only exact parallels come from the tombs in or near Amman. *Amman A* p. 70:19, *Sahab B* p. 101:66 and 71, and *Jofeh* Plate V:58 seem, in spite of their drawings, to be formally quite uniform. There are variations, but they all share an inverted rim, a near-vertical neck that is almost as long as or longer than half the height of the vessel, a handle which rises slightly above the rim while remaining fairly close to the body of the pot (*Jofeh* is an exception), a rather rounded shoulder that produces a globular shape, a low disk base, and an unburnished surface. The uniformity of this group is even more striking when it is compared with forms from other areas, particularly the south.

At *Umm el-Biyara* quite a different sort of "mug" is the standard (cf. Fig. 2:1,3 and Fig. 3:7-8). It is a wider, more open form with a rim that splays out slightly or quite markedly. It has a rounded rather than a disk base and the handle projects out from the pot more than it does above the rim. These same characteristics are featured in a cup from *Tell el-Kheleifeh*, and it differs accordingly from the Amman group. The use of the term "cup" rather than "mug" for these more open and round-based forms would help to establish the

²⁶ Cf. M. E. L. Mallowan, "Excavations at Nimrud," *Iraq*, XII (1950), 147-183; Joan Lines, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Nimrud," *Iraq*, XVI (1954), 164-167; Joan Oates, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Fort Shalmaneser," *Iraq*, XXI (1959), 130-146.

formal contrast in the terminology. Cups of various types have been found in Transjordan and on the West Bank during the Iron Age, but none of them fully share the characteristics that distinguish the present mug type.²⁷ For a few examples of these other, mostly earlier types, cf. *Nebo* Fig. 15:10ff. and Fig. 31:4ff.; *Dhibân Forthcoming* Fig. 1:13-14; *Deir 'Allā I* Fig. 73:9-10 and Fig. 75:94-95; *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 44:925ff; *Ain Shems* Plate LXVII:13-14.

Tripod Cup Type 1 (280) This sherd is the rim of a shallow, angular tripod cup. It has a near-vertical sidewall which carinates abruptly at the point where it is presently broken. There is a wide, squared ridge on the outside of the sidewall approximately half-way between the rim and the lower carination. The sherd itself preserves no evidence of the tripod supports.

The ware is fine bluish-gray, very well levigated, and is similar to sherd 506 (*Shallow Bowl Type 1*, p. 56).

Parallels: A lone exact parallel to the Heshbon form comes from the *Adoni Nur* tomb (Fig. 21:81). It is an especially wide and flat variety of tripod cup, certainly related in form to the ridged ceramic mortars so well attested at Heshbon. From *Amman A* comes another tripod cup with an external ridge, but it is a deep form unlike the present one (p. 70:13).

Nothing comparable is found on the West Bank, except the above-noted mortar (p. 39) from *Tell en-Naşbeh*.

Tripod Cup Type 2 (281) This rim sherd belongs to the type of tripod cup which has a simple rim that protrudes sharply inward from the shoulder. It is a deeper form which is partially closed, in contrast to Tripod Cup Type 1 which is shallow and open.

The ware is pink and rather soft, and there is no indication of any slip or burnishing.

²⁷ To associate the Transjordan mug forms with the Judaeian cups is to ignore the basic formal differences between them (cf. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, pp. 295 ff., *Tell el-Kheleifeh B*, pp. 24 ff.).

Parallels: Again the tomb of *Adoni Nur* presents the only certain parallels. Fig. 21:78-79, and to a lesser extent 77 and 80, are very similar in form and ware to the Heshbon sherd. They are a deep form with a shoulder that is wider than the rounded base section and a rim that protrudes inward and up from the shoulder.

Nothing comparable is found on the West Bank.

Tripod Cup Type 3 (282) Because of its questionable diameter sherd 282 may not actually belong in this category, but it will be included here in any case. Unpublished sherd 12269 from Locus 47 is actually the best example of this type. It is closely paralleled by *Amman A* p. 70:11, and is blackened on the interior like *Amman A* p. 70:12 (cf. Type 4). Unpublished sherd 12444 from Locus 50 is ridged like the present type, but is otherwise upturned and more similar in profile to the examples cited under Type 2. The rest of the parallels that should be noted are: *Amman A* p. 70:10; *Sahab B* p. 98:24-30; *Amman C* Fig. 1:11; *Jofeh* Plate VII:47, 129, and Plate VIII:48,57.

As with the other tripod cup types, the West Bank has nothing to offer in the way of parallels.

Tripod Cup Type 4 (283-285) These sherds are also of a large diameter, and may not belong here but rather among the bowls. The grooved rim with only slight protrusion is rare in the parallels, but is attested here in three sherds.

They are all three burnished in light red-orange slip on the interior and the exterior, while 284 shows signs of burning on the interior.

Parallels: Only one example of this type is found in the *Amman A* tomb, and it is blackened like sherd 284 of the Heshbon corpus (p. 70:12). Since at least one large example of the tripod cup form is attested in the tomb (p. 70:11), it would seem likely that the present sherds do belong to the tripod cup category. Rims similar to them are also found on bowls, however, and one small example is blackened on the interior as well (cf. *Sahab B*, p. 97:6), but it is unburnished.

The tripod cup parallels from the tomb are all burnished like the Heshbon fragments.

Cooking Pot Type Ia (291-305) This type is characterized by two formal features, the rounded sidewall without a neck and the unthickened, grooved rim. The type apparently has two handles which are attached just over the ridge of the rim and which may rise up just to or slightly over the level of the rim.

The ware and surface texture of this type are specifically cooking pot in character, and are even distinctive within that category. The surface itself is rough and sandy-textured, and its color varies from brick-orange to smoked black.

Parallels: Southern Transjordan is the region that offers the most consistent parallels to this cooking-pot type.²⁸ At *Umm el-Biyara* it is the cooking pot (Fig. 3:12 and Fig. 4:8) and Glueck illustrates one from an unspecified site in Edom (*EEP II* Plate 24:20; cf. pp. 135-36). *Tell el-Kheleifeh C* exhibits a similar form with four handles, and one example is published from *Balu'ah* (Plate II, Fig. 2:4). At *'Arô'er* a neckless sherd is presented which has a slightly different grooved rim (Fig. 2:10), and a questionable fragment is published in the forthcoming *Dhibân* report (Plate 1:39). Still in Transjordan, *Deir 'Allâ* also exhibits a sherd of this type (*Deir 'Allâ I* Fig. 74:47), but it is alone in a context of other forms.

Turning to the West Bank, scattered parallels can be found but they are also in contexts that are dominantly of other types.²⁹ Included are: *Tell Goren* Fig. 17:6; *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 48:1024, 1025; *Ramat Raḥel II* Fig. 20:7; *TBM I* Plate 55:9; *TBM III* Plate 19:2?.

Cooking Pot Types Ib, Ic, and 3 (306-310, 326-330, 332)

²⁸ The form is quite different from the "standard" Judaeen cooking pot, which is more bulbous and has a more pronounced neck or upturned rim, along with an "S-shaped" sidewall below the rim. For examples cf. *Bethel* Plate 65:1 ff. (Contrast Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, p. 300.)

²⁹ Cf. n. 28 for the contrast between these types and the "standard" form of cooking pot.

These sherds share the neckless feature of Type 1a but have bulbous rather than grooved rims. Type 1b (306-307) has a slight groove and ridge just beneath the rounded rim itself, and this is somewhat the case with sherd 308 as well. Type 3 (326-330, 332) is the larger counterpart to Type 1b, but the ridged groove is more prominent on the side of the rounded rim itself. Sherd 306 has a handle that joins the rim and rises above it; the section of this handle is oval.

The ware of these sherds is comparable to the preceding cooking-pot ware, although the larger examples of Type 3 are of coarser ware. It is rough of texture and bricky-orange or smoked black of color.

Parallels: Since it is not often easy to distinguish between these types and Type 2c in the published drawings of other reports, they will be treated together here. Again Transjordan provides good parallels, but for these types the region shifts to the area around Amman. All four of the published cooking pots from the tombs in and near Amman belong with this group. From *Amman A* comes an example with a rounded rim, sharply angled sidewall, carinated base, and two handles that rise slightly above rim level (p. 71:27). A miniature from *Amman B* is closely similar except that the handles are particularly high (p. 74:49). Contrasting somewhat with these two forms are the examples published from *Sahab B* (p. 101:67) and *Jofeh* (Plate V:59).³⁰ They do not have carinated bases and their sidewalls join the rim in a more rounded fashion. The *Sahab B* type is most closely comparable with Heshbon Type 1c, while the *Jofeh* example is seemingly more splayed-out like Heshbon Type 2c. The forthcoming *Dhibān* report contains a single sherd like Heshbon Type 1c (Fig. 1:36; cf. also Fig. 1:37-38?), and the unpublished *Deir 'Allā* corpus also exhibits the form, but very rarely.

³⁰ The *Sahab* example is very different from the "standard" Judaeian cooking pot (cf. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, p. 296). If it has a slight groove, which is possible but not certain from the drawing, it most closely resembles our Type 3. Otherwise it is a Type 1c form, which is rounded and basically neckless.

From the West Bank come a few parallels as well. They include *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 48:1018, *HE Samaria* Fig. 168:9b, and possibly *Beth Shan* Fig. 69:15 (stance correct?).

Cooking Pot Type 2a (311) This type is a more closed form with a rounded sidewall that joins at quite a sharp angle to the outflaring, simple rim. The rim is flattened at the lip (an unpublished sherd is slightly indented along the flattened lip) and the handle is attached at that point. The handle is slightly oval in section with a central ridge, and it does not rise markedly above the level of the rim.

The ware is again typically cooking pot in character, with a rough surface texture and a brick-orange color.

Parallels: Although there are several more unpublished examples from other Area B loci, there are as yet no known parallels from Transjordan for this type, published or unpublished.

On the West Bank there are numerous varieties of such simple rimmed cooking pots, but those with vertical rims can be eliminated right from the start. Among the splayed rim types there is still considerable variation involving rim, sidewall, and handle shapes. Below are found those published examples which still evidence variation but which parallel or approach the type from Heshbon. They are: *Kadesh-Barnea* Fig. 5:11 (note especially the handle section); *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 48:1028; *Meşad Ḥashavyahu* Fig. 5:1; *Tell Goren* Fig. 18:1; *Ramat Raḥel I* Fig. 11:23; *Ramat Raḥel II* Fig. 20:8-10; *Lachish* Plate 93:460; *Ashdod* Fig. 40:19 and Fig. 41:12 (note especially the squared and slightly indented lip).

Cooking Pot Type 2b (312-313) It is especially the narrow groove on the rim of these two sherds that distinguishes them from Type 2c. Both are slightly upturned with rounded sidewalls, but the rim of 312 is thicker.

There is nothing to distinguish the ware of these sherds from those which have just been discussed. The surface is sandy textured and the ware color is brick-orange.

Parallels: Unless the drawing of *Sahab B* p. 101:67 represents

a narrow groove on the rim, from Transjordan there are no parallels for these two isolated sherds in the Heshbon corpus.

Upturned or splayed-out cooking-pot rims with narrow grooves are present on the West Bank in a variety of forms, some of which resemble the present Heshbon sherds. *Ramat Rahel I* Fig. 28:35 and *Ramat Rahel II* Fig. 18:11 differ but are fairly close parallels. Slightly different are *Beth-zur* Fig. 19:3, *Gibeah* Plate 23:3, and *Bethel* Plate 65:4. Other thinner examples, usually with a rather angular and protruded rim, are: *Tell Goren* Fig. 18:4-8; *Meşad Ḥashavyahu* Fig. 5:3; *Gibeon* Fig. 35:2; *Ramat Rahel I* Fig. 11:24 and Fig. 28:36-37; *Ramat Rahel II* Fig. 18:10,12. These latter examples are essentially unlike the two Heshbon sherds.³¹

Cooking pot Type 2c (314-325) These sherds share a rounded rim form that is slightly upturned and outsplayed, as well as the rounded shoulder form. The handles attach to the rim and rise well above it (both 317 and 320 do not have the handles rising high enough).

The ware is sandy textured as with the previous types, and the color varies from bricky-orange to smoked black.

Parallels: (See above, under *Cooking Pot Types 1b, 1c, and 3.*)

Cooking Pot Type 4 (331) This sherd seems to come from a cooking jug, that more closed form of cooking pot which often has only one handle. It has a vertical neck of small diameter and a slightly folded-over rim.

The ware is similar in texture to the other cooking pots but the color is a dark brown-black.

Parallels: Nothing published from Transjordan is similar to this rim fragment, but the West Bank does not seem to offer any parallels either.

³¹ A possibly related form to Cooking Pot Type 2b is not attested at Heshbon but is present in three pottery groups which supply parallels to Heshbon. It is a rather triangular thickened rim with a flattened or slightly grooved upper edge (cf. *Dhībān Forthcoming* Fig. 1:40; *Balu'ah* Plate II, Fig. 2:3; *Deir 'Allā Unpublished*).

*Jar Type I (333-375)*³² Within a rather narrow range of variation this type is quite uniform. It is a large deep form with curving sides coming up to a thickened rim which resembles the Iron II style holemouth jar rim. It could thus be called "Holemouth Krater" (cf. Bowl Type 26, p. 39). The form would very likely have a flat base of some kind. On some forms there are two (?) handles, the position of which is just below or at the lower edge of the thickened rim. The top of the handle is either just beneath that thickened edge or it touches and overlaps it (cf. the undrawn handle on 364, which slightly overlaps the edge of the rim. Sherd 366 is not accurately drawn at this point, since the handle tapers up more closely to the rim, which itself is more elongated than the drawing indicates). Since only two handle fragments are present out of a total of 55 sherds, it is not certain that they are always found on this type (cf. the parallel discussion below). There are variant forms of the thickened rim, including especially elongated (cf. 347, 348, 375, 335) and more shortened subtypes (cf. 339-342). Each of them is basically round at the inner lip with a more or less pronounced outside edge where the rim joins the sidewall. The overall size and general thickness of the type does not vary drastically.

The surface treatment of Jar Type I is also quite consistent. The ware is hard but quick-fired, and the internal and external surfaces of the form usually contrast.³³ Characteristically the vessels have gray or black interiors and light tan or buff exteriors, with a zone of transition on the rim. The interior is frequently wheel-burnished with broad horizontal marks, as is sometimes true of the outer rim section as well. The external sidewall below the rim is not burnished. with the exception of 375, which has a wheel-burnished, orange-red

³² Because of the quite uniform nature of this type, not all of the rim sherds have been drawn. A total of fifty-five such rims are contained in the corpus.

³³ The black interior and light exterior of this type may be explained by firing technique, whereby the interior of the pot was intentionally denied enough oxygen.

slip on the rim and at least partially on the sidewall. Very few of the sherds do not have the black or gray interior (cf. Bowl Type 6, p. 35, for another instance of this black interior).

Parallels: Transjordan offers the only parallels which consistently share most or all of the features of this type. A bowl is published from *Sahab B* (p. 97:3) which has the black wheel-burnished interior and the light unburnished exterior which characterizes the surface treatment of this type. The form is drawn as having a more depressed rim than most of the Heshbon sherds, and it has no handles. In the *Adoni Nur* report Harding remarks, "There are a number of sherds of medium thickness which are pink outside and black in, the black surface being sometimes burnished: . . ." (p. 59). None of these sherds are drawn but the described surface and thickness correspond perfectly with the present type. From *Sahab A* comes a likely parallel which Albright considered to have been an early holemouth jar (Fig. 2:5). Since holemouth jars are very weakly attested in Transjordan it is likely that this sherd, for which no diameter or ware description is given, belongs to our Holemouth Krater type. From *Amman C* comes a possible but not definite parallel (Fig. 1:39). It is said to be gray inside and brown out, but is unburnished and has a slightly different rim form. In the yet unpublished *Deir 'Allā* corpus this type is extremely frequent, some of the sherds having handles, and it is said to be present at the *Amman Citadel* as well. From *Umm el-Biyara* (Fig. 2:7) and *Dhībān* (Part II, Plate 72:2) come quite different (note especially the handle attachments at, rather than just below, the thickened rim) but possibly related forms.

From the West Bank there are no exact parallels, but several things should be noted. The typical large bowl form most common in the south has a similar capacity, is burnished only on the interior and the rim, and has usually two or four handles. But the handles are attached at the rim itself, the slip color is usually red on the interior, and the sidewall shape is carinated to produce a more open form (cf. however the

northern examples). For some of the numerous published examples, see the following: *TBM I* Plate 60; *TBM III* Plate 20; *Ain Shems* Plate LXIV:8ff; *Lachish* Plate 82:122 and Plate 102:648-49; *CBZ* Plate X:15ff; *Beth-zur* Fig. 17:1-6; *Bethel* Plate 62; *Gibeah* Plate 22; *Ramat Raḥel I* Fig. 11:21; *Ramat Raḥel II* Fig. 18:1-6; *Tell en-Naṣbeh* Plate 62:1427; *Meṣad Hashavyahu* Fig. 4:14; *Samaria* Fig. 12:2 and Fig. 20:1; *Megiddo I* Plate 23:18; Plate 27:84; Plate 32:166.³⁴

Aside from these there is one form from the West Bank that should be given special attention. It comes from *Bethel* (Plate 64:2), and shares several features with the present type. Specifically, the handles are attached just below the rim thickening, rather than at the rim itself, and the sidewall is curved and uncarinated down to the base. It is still a more open form, however, and the surface treatment is apparently not distinctive.

Jar Type 2a (376-387) These rims are from heavy neckless jars and are characterized by a rounded, thickened profile that protrudes above and slightly below the general line of the sidewall. A rather deep indentation may be found immediately below the rim on the outside (cf. 387, 377, 384). The sidewall itself may be gently ridged (cf. 383) or incised (cf. 386). Otherwise there are no major variations within the rim group and they share a common size and thickness. The overall form of the vessel may be reconstructed with a wide curving shoulder, two proportionate handles, and an elongated narrowing body that joins to a small hollow stump base (cf. below under *Parallels*).

The ware is heavy and coarse and has typically been slipped in tan or buff on the external surface and over the rim. Because of the coarse texture of the ware this slip is often badly worn.

³⁴ It should be noted that a number of these deep bowls are found in the unpublished *Deir 'Allā* corpus, with interior red slip and wheel burnishing. They are found in the same contexts as the other forms that typically parallel Heshbon types. Typical West Bank profiled and rilled-rim cooking pots are also present.

Parallels: A single excellent parallel is provided in Transjordan by a complete form from *Balu'ah* (Plate III, Fig. 1). The rim of this vessel (enlarged to the right of the drawing) is most similar to sherd 387 of the Heshbon corpus, although the bulbous portion of 386 conforms very closely to the *Balu'ah* example. Similar rim forms are also said to be present at the *Amman Citadel*.

Various types of neckless jars are attested from the West Bank, but the published complete forms differ very much from the *Balu'ah* example (cf. *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 4:56; Plate 6:89; *Beth-zur* Fig. 20:7; Fig. 15:16; *Lachish* Plate 94:466). Of the published rims only several from *Tell en-Naşbeh* are similar to the Heshbon type (*TN* Plate 4:60; Plate 5:63), while others protrude inward too much (cf. *Beth-zur* Fig. 15:13; *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 6:88).

Jar Type 2b (388) This neckless jar rim differs radically from the immediately preceding ones. It is flattened on top and squared at the point where it meets the sidewall. The ware is softer and there is a large dark core in the section.

Parallels: cf. *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 4:57.

Jar Type 3a (389-392) It is only possible to note here that the diameter of these sherds eliminates them from the cylindrical holemouth type. Perhaps they come from deep kraters.

Jar Type 3b (393) This is only the second published holemouth jar to come from Transjordan. It has a simple upturned rim that is slightly squared at the lip, and the angle from the rim to the sidewall is marked by a fairly smooth, rounded profile.

Parallels: The other published holemouth jar comes from the tomb of *Adoni Nur* (Fig. 22:93). It also has a simple, non-thickened rim that turns smoothly to join the vertical sidewall. The rim is not turned up as markedly as is the Heshbon example, but is rather almost horizontal.

On the West Bank the class of holemouth jars is one of the most prominent features of that region's repertoire, and the attested variations are numerous. Within the class of simple

rimmed types a large number can be eliminated because of their sharply angled profiles where the rim merges with the sidewall (cf. *Ramat Rahel II* Fig. 21:3; *Lachish* Plate 97:543. Below are those published examples which most closely parallel the Heshbon and the *Adoni Nur* types: *Ramat Rahel II* Fig. 35:5; *Gibeah* Plate 23:11; *Gibeon* Fig. 35:8; *Samaria* Fig. 12:21; *Tell el-Far'ah* Fig. 12:19.

Jar Type 9 (403-448) This type includes those jar sherds which share the prominent feature of a fairly short, sloping neck. The most similar sherds have a small outplayed or pointed rim that is attached to the narrowing profile of the neck. Some have a ridge (cf. 443-447) and others are slightly grooved (cf. 428, 433), but most are simple in form. Their diameters are quite constant at ca. 80-100 mm., and most of them are of fairly similar thickness.

The wares are quite varied but are generally hard on the surface, with a dark bluish section. Some of the sherds are slipped in tan or buff, while others are unslipped and generally gray or pink.

Parallels: The Amman tombs are particularly weak in larger closed forms, but *Adoni Nur* and *Meqabelein* supply a few. None of these parallel the Heshbon forms exactly, but they do share the neck and rim features of the present type. The form is found on the decanters (cf. *Adoni Nur* Fig. 22:102-104) as well as on larger vessels (cf. *Adoni Nur* Fig. 23:113, 115; *Meqabelein* Plate XVI:4 and Plate XVII:7). All of these are distinguished by a ridge at or on the neck, however, something not found on the Heshbon sherds (cf. below for the decanters). In the unpublished *Deir 'Allā* corpus, two excellent parallels to the *Meqabelein* XVI:4 and the *Adoni Nur* Fig. 23:113 forms are present. No other sites in Transjordan provide any further help in dealing with this form.³⁵

³⁵ At *Umm el-Biyara* there is a sloping-necked jar with a slightly grooved rim (cf. Fig. 2:11; Fig. 4:2-4) which is essentially different from the present type (cf. *Tell el-Kheleifeh A*, Fig. 11).

And only tentative parallels come from the West Bank. *Samaria* Fig. 12:23 is apparently of a similar ware and slopes somewhat down to the shoulder from a simple rim, as do forms from *Samaria 1968* (Figs. 13:9; 14:2, 6).

Jar Type 17 (456-459) These sherds also exhibit the sloping neck and pointed rim which characterize Jar Type 9. They have a smaller diameter, however, and at least sherd 458 has a pronounced ridge partially down the neck toward the shoulder. This form has a precise parallel in the *Adoni Nur* tomb which makes it clear that it belongs in the category of the decanters.

Parallels: From Transjordan, only the *Adoni Nur* tomb contains this type (Fig. 22:103-104). As a complete form, not only the sloping neck but the wide shoulder and carinated sidewall are especially characteristic. One fragmentary example comes from Hazor (*Hazor II* Plate C:32); otherwise the type is unattested outside of the region around Amman.

Shallow Bowl Type 1 (504-515) Fully open forms, these flat bowls fall into two subtypes. The first includes those with sidewalls that are nearly straight or that curve gently up to the rim of the form (504-508). The second includes those which splay back slightly as the sidewall rises from the base to the rim (509-515). The second subtype is more prominent and uniform than the first one. Within the two subtypes there are other distinguishing formal features. Sherd 506 in Subtype 1a, and sherds 512, 513, and 514 in Subtype 1b have one or more incised lines on the interior surface just at or below the lip of the rim. 506 and 512 have one such line while 513 and 514 have two. 513 and 514 also share the most splayed-back rims of Subtype 1b, and as will be seen they also have distinctive surface treatments. The group is quite varied as far as thickness and overall size are concerned.

The surface treatments found in this group are quite diverse. Sherds 513 and 514 have what seems to be a cloth- or leather-burnished surface, 514 on both the interior and the exterior but 513 only on the interior. The slip color of 514 is

light pinkish-red, while 513 is dark gray-brown. 512 and 509 are wheel-burnished on the inside with light orange-red and darker red slips respectively, but their exterior surfaces are unslipped and unburnished. Sherd 508 has close wheel-burnishing over a red slip on both the interior and the exterior. 515 has a smooth, wide wheel-burnish on the interior over a whitish-tan surface. Finally, except for the tan and buff unburnished examples, sherd 506 requires special mention. It is of very finely levigated clay which fired to a hard bluish-gray surface.

Parallels: The tombs around Amman provide parallels for both of these flat bowl subtypes. From *Meqabelein* come the clearest parallels to the splayed-back subtype (Plate XVII: 3-4, 16). The photographs show that at least 3 and 4 have the distinctive grooves on the rim that characterize a number of the Heshbon sherds, especially those which are splayed back markedly as with the *Meqabelein* examples. Pl. XVII:4 would seem to parallel Heshbon sherd 513 exactly, since it has a dark brown surface which is described not as burnished but as polished. Similar polishing is noted with a red slip on Pl. XVII:3, which would relate to Heshbon sherd 514 (but the Heshbon example is so treated on both the interior and the exterior). Red interior burnishing is found on examples from *Sahab B* (p. 97:1-2), and this is characteristic of some of the Heshbon sherds. *Amman C* Fig. 1:2, 5 have traces of burnishing, one of which has a painted cross unlike anything found at Heshbon. Finally, the forms from *Jofeh* may be noted although no ware descriptions are provided (Plate V:132, 134, 154).

The straight or slightly curving subtype is not as well represented, but this is true at Heshbon as well. From *Amman B* comes a form which has a pinkish-brown slip and interior wheel-burnishing (p. 74:44), and *Amman C* examples (Fig. 1:1, 3, 4) have either traces of burnishing or are unburnished.

The class of shallow plates is common to the West Bank, and a number of similar forms can be noted here. The most splayed-out forms come from *Meşad Hashavyahu* (Fig. 4:1-2)

and *Tell en-Naşbeh* (Plate 68:1552-1553), but it is not possible to tell whether they have grooves on their rims like the Heshbon and Meqabelein types. Gently flared examples come from *Ramat Rahel I* (Fig. 28:3), *Samaria* (Fig. 13:11), and *Tell Goren* (Fig. 15:3). The straight or curving form which is not as well attested at Heshbon can be seen in the following West Bank examples: *Tell Goren* Fig. 15:4; *Tell en-Naşbeh* Plate 68:1550, 1559ff; *Lachish* Plate 79:2; *TBM III* Pl. 21:4.

Shallow Bowl Type 4 (521-524, 529) This type is a very thin-walled, shallow bowl with an upturned rim that has two smoothly executed grooves on the exterior. The five sherds actually fall into three subtypes, however. Sherds 521-523 are basically the same, while 524 and 529 are related but different in a number of details. The rims of 521-523 are angled from the sidewall edge and taper evenly to a point, while that of 529 is sharply inverted and somewhat squared at the lip. 524 has a slight carination at the point where the rim meets the sidewall, and its rim tapers to a point. The rim grooves of 524 are more prominent, whereas those of 529 are barely present. 529 is extremely flat in profile, and 524 is thicker than the other four. Sherds 521-523 can be reconstructed without doubt as having a round base that does not break the contours of the sidewalls, and the same is probably true of 524 (cf. below under *Parallels*).

All five examples are of fine ware and are wheel-burnished on the interior and at least part of the exterior. The burnishing is close, except for 521, where it is spaced in a contrasting fashion (dark reddish-brown lines over a red surface). Sherds 522 and 523 have a light yellowish-buff slip, while 524 and 529 have slips in orange-red. The external orange-red slip of 529 extends about three centimeters below the rim, but the burnishing continues below that on the pale tan surface of the bowl.

Parallels: The region around Amman provides perfect parallels to sherds 521-523. Eight complete examples and a number of sherds are reported from the *Adoni Nur* tomb

(Fig. 21:51-53 and p. 60), and *Meqabelein* provides another one (Plate XVII:17). In contrast to the Heshbon examples, all of them are red-slipped and burnished on the interior and over the rim, although the *Meqabelein* example has only traces of burnish. In form they are very thin and flat, with a grooved rim and a rounded base. The *Amman Citadel* is said to have produced some of these bowls as well.

It is possible that sherd 524 belongs with the above group, but its differences suggest that it is paralleled by a different form from the Amman tombs. This form is attested in *Sahab B* (p. 98:17-19), *Adoni Nur* (Fig. 21:70) and *Amman A* (p. 69:3), two of which are burnished, one in red and one in pink (cf. above under *Bowl Type 28*, p. 42).

Although sherd 529 is clearly related to the preceding forms, no known parallel exists for it.

And on the West Bank nothing parallels these five sherds.

Shallow Bowl Type 5 (528) This sherd is a fragment of a baking tray, or what is sometimes referred to as a "pan." It has a flat bottom and an upturned rim.

It is a handmade article of very coarse ware, and the bottom surface has been left entirely unsmoothed. The upper surface and the rim itself are smoothed and covered with a dark brown slip.

Parallels: There are no known parallels from Transjordan for this lone example from Heshbon.

Tell en-Naşbeh (Plate 78:1784-1785) and *Shechem* (Fig. 13:38) provide similar but not identical parallels (note the vertical sidewall stance and the slight flange on the bottom).

Lamp Types 1-4(5) (539-543) Of the sixty-one lamp fragments in the corpus only five examples are published here. Although rim fragments account for most of these sherds, it will be the bases that provide the starting point for organizing the lamps according to types. The ten bases in the corpus fall into four formal types. Only one example of a round-to-flat base is present (sherd 542), and it is slightly thickened at the base. Four lamp bases maintain a fairly thin base section,

but one has a shallow-to-deep indentation in the center of the base as if the center had been pushed up from below (cf. 543, an example with a deep indentation). Four low disk bases are attested (cf. 540, 541), none of which approach the high footed type, and one low disk base is thickened so that it bulges slightly into the center of the inner lamp surface.

Since none of the many rim fragments are attached to their bases (except for 542, which is not near the spout of the lamp), it is not easy to correlate the rim variations with the four base types attested. However, certain rim fragments meet the area of the base with fairly thin sections, and they could belong to Lamp Type 2 which has the thin but indented base profile. However, they could also belong to a lamp type with a thin rounded base (cf. below under *Parallels*). Most of the rim fragments show a quite depressed spout area with a wide flange that turns back sharply towards the bowl of the lamp. All of the sherds have flanges, most of which are at least of medium width.

One lamp fragment is particularly significant because it differs from all the others and constitutes the fifth type. It is sherd 11926 from Locus 45, an unpublished fragment. It is quite small and worn, but it definitely belongs to the fully flattened and very widely flanged type. Its ware is typically pink and heavy, while that of the other lamps is much thinner and of a pink, tan, gray, or whitish color.

Parallels: The Amman tombs again provide parallels but they also contrast somewhat with the overall Heshbon corpus. Low disk-based lamps are attested at *Sahab B* (p. 101:72-74), *Adoni Nur* (Fig. 21:82-86), *Jofeh* (Plate IV:111). These forms are in every way comparable to the sherds from Heshbon, and a number of them are clearly depressed and widely flanged.

However, the round-based lamp is much more common in the tombs, while only one example is attested from Heshbon. These rounded examples are: *Amman C* Fig. 1:16-18; *Sahab B* p. 101:75-76; p. 102:77-86; *Amman A* p. 70:14-16; *Adoni Nur*

Fig. 21:87; *Jofeh* Plate IV:105, 106, 114, 115; *Meqabelein* Plate XVII:5(?). Again many of them are widely flanged and quite flattened. But the drawings of *Amman C* depict the lamps of that tomb with a thin base, while the only attested rounded base from Heshbon is thickened. If the thin rim sections of Heshbon can be interpreted as belonging to such a thin and round-based type, then the absence of such a type would have to be explained as an accident of sampling.

The *Jofeh* tomb provides some evidence for interpreting the indented bases from Heshbon. While the characteristic double lamps of *Amman C* (Fig. 1:15) and *Amman A* (p. 70:17) have rounded bases, the drawings of two of the *Jofeh* examples show just such an indentation in the bases (Plate IV:118 and 177). Yet lamp 121 on the same *Jofeh* plate has a rounded base. Thus it is possible that the Heshbon indented bases belong to such double lamps, but it could also be that the indented base is not restricted to the double-lamp form.

The tombs offer no parallel to the unpublished lamp sherd from Heshbon that has the fully depressed form with the very wide flange. It is necessary to go to the West Bank for this form (cf. *Tell Abu Hawām*, p. 4, Fig. 5; *Samaria* Fig. 27:3). But on the other hand, the West Bank offers no parallels to the indented-based form or the double-lamp type itself.

Bases (549-559) Of the many bases saved, only a few representative pieces are published here. The two most common types are the disk base and the step-cut base. The disk bases are usually flat but can also be slightly concave (cf. 550-554). The step-cut bases are illustrated by sherds 555-557, and are equally as numerous as the disk bases. Only a few simple ring bases are attested, and sherd 549 is the only double step-cut base in the corpus. (The drawing is rather unclear; looked at from the bottom this base has a small central disk around which are two further ridges or rings.)

Parallels: The step-cut base is particularly well attested in the *Adoni Nur* tomb (cf. Fig. 21:61, 62, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74; Fig. 22:102-104), where it is dominant on some forms and

alternates with a disk base on others (cf. Fig. 21:63, 71). A slightly concave disk base is also present (Fig. 21:64-65), but the simple ring base is rare if attested at all (cf. the notes in the text). *Sahab A* provides two additional examples of the step-cut base (Fig. 2:6-7), and the form is present in the unpublished *Deir 'Allā* corpus as well.

On the West Bank variations of the simple ring base are the rule, along with disk bases.

Painted Body Sherds (560) The present corpus contains a total of sixty body sherds, of which nineteen are painted and the rest burnished or slipped. Since the latter surface treatments have all been encountered in previous sections of the article they will be left undiscussed here. The several types of painted decoration are worthy of note, however. Among the pottery types presented so far, paint has already occurred on Bowl Type 13 and Bowl Type 26 (pp. 36, 40).

a. Black-White-Black This type of exterior banded painting has already been noted under *Bowl Type 13*, p. 36, where it occurred on a red burnished background. The present sherds belong to heavier and larger vessels. Five examples of this paint are on unburnished light tan or buff backgrounds, and could well come from Bowl Type 26. The other eight sherds have an orange-red or light orange wheel-burnished background, and several of them clearly come from Bowl Type 27, p. 41.

b. Black-Red-Black Also this type of painting was noted under *Bowl Type 13*, but again the present sherds come from larger and heavier vessels. One of the two examples is on a sherd which has a wheel-burnished interior surface, so it would seem to come from an open bowl form. The paint itself is on the unburnished exterior tan surface. The other example is on a tan background which has traces of widely spaced wheel-burnishing, but the interior surface is unfinished.

c. Black-Black-Black Aside from the widely spaced black-banded painting of Bowl Type 26, this is the only sherd with close, narrow bands of black paint, and it clearly comes from

Bowl Type 27 (p. 41). The external surface is dark red and wheel-burnished, and there is one narrow band of black paint at the neck and at least three more closely-spaced bands just below the neck on the shoulder.

d. Wide Black This sherd is also the only one of this kind (560), but it comes from a large, heavy vessel with a continuously wheel-burnished dark-red background.

e. Wide White Two sherds have a single wide band of white paint located between brown-black slip. They could come from Bowl Type 27, but an unburnished brown-black slip was not characteristic of that type.

A number of parallels have been noted under *Bowl Type 27* and *Bowl Type 13* (pp. 41 and 37). The significance of these and further parallels (cf. *EEP I*, pp. 14-22; *EEP II*, pp. 124-137; *EEP III*, pp. 266-267) will be discussed by Sauer in a forthcoming article.

Dating Evidence

As would be expected from the stratigraphic interpretation of the Phase 1 loci as fill, the ceramic variation present in these loci is minimal and can be accounted for by random sampling. Thus the corpus is essentially homogeneous, without significant internal development. It is now necessary to consider the evidence for establishing the dating range within which this material falls, beginning with the artifacts themselves.

A preliminary *terminus post quem* for the corpus can be fixed at ca. 650 B.C. This is established by the very close ceramic parallels with the *Adoni Nur* tomb, which itself is dated absolutely within the Assyrian period by the seal of that official.³⁶ The pottery from *Umm el-Biyara* is also dated

³⁶ *Adoni Nur*, p. 49 f. Cf. Morris Jastrow, "A Phoenician Seal," *Hebraica*, VII (1891), 257-267; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Etudes d'archéologie orientale*, I (1895), 85-90; Charles C. Torrey, "A Few Ancient Seals," *AASOR*, II-III (1921-22), 103-108; W. F. Albright, "Notes on Ammonite History," *Miscellanea Biblica B. Ubach* (1954), p. 133; G. M. Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *Biblical Archaeologist Reader* II, 84.

by a seal to the 7th-6th century B.C., although that corpus exhibits only a few parallels with the Heshbon pottery.³⁷

A *terminus ante quem* can be established with a measure of certainty by typological arguments and other such related evidence. Most of the full-blown Persian forms are absent from the corpus.³⁸ Yet, there is a single example of the flattened lamp (p. 59), and several fragments of wavy-edged mortaria.³⁹ In addition, the Heshbon ostrakon comes from Locus 52 and it is to be dated at *ca.* 500 B.C. with a fifty-year time allowance.⁴⁰ At present, the low pressure on the date of the *Megabelein* tomb coming from the glass parallels is significant, because this tomb supplies a number of close parallels to the Heshbon corpus.⁴¹ The cumulative result of this low evidence would suggest a terminal date for the corpus of *ca.* 500 B.C.

Turning from the artifacts to the literary history of biblical Heshbon, we find a general corroboration of these dates. After centuries of silence the city emerges clearly in the oracles of Isaiah (*ca.* 700 B.C.) and Jeremiah (*ca.* 600 B.C.). Unfortunately the gap in literary sources during the mid- and late-6th century B.C. prevents anything but weak speculation regarding the history of Heshbon at that time.⁴²

³⁷ *Umm el-Biyara*, pp. 400 f. (cf. *Tell el-Kheleifeh B*, pp. 8 f.).

³⁸ These include the orange-ware vessels, especially the "sausage jar" types with upturned rim and badly attached handles, the store-jar rim with a groove on the upper lip surface, the cooking pots, the impressed ware, and the basket-handled heavy jar. (Cf. Paul W. Lapp, "The Pottery of Palestine in the Persian Period," *Archaeologie und altes Testament* [1970], pp. 179-197.)

³⁹ The mortaria come from loci unpublished in this article, but from Phase I. They are wavy edged, but the type of base is unknown (flat or ring). Parallels are extremely common on the West Bank.

⁴⁰ Cf. F. M. Cross, "An Ostrakon from Heshbon," *AUSS*, VII (July, 1969), 223-229. The fifty-year time allowance is a personal communication from Cross.

⁴¹ Cf. Sinclair, *Gibeah*, pp. 51, 52.

⁴² Cf. Werner Vyhmeister, "The History of Heshbon from Literary Sources," *AUSS*, VI (1968), 163, 164; G. M. Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," *Biblical Archaeologist Reader II*, 77, 87, 88; John Bright, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 310, 333.

The dating 700-500 B.C. would seem at the present time to be the maximum time spread for the corpus. Future work at the site will hopefully allow for further refinement of these dates, and if necessary, certain adjustments may be made.

Geographical Variation

One of the most interesting aspects of the Heshbon corpus is the light which it sheds on the problems of geographical variation of pottery in the Iron Age. While essentially contemporary, the Heshbon pottery shares very few basic types with the West Bank. Thus, most of the typical West Bank forms are missing at Heshbon: black juglets, decanters, jugs, holemouth jars, profiled- or rilled-rim cooking pots, storage jars, heavy wheel-burnished bowls, stump-based lamps. On the other hand, the most dominant types discussed above are not represented on the West Bank, except in occasional instances.

The pottery from Heshbon confirms very definitely the ceramic tradition of the Amman tombs. Other sites in this region that seem to share this basic tradition are *Balu'ah* and *Deir 'Allā*. The latter attests both types from Heshbon and some which are well known from the West Bank.

South of Heshbon the tradition is essentially different, at least insofar as it is attested at *Umm el-Biyara* (cf. *Tell el-Kheleifeh*). One exception is the cooking pot, which is closely paralleled by Heshbon Type 1a (in contrast to other Heshbon types which parallel either the Amman tombs or the West Bank). Although this southern region is distinct from the region around Amman, it is also clearly different from the West Bank and lacks the dominant West Bank forms noted above as well.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

- Adoni Nur* G. L. Harding and O. Tufnell, "The Tomb of Adoni Nur in Amman," *PEFA*, VI (1953), 48-72.
Ain Shems Elihu Grant and G. Ernest Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations*, IV-V (Baltimore, 1938).

- Amman A* G. L. Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs from 'Amman," *QDAP*, XI (1944), 67-80.
- Amman B* G. L. Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs from 'Amman," *QDAP*, XI (1944), 67-80.
- Amman C* G. L. Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs in Amman," *ADAJ*, I (1951), 37-40.
- Amman D* G. L. Harding, "Two Iron Age Tombs in Amman," *ADAJ*, I (1951), 37-40
- Amman Citadel* Unpublished pottery from a sounding on the citadel mound of Amman by Rudolph Dornemann.
- '*Amuq* Gustavus Swift, *The Pottery of the 'Amuq Phases K to O*, Unpublished Dissertation; Chicago, 1958.
- '*Arô'er* Emilio Olavarri, "Sondages à 'Arô'er sur l'Arnon," *RB*, LXXII (1965), 77-94.
- Ashdod* M. Dothan and D. N. Freedman, *Ashdod*, I (Jerusalem, 1967).
- Balu'ah* J. W. Crowfoot, "An Expedition to Balu'ah," *PEQ* (April, 1934), 76-84.
- Bethel* James L. Kelso *et al.*, *The Excavation of Bethel* (*AASOR*, XXXIX, 1968).
- Beth Shan* Frances W. James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan* (Philadelphia, 1966).
- Beth-zur* Ovid R. Sellers *et al.*, *The 1957 Excavation at Beth-zur* (*AASOR*, XXXVIII, 1968).
- CBZ* Ovid R. Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-zur* (Philadelphia, 1933).
- Deir 'Allā* I H. J. Franken and J. Kalsbeek, *Excavations at Tell Deir 'Allā*, I (Leiden, 1969).
- Deir 'Allā Unpublished* Unpublished pottery from Deir 'Allā Phases M ff.
- Dhibān* Fred V. Winnett and William L. Reed, *The Excavations at Dibon (Dhibān) in Moab* (*AASOR*, XXXVI-XXXVII, 1964).
- Dhibān Forthcoming* Final Report on Dhibān by A. Douglas Tushingham.
- EEP* Nelson Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine*, I-IV (*AASOR*, XIV, 1933-34; XV, 1934-35; XVIII-XIX, 1937-39; XXV-XXVIII, 1945-49).
- Gerar* Sir Flinders Petrie, *Gerar* (London, 1928).
- Gibeah* Lawrence A. Sinclair, *An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Fūl)* (*AASOR*, XXXIV-XXXV, 1960), pp. 5-52.
- Gibeon* James B. Pritchard, *Winery, Defences, and Soundings at Gibeon* (Philadelphia, 1964).
- Hazor* Y. Yadin *et al.*, *Hazor*, I-IV (Jerusalem, 1958 ff.).
- HE Samaria* George A. Reisner, Clarence S. Fisher, and David G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I-II (Cambridge, 1924).
- Jofeh* R. W. Dajani, "An Iron Age Tomb from Amman," *ADAJ*, XI (1966), 41-47.
- Kadesh Barnea* M. Dothan, "The Fortress at Kadesh-Barnea," *IEJ*, XV (1965), 134-151.
- Lachish* Olga Tufnell *et al.*, *Lachish III, The Iron Age* (Oxford, 1953).

- Lines, Joan, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Nimrud," *Iraq*, XVI (1954), 164-167.
- Madeba G. L. Harding and B. S. J. Isserlin, "An Early Iron Age Tomb at Madeba," *PEFA*, VI (1953), 27-41.
- Megiddo Robert S. Lamon and Geoffrey M. Shipton, *Megiddo I* (Chicago, 1939).
- Meqabelein G. L. Harding, "An Iron-Age Tomb at Meqabelein," *QDAP*, XIV (1950), 44-48.
- Meşad Hashavyahu J. Naveh, "The Excavations at Meşad Hashavyahu," *IEJ*, XII (1962), 89-113.
- Nebo S. Saller, "Iron Age Tombs at Nebo, Jordan," *Studi Biblici Franciscani; Liber Annuus*, XVI (1965-66), 165-298.
- Oates, Joan, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Fort Shalmaneser," *Iraq*, XXI, (1959), 130-146.
- PEFA Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*.
- Qasile B. Maisler, "The Excavations at Tell Qasile," *IEJ*, I (1950-51), 194-218.
- Ramat Raḥel Yohanan Aharoni *et al.*, *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel*, I-II (Rome, 1962, 1964).
- Sahab A W. F. Albright, "An Anthropoid Clay Coffin from Sahab in Transjordan," *AJA* (1932), 295-306.
- Sahab B G. L. Harding, "An Iron Age Tomb at Sahab," *QDAP*, XIII (1948), 92-102.
- Samaria J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957).
- Samaria 1968 J. B. Hennessy, "Excavations at Samaria-Sebaste, 1968," *Levant*, II (1970), 1-21.
- Sendschirli Felix von Luschan and Walter Andrae, *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli* (Berlin, 1943).
- Shechem Vera I. Kerkhof, *Catalogue of the Shechem Collection* (Leiden, 1969).
- Tarsus Hetty Goldman *et al.*, *Excavations at Gözli Kule, Tarsus*, Vol. III (Princeton, 1963).
- TBM W. F. Albright, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim* (*AASOR*, XII [1930-31]; XXI-XXII [1941-43]).
- Tell Abu Hawām R. W. Hamilton, "Excavations at Tell Abu Hawām," *QDAP*, IV (1935), 1-69.
- Tell el-Far'ah R. de Vaux, "La Troisième Campagne . . .," *RB*, LVIII (1951), 393-430.
- Tell el-Kheleifeh A Glueck, "Ezion Geber," *BA*, XXVIII:3 (1965), 70-87.
- Tell el-Kheleifeh B Glueck, "Some Edomite Pottery from Tell el-Kheleifeh," *BASOR*, 188 (1967), 8-38.
- Tell el-Kheleifeh C Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land* (Rutgers, 1970), pp. 300-301.
- TN Tell en-Naşbeh J. C. Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, II (Berkeley, 1947).
- Tell Fakhariyah C. W. McEwan *et al.*, *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah* (Chicago, 1958).

Tell Goren B. Mazar, T. Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, *En-Gedi* ('*Atiqot*, V, 1966).

Tell Halaf Barthel Hrouda, *Tell Halaf*, IV (Berlin, 1962).

Umm el-Biyara Crystal Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," *RB*, LXXIII (1966), 372-403.

Introduction to the Plates

The plates contain three types of information, the descriptive charts, the drawings, and the photographs.

All of the published sherds are organized and labeled by a system of typology which considers both the function and the shape of the vessel. The major categories with their abbreviations are: Bowls (Bo), Mugs (M), Tripod Cups (TC), Jars (Ja), Jugs (Ju), Cooking Pots (P), Kraters (K), and Shallow Bowls and Plates (Sb). Within these categories types are indicated by Arabic numerals (Bo:1), and subtypes by small letters (Bo:1a). As with any system of organization certain arbitrary classifications are inevitable.

To indicate color the Munsell Charts have been utilized, and notations are provided for the color of the interior (I), exterior (E), core (C) and rind (R) of the sherds. To conserve space in the descriptive charts the Munsell color names have not been added to the numerical designations for color. They are provided here, and are as follows:

<i>White</i>	<i>Gray</i>	<i>Dark Gray</i>	<i>Light Gray</i>	<i>Pinkish Gray</i>
2.5Y 8/2	2.5Y 5/0, 6/0	2.5Y 4/0	2.5Y 7/0	5YR 7/2
10YR 8/1; 8/2	5YR 5/1	5YR 3/1, 4/1	10YR 7/1, 7/2	7.5YR 6/2, 7/2
	10YR 6/1, 5/1	10YR 3/1, 4/1		
	7.5YR 5/0	7.5YR 4/0, 3/0		
<i>Dark Reddish Gray</i>	<i>Pink</i>	<i>Very Pale Brown</i>	<i>Pale Brown</i>	
5YR 4/2, 5/2	5YR 7/4 7/5	10YR 8/3, 8/4, 7/3	10YR 6/3	
	7.5YR 8/3, 8/4, 7/4			
<i>Brown</i>	<i>Reddish Brown</i>	<i>Light Reddish Brown</i>	<i>Reddish Yellow</i>	
10YR 5/3	5YR 5/3, 5/4, 4/3	5YR 6/3, 6/4, 6/5	7.5YR 8/5, 8/6, 7/6,	
7.5YR 5/4, 4/2			6/6	
			5YR 7/6, 7/8, 6/6, 6/8	
<i>Yellowish Red</i>	<i>Light Yellowish Brown</i>	<i>Light Brown Gray</i>	<i>Very Dark Gray Brown</i>	
5YR 5/6, 5/7	10YR 6/4	10YR 6/2, 5/2	10YR 3/2	

Sherd attributes other than color are more subjectively described with terms that are relative within the corpus and that are not precisely quantified. They are included in the following list of abbreviations which are to be found in the descriptive charts.

Abun.	= abundant
Av.	= average
C	= core
CRB	= contrasting ring burnishing (burnish bands are in a color that contrasts with that of the slip or unslipped surface of the sherd. The contrast must be one of color, not just the inevitable contrast of greater intensity and luster where the surface has been burnished)
Crs.	= coarse
E	= exterior
EP2cm	= exterior slip but only partial coverage extending 2 centimeters beyond the rim
I	= interior
I-rim or E-rim	= interior-rim only; or exterior-rim only
Med.	= medium
Met.	= metallic hardness
O	= original surface of sherd before decoration
R	= "rind" (area between core and surface if the color of the area is different)
RB	= ring (wheel) burnishing
Typ.	= typical

The drawings include almost all of the rim sherds from the loci selected for this article. Representative lamp, base, handle, and body fragments are also provided. They were drawn originally at 1 : 1 scale, and then were reduced photographically to the published scale of 2 : 5. They are fairly accurate in section and stance, except in specific cases which will be noted in the text.⁴³ If full technical precision

⁴³ Each of the drawings has been touched up by Sauer because of poor edge definition, something quite frequent with inkings that are blacked in completely.

were demanded (cf. the forthcoming Rumeith pottery publication), most of the drawings would need some correction of detail.

The photographic plates contain forty-eight representative sherds from the corpus, and their numbers correspond to the consecutive numbering of the drawings and the descriptive charts.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF JEAN ZURCHER: A CATHOLIC APPRECIATION

COSMAS RUBENCAMP

University of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

From a Roman Catholic point of view, a very stimulating development from within Seventh-day Adventist theology has been the work of Jean Zurcher in philosophical and theological anthropology. In a subsequent article I hope to elaborate an approach to understanding the concept of immortality which will be faithful to both Adventist and Roman Catholic tradition, an approach which owes much to some of Zurcher's own ideas. Here, however, by way of a preliminary essay in this area, I would like to offer an interpretation and appreciation of his thought. First, though, it should be noted that just as Zurcher's position is not an official position of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, so neither am I an official spokesman of the Roman Catholic Church. Zurcher is an anthropologist in good standing as an Adventist. I am a theologian in equally good standing in the Roman Catholic Church. This essay is offered as an appreciation of Zurcher's work.

Philosophical Anthropology

In his *L'homme, sa nature et sa destinée: Essai sur le problème de l'âme et du corps*, Zurcher traces the history of philosophical thought on the body-soul relationship.¹ Since this history bears on Zurcher's own anthropology, it will be well to point out some of its more pertinent aspects. He maintains, for instance, that the dualism which has often been man's most characteristic view of himself results partially, at least, from

¹ Neuchâtel-Paris, 1953. This has been translated into English as *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York, 1969). References will be to the latter edition.

his history of reducing himself to the status of *object* for the sake of self-analysis.² To illustrate this phenomenon, Zurcher uses the myth of Narcissus: as a result of reflecting on himself, man has so fallen in love with his own image that he has in fact bestowed substantial existence to what he has come to know:

From that moment, the subject seems to himself to be divided into two essentially distinct spheres in one of which the "me" perceived becomes subject while in the other the organism, instrument of perception, becomes by essence the object. And in the extension of this perspective the two oppositional worlds which constitute human reality appear more and more clearly the interior world of the "me" and the exterior world of the "not-me".³

But it is to this initial perceptive process that the dichotomistic view of man is to be traced. This is what Zurcher refers to as the classical error: "to have conceived man as being a body or a spirit or an association of the two; to have believed in the actual existence of parts, into which our thought has divided him, and to have regarded them as heterogeneous entities."⁴ This anthropological dichotomizing seems to reflect the religiously dichotomistic view of nature, with its struggle between good and evil and the forces associated with them: light and darkness, spirit and matter, and so on. This religious world-view was later to have its effect on Plato himself.

Zurcher traces the Platonic doctrine of the immortality of the *psyche* to the ancient Greek cult of Dionysus, in which the initiates worked themselves into a state of being with the god, or in the god ("en-thusiasm"):

It is precisely in this aspiration to merge the self with the god, to lose the self in divinity, that the incipient belief in the immortality of the soul is found. From this source Greek philosophy derived the necessary ideas for the construction of a metaphysical doctrine of a divine soul whose life is eternal.⁵

² *Op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 92, 93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

On the other hand, in contrast to the Platonic view of man composed of two really existing substances, body and imprisoned soul, there is the approach which Aristotle took to the same phenomena. Where Plato tends to be analytic (and consequently dichotomistic), Aristotle is synthetic (and tends, therefore, toward a more unified view of man).⁶

It is intriguing for a Catholic theologian to note how appealing to an Adventist like Zurcher is the approach of Aristotle in this connection. Since Adventist theology describes man so frequently in terms of *soma*, *psyche*, and *pneuma*, it would be easy, though erroneous, to assume that its option is for a trichotomistic anthropology. On the contrary, however, Adventists describe their view of man as "monistic" or "wholistic," and consequently close to the Aristotelian approach to understanding the nature of man. Zurcher himself follows Aristotle in describing the soul as essentially creative of the body, which is its expression: the human *form*, Zurcher insists, realizes itself in *matter* in order that an actual being be constituted. But in order for this self-realization to take place, of course, one must posit the action of an efficient cause and a final cause (which, however, work through the soul, and in a sense are contained in it, though they transcend it). Thus, for Zurcher, the "form and matter are one and the same thing, the one potential and the other actual. Together, they constitute the unity of substance."⁷ Therefore, "there is no body and no soul, but only a co-existence of two, as in the case of the wax and of the ball which is formed from it."⁸

A difficulty arises, however, from the fact that there is the well-known Aristotelian distinction between the *nous* (the agent intellect, which as a universal participates in the Pure Intelligence, the Self-thinking Thought) and the *psyche* (the passive intellect), which is the individual form of the body. It is

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-32.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

here that a dualism enters Aristotle's anthropology; he is never completely able to reestablish unity, though he tries by linking the active intellect to the sensitive soul as illuminator to the illumined, and this in a body with each other, the image transformed by the reality known.⁹

The difference between the Aristotelian view and that of Plato is illustrated also in their respective views of death. Plato, when he comes to speak of death, sees it as something which has its effect only on the *soma*, from which the immortal *psyche* is released. This notion had its influence on Aristotle, who, however, introduced the concept of the *nous* as the immortal aspect of man, the *psyche* being simply the vital force of the *soma*, and consequently mortal. Neoplatonists (e.g., Plotinus) see corporeal existence as death for the *psyche*, with real life coming as the result of the liberation of the *psyche*.¹⁰

The early Christian philosophers were obviously influenced by this neoplatonic outlook (with death seen as either neutral or as a positive good). Zurcher sums up the subsequent development:

The Christian conception of man certainly rested, in its origin, upon a totally different anthropology. . . . But the Christian philosophy, founded by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and presented by St. Augustine in a vast system which became the doctrine of the Church, rapidly established the pre-eminence of the fundamental elements of the Platonic anthropology. In the Middle Ages the first of the scholastic philosophies borrowed all its doctrine from Plotinus and through him from Plato, while Aristotelianism triumphed with Thomas Aquinas.

Thus, throughout nearly twenty centuries, in spite of the diversity of succeeding systems, the various conceptions of man remain (with trifling differences) close to that of Plato or of Aristotle: that of a hybrid being, composed of an immortal soul and a perishable body.¹¹

Modern dichotomistic views, however, have another source

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰ See Rudolf Bultmann, "Thanatos," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965), III, 7-14.

¹¹ Zurcher, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

besides Greek philosophy, and Zurcher has traced them to the very great influence of the Cartesian distinction between the thinking-self and the being-self.¹² Descartes, in opposing to the *cogito* a substantial existence comparable to that of *thought*, passes thereby from a methodological dualism inherent in the fact of consciousness to a substantial dualism.¹³ This results, anthropologically speaking, in a thinking-substance (the spirit) on the one hand, and a non-thinking, understood body-substance on the other; the body is unnecessary to the spirit, which is self-sufficient and immortal. Descartes, however, denied being a Platonist: "The soul is not only in the body as the pilot in the ship; it is closely joined to it and constitutes with it a single whole."¹⁴ On the other hand, there are many passages in his writings which conflict with his expressed desire not to maintain a dualistic view of man.¹⁵ There is much about the *fact* of the union (which Descartes arrived at by intuition), but little about the *explanation*:

The Cartesian doctrine of the union of soul and body retains above all a conspicuously contradictory and verbal character with regard to the dualistic conception of thought and extension. The radical incompatibility of the two contrary substances makes the third order of things, constituted by the union of soul and body, a chimerical being.¹⁶

As we have mentioned, Zurcher's own philosophical anthropology is basically Aristotelian, though for obvious reasons he does not agree with Aristotle entirely, believing that the Christian concept of the spirituality of man leads to a more logical conclusion than that which flows from the immortality of the soul, and which Aristotle borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, from Plato. At the basis of Zurcher's own anthropological opinion is a postulate, *unity*: "With Kant we believe

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39, 43-57.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁵ Some of these are cited by Zurcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

that unity is actually a category of our mind, an indispensable condition which things must satisfy in order to be grasped by our intelligence and to penetrate into the field of consciousness."¹⁷ And so, anthropological unity is a necessary condition of consciousness and comprehension.

With this postulate as the foundation, Zurcher develops his anthropology from three distinct approaches. First, he studies man *metaphysically*, that is, as human being—especially in its relationship to absolute being; then, *psychologically*, in regard to human being's encounter with itself; finally, *physically*, from the point of view of human being's encounter with the other. These three points of view correspond with Semitic anthropology with its threefold outlook on man as spirit, soul, and body.

Ontologically, man is a participation in being according to a particular mode—*human* being; and, as Zurcher points out, by this very fact the concrete reality of a particular being "is not simple, but composite. . . . the fact of actually being a composite being signifies that there are in every particular being two fundamental principles without which there would be no particular being." One of these principles is real being-itself; the other is the limited mode-of-being. These, of course, are not two substances existing in themselves; rather, they correspond to the form and matter of the categories of Aristotle (whom he quotes with Aquinas at this point).¹⁸

There is a second dual aspect of man, and it follows from the fact that he is *living* being: man represents an essential synthesis of two correlative principles. There is no life where there is no being; and, conversely, when life ceases, *being ceases to exist*.¹⁹ This latter point is important, with a definite consequence for eschatology.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95. We might suspect that Biblical anthropology, which Zurcher would accept as revealed, is the basis of his postulate; but as a philosopher, he merely *postulates* unity.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-109.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-116.

We can summarize the metaphysical data in Zurcher's own words:

... he [man] is a material and spiritual being, a reasonable animal. Man is a corporeal reality endowed with psychic life whose superior activity has as formal object transcendental value. In fact, all his activity bears the seal of his physical dependency in regard to the things which surround him. His knowledge is above all an experience, a contact with present realities. But man is not corporeal only, he is also spiritual; that is why this contact with the "me" in the physical world is conscious. Man has "consciousness" of the organic character of his activity, because the latter also reveals a spiritual element. This is what permits the affirmation that the two constitutive principles of the metaphysical structure of man are on one hand a material principle and on the other hand a spiritual principle. It is these two principles which are habitually designated by the terms of body and soul.²⁰

The body and soul, Zurcher insists, are integral principles, neither of which can be defined without the other. The soul is man; the body is man, the subsistent being. Neither can be conceived without the other. The dead "body" is not a "body" but a corpse; the dead "soul" does not exist.

Zurcher also analyzes man from a *psychological* point of view—that is, in the act by which he himself constitutes his own essence, for Zurcher understands, as we have seen, that the "I" comes into existence with the consciousness:

It is by means of consciousness that our participation in life is realized. ... it is consciousness which gives us existence, for to exist without knowing that one exists is equivalent to not being or to being only an appearance in the consciousness of another. ... In reality, consciousness is not only the little invisible and vacillating flame which lights our existence; it is our very being.²¹

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119; here Zurcher shows himself to be of the "psycho-metaphysical school" of Louis Lavelle, whom he frequently quotes and who in his last work wrote: "The soul is nothing more than consciousness itself insofar as it is an aspiration toward Value" (*De l'âme humaine* [Paris, 1951], p. 465). From this point of view, man, experiencing his freedom and capacity for creativity, proceeds from existence to being. Here Lavelle's outlook is close to that of both Jean Guilton and Gabriel Marcel.

This is not, of course, the same thing as saying that consciousness *causes* existence, for, "Consciousness does nothing more than to apprehend the being, at the instant when it surges into existence, to communicate to it in some way the identity without which we should not recognize ourselves."²²

Thus, Zurcher rejects the view of "classical" philosophical thought which he sees as envisioning a spiritual substance, "realized even before being given to us,"²³ the role of consciousness being simply, in this case, to enable us to know. For Zurcher, consciousness is "not only inseparable from the interior experience, which is the very condition for the existence of the soul, but moreover, the possibility for the existence to constitute its own essence."²⁴

But once again, the soul is not an object in itself. This notion comes from the tendency to give the soul a role transcending that of consciousness, thereby giving the immortal-soul postulate a psychological justification. However,

intimate experience, far from revealing to us a transcendental soul substance, shows us, on the contrary, a soul whose existence and essence depend every instant on the activity of consciousness. . . . This implies that the soul and consciousness are inseparable and that there is the closest affinity between them. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of one without the other . . ."²⁵

Zurcher prefers to think of the soul, then, as *being* an existence rather than as *having* an existence, "since it is precisely the power that we have of making ourselves. . . . The essence of the soul is, thus, never a constituted essence, but an essence which constitutes itself throughout the duration of an existence."²⁶ And so, in identifying the soul and consciousness,

²² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124; this, of course, raises the question "whether this personal consciousness is capable of persisting after the dissolution of the bodily organism"—W. R. Matthews, "The Destiny of the Soul," *The Hibbert Journal*, XXVIII (January, 1930), 193.

²⁶ Zurcher, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

and consciousness with the self, he is saying that the soul is this self in process and that it (the soul/self) ceases to exist when consciousness ceases: "the soul is man in a way creating himself every day of his life. . . . The soul is . . . synonymous with man, or inversely, man is synonymous with the soul."²⁷ The application for the question of self-knowledge, then, is that self-knowledge "is not to discover an object which is the self; it is, rather, to awaken in oneself a hidden life, the life of conscience."²⁸

To sum up this psychological view of man as a soul, Zurcher has this to say:

If . . . we wished to give a precise definition of the soul insofar as it is the spiritual essence of man, we should simply say that it occurs . . . where the consciousness of self is allied to the capacity of self determination.²⁹

Thus, *freedom* is an essential constituent of human being, an aspect of human personality which results from conscious existence. These are aspects of man as a *living soul*.

Finally, Zurcher considers man's exterior self-manifestation as he discusses the *corporeal* reality of man. His main point is to insist that body and soul are elements constitutive of man: corporeal and spiritual principles. Actually, as he indicates, the word "spirit" is better used to describe the soul as a spiritual principle, thus making it possible to distinguish between the *corporeal*, *psychic*, and *spiritual* life of the individual.³⁰

He does not, however, want to move from a Cartesian dichotomy to a trichotomy of more or less heterogeneous substances. The body, for Zurcher, constitutes the normal mode of expression of the individual: "it is not only the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128; furthermore, "the birth into a new life—which is the Christian revelation *par excellence*—is . . . the birth of the life of the conscience."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

evidence of our existence, the expression of our affective life, but also the vehicle of all the movements of our thought.”³¹ The spirit is related to both body and soul, for as he points out, since the incarnation, “the spirit is no farther from the body than the soul, and the soul is not more spiritual than the body.”³² Zurcher also emphasizes the fact that the body-manifestation

can never be separated from the power which it expresses, since the means by which the soul realizes itself is also the means by which it expresses itself. . . . In short, expression is so essential to the existence of the soul that the soul actually exists only to the extent that it gives to itself a body.³³

Theological Anthropology

At this point there arises a question which remains unsolved in any purely philosophical approach to anthropology: that of the essential difference between man and the animal. Is it merely a question of degree of consciousness (and thus of personality and freedom)? From the Biblical point of view, there is no essential difference on the level of the constitutive elements of man and animal—both are living creatures in the sense of Gn 2:7—and life is life. What difference there is arises from the creation of man in the image of God. Man is destined for personal relationship with God, and consequently there exists “in” man a point of contact between God and man which does not characterize the relationship between God and animals. This “image” is understood in contemporary Adventist theology in terms of certain capacities possessed by man but not by animals: the capacity to reason, the emotional capacities analyzed by psychology (even some sort of physical relationship—although this is a vague area). But the apex of these capacities, and the key to any genuinely theological anthropology, is man’s capacity for spiritual fellow-

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 142.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

ship with God. This pneumatic level is the level at which the fellowship achieved in regeneration is reached.

It is quite clear, therefore, that it is impossible to develop an adequate doctrine of the nature of man (especially in an eschatological perspective) without speaking of the destiny given man at his creation. As Zurcher points out in the last part of his book, "the desire for immortality is found rooted in the depths of human nature."³⁴ This *natural desire* (although he does not use this classical term of scholastic philosophy) he considers the strongest proof for the fact of man's being destined for immortality. We should not, however, think of this deeply-rooted desire as simply a static phenomenon extrinsic to man, which will be fulfilled eventually in the world to come. Rather, since in Zurcher's view the nature of man has been identified with his freedom, he can achieve this destiny in the process of exercising this freedom throughout the duration of his existence.

In considering man's nature as very much bound up with his destiny, Zurcher insists that he is treating man "existentially"—*i.e.*, in his situation before God—and at the same time is returning to the Biblical and Christian view of man. He thus expresses the harmony between Biblical anthropology and the existentialist anthropology of contemporary theology. He stresses the monistic character of the former: it presents man as a perfect and indissoluble unity of body, soul, and spirit; and he sees the accent on this unity underlying the essence of Christianity:

When Christ speaks of the manifestations of our love to God and to our neighbor, the accent is not placed on the multiplicity of its possible manifestations—which vary, moreover, from one Gospel to another—but rather on the fact that each of them should be the most complete expression of the totality of the being. "Thou shalt love

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147; he goes back to this idea later: "It is not necessary to search very long for the conclusion that the destiny of man is found entirely inscribed in the metaphysical structure of his being" (*ibid.*, p. 165).

the Lord thy God with *all* thine heart, with *all* thy soul, with *all* thy strength and with *all* thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself."³⁵

This monistic character is also in accord with the two key passages for Biblical anthropology:

The Lord God formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being (Gn 2:7).

May the God of peace himself sanctify you wholly; and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound and blameless at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ (1 Th 5:23).

In both of these passages the unity of man's nature comes through. In the latter passage it might seem that Paul has a quite trichotomistic view of man; that this is not so is clear from the fact that Paul's other letters indicate that his anthropology is essentially Biblical. For instance, in 1 Cor 15:45, he even refers to Gn 2:7: "Thus it is written, 'The first man Adam became a living being'; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit." Thus, the spirit, soul, and body are aspects of man's being-for-communion with God. And, "even if the manifestations of the being are manifold and very different, depending on whether they are made by the body, the soul or the spirit, they imply every time the whole man in a certain expression of himself."³⁶

With this monistic stress as background, let us now turn to an analysis of Zurcher's theological view of the *soma-psyche-pneuma* relationship.

In his comments on the concept of *soma*, he maintains that corporeality is an essential presupposition for the self-expression of the human person in his relationship with God. Referring to Bultmann, he states that "there is no human existence, no human reality even in the sphere of *pneuma*, the mind, which is not corporeal, somatic," and any attempt

³⁵ "The Christian View of Man: Part One," *AUSS*, II (1964), 159.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 160.

to separate the two is ultimately destructive of man himself.³⁷ He points out that those cases in which individuals in the Bible speak of "my body" or "my soul"³⁸ are examples of man's psychological capacity to objectify his experiences, without which capacity human knowledge could not exist. This phenomenon is no proof of the substantial existence of a body and a soul in an adequate distinction from each other.

In his discussion of the Biblical concept of *psyche* (with its Hebrew background of *nephesh*), Zurcher indicates the essential corporeality of this concept. It "designates the individualized life in a physiological sense [Gn 35:18], as well as in a psychological one [1 Sa 1:10]. "... the idea of *psuchē* embraces the total man, the entire human personality, the individual being in his perfect unity."³⁹

In regard to the immortality of the soul, he repeats his contention that the soul is not one of the constituent elements of man, but rather man himself. Therefore, he reasons, the soul cannot be said to be immortal unless man can be said to be immortal. Man, however, is constituted by the union of matter and spirit, and the resulting "soul exists only insofar as man has consciousness of being." Perhaps if we identify "soul" with the "spirit" in man, we can speak of the separation of soul and body at death; but if so, we must remember, he says, that man as such dies (ceases to exist in the sense we have distinguished above) with their separation.⁴⁰

From this point of view, of course, death is a tremendous threat to man—it is not simply the death of the body, but of the *man*. Death, then, is not a mere change of dwelling, but a real death, that is to say, the cessation of life under all its forms, of conscious and psychic as well as corporeal life.⁴¹ All must die because all have sinned. The gospel does offer man

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 162; see also Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York, 1951), I, 192.

³⁸ For example, Mt 26:38; Jn 12:27; 1 Cor 2:11; 9:27.

³⁹ Zurcher, "The Christian View of Man: Part One," pp. 163, 164.

⁴⁰ *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, p. 165.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

deliverance from death, but not in the Platonic sense. Rather, Christianity "offers immortality only to the man who is freed from the law of sin by the Spirit of life which is Jesus Christ."⁴² There is even then, "no immortality whatever . . . inherent in human nature but life eternal is for him who grasps it by faith and fashions his soul in the image of Jesus Christ."⁴³

The destiny of man is bound up with the necessity for the body-soul entity we call man to become more "spiritual," that is, to become more configured to the image of Jesus Christ, the second Adam, the life-giving Spirit. This is what the Bible looks forward to for the *sōma*, which is not a corpse, but the corporeal manifestation of the living man. The material body will be raised, but it will be *pneumatikon*, totally under the dominion of man's spirit responsive to the Holy Spirit.

Zurcher's treatment of the concept of the *pneuma* of man identifies it with the "complete manifestation of man in spiritual or intellectual form." He states that "Paul . . . uses *pneuma* in the sense of *nous*, intellect," and maintains that, "when it signifies the human spirit, *pneuma* probably always has this sense. It then designates the manifestations of the intelligent being who 'knows,' who 'comprehends,' who 'decides' [Php 4:7; 1 Cor 14:14-19; Rom 7:23; 14:5]." But again, Zurcher insists, this is not the Greek philosophical sense of a disembodied spirit: "No more than *psuchē* or *pneuma* is *nous* ever opposed to *sōma*; *nous* is indeed unthinkable without *sōma*. For the human personality of which they are the manifestation has been created *nous* and *sōma*."⁴⁴

Having discussed from a theological point of view the constitution of man as he is in himself, we turn to that of man in his relationship to God. Zurcher would, of course, maintain that a genuine Christian anthropology views man as having existence only in relationship to God his Creator. As he puts

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁴⁴ "The Christian View of Man: Part One," pp. 164, 165.

it, "creation signifies . . . that while there exists a reality different from God, it does not exist in itself, but only through God."⁴⁵ Thus, there is no dichotomy here, either. Dependence is an aspect of creaturely existence, and a creature is a "being continually menaced by the possibility—excluded by God and by God alone—of *nothingness* and of *ruin*."⁴⁶ And this creation, this creaturely existence, is fundamentally *good*:

What is not good God did not make; it has no creaturely existence. But if being is to be ascribed to it at all, and we would rather not say that it is non-existent, then it is only the power of the being which arises out of the weight of the divine "No."⁴⁷

Besides the creaturely, there is a second aspect of man's relationship to God: his existence as the *image of God*. Zurcher sees this as consisting, first, in man's function as representative of God on earth, as an expression of his real presence (Gn 1:26; Ps 8:6-7). But this involves also a responsibility towards God, which Zurcher situates in the context of obedience to the divine will—the area of *decision*. It is here that the freedom of man "permits him to think and to act, to accept or to refuse Being."⁴⁸

There is a third aspect of man's existence in relationship to God: his existence as a *sinner*.⁴⁹ It is in this connection that the Biblical notion of *sarx* must be discussed. The temptation to sin, Zurcher points out, is not the result of a body-soul dichotomy, but because of the conflict between "the law of the mind" and the "law of sin." Because of the moral history of humanity, man is not entirely free in making his decision.

⁴⁵ "The Christian View of Man: Part Two," *AUSS*, III (1965), 67.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴⁷ Karl Barth, *Dogmatics in Outline* (New York, 1959), p. 57, quoted by Zurcher, *ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Zurcher, *AUSS*, III (1965), 70-73. Here, however, Zurcher seems to imply that the decision to accept or refuse "Being" is the same thing as to accept or refuse "being." At this point we get into the problem of the relationship between Being and being, which, though vital, we cannot treat here. See John Macquarrie, *Principles of Christian Theology* (New York, 1966), pp. 105-110.

⁴⁹ See Zurcher, "The Christian View of Man: Part Two," pp. 74-83.

A distinction must, of course, be made between sin and flesh; because of the existential situation of *sarx*, they are connected but not identical: "It is evident that the flesh is neither an evil substance nor . . . is it incarnate sin," says Zurcher.⁵⁰ Yet the carnal state is *de facto* a state of powerlessness before the power of sin; and Adventist theology is not idealistic:

[The] carnal reality of man is the first revelation of Christian anthropology. . . . A mysterious power makes man a slave of the "law of sin" incapable of submitting to "the law of God" even though he takes pleasure in it. . . . Such is the tragic situation of nature man, left to himself. He is a dead man who does not know true life, because he is a servant of forces contrary to life.⁵¹

Having discussed Zurcher's theology of man's nature and relationship to God as creature, image, and sinner, we come to his thinking on the relationship of Jesus Christ precisely as life-giving Spirit, to the *pneuma* of man in its state as *sarx*, or powerlessness. As Zurcher has indicated: by the work of Christ the Spirit of God has become an effective anthropological reality, "because it communicates to man the power of becoming a child of God, first in freeing him from slavery to sin and then in causing him truly to participate in the nature of God."⁵²

Zurcher connects at least some aspect of dichotomistic thinking about man to dichotomistic thinking about the central mystery of Christianity, the redemptive incarnation. The fact, however, remains that the Word became *sarx*, not "in order to oppose human nature as such and to destroy it, but rather to free it from the power of sin, to sanctify it and to restore it to its original perfection."⁵³ The Son, by uniting himself to humanity, has made of his Spirit the fundamental Christian Spirit, and thus a vital factor of Christian anthropology. From this point of view, also, there can be no dichotomy in Christian anthropology:

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵¹ Zurcher, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, pp. 159-161.

⁵² "The Christian View of Man: Part Three," *AUSS*, IV (1966), 90.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

The spirit speaks to the whole man and solicits his total participation. To the extent that He is in man, the Spirit acts. He creates and His action is manifested in the whole being: mind, soul, and body.

This action begins by the renewing of the intelligence. After having been led captive to the obedience of Christ, then transformed by the knowledge of the Saviour, the intelligence becomes capable of discerning the will of God, . . . From that moment nothing further escapes the sanctifying action of the Spirit; the thoughts, the feelings and the desires, are all purified. The body itself becomes the temple of the Spirit.⁵⁴

Linking this fact with that of man's constitution as image of God, Zurcher sees the relationship implied in the image as characterized now by a new dynamic, that of the call of the Spirit in man's life (Rom 8:16; 9:1): "As soon as man responds to the call of God, to the witness of the Spirit, the rupture between God and man is no more, . . . the power of sin no longer has an unshakable hold on him."⁵⁵ Hence, the apparent dichotomy between the Holy Spirit and the flesh is overcome by the power of the Spirit in dialogue with the free spirit of man, which is strengthened by this contact to overcome the tensions with its own *sarx*-aspect: "Though the conflict between *sarx* and *pneuma* is real, it is a conflict in which the spirit triumphs."⁵⁶ Thus man enters into new life according to the Spirit, a life-in-process, looking forward to the attainment of the perfection of Christ himself.

It seems, therefore, clear that Zurcher's phenomenological approach to the mystery which is man is in striking harmony with the Biblical intuition based on God's people's experience of itself in its concrete, historical relationship with God. What, moreover, makes it interesting to a non-Adventist is its openness to the interpretations of man emerging in many continental theologies. This fact offers the possibility of greater mutual understanding between other Christians and Adventists on the issue of man's immortality. This issue is rooted

⁵⁴ Zurcher, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, p. 163.

⁵⁵ "The Christian View of Man: Part Three," p. 98.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

in the question: what is man? Zurcher, as we have seen, views consciousness as the constitutive factor of *human* being; and here he is consistent with the Aristotelian concept of the *nous* as the distinctive element of man; since Zurcher denies the natural immortality of man, he would say that there can be (naturally) no noetic existence after death. This, however, reduces death to a "state" of non-existence—which, it would appear, fails to bear witness to the fact that the just man *now* participates in eternal life, the victory of Christ over death—a participation which would not take place until the second advent of Christ.

How can we speak of the "existence" of man after death? Karl Barth has expressed our faith-reaction:

If he, the Lord of death, our gracious God, the ineffable sum of all goodness, is present with us even in death, then obviously in the midst of death we are not only in death but already out of its clutches and victorious over it, not of ourselves but of God. We die, but He lives for us. Even in death we are not lost to Him, and therefore we are not really lost. . . . Hence our future non-existence cannot be our complete negation.⁵⁷

The response that the just exist in the mind of God might seem not very helpful, but it would appear to be a possible starting-point rather than a dead-end, for, as Josiah Royce has phrased it:

If God is God, he views the future and the past as we do the present. . . . What has, for us men, passed away, is, for the divine omniscience, not lost. . . . if God views facts as they are, this indeed implies that death, . . . cannot . . . be . . . an absolutely real loss to reality of values which, but for death, would not become thus unreal.⁵⁸

Exploring the question via the route taken by Zurcher, that of theological anthropology, would at least be to take a new approach to the problem. But this is a subject for another article.

⁵⁷ *Church Dogmatics*, ed. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance (Edinburgh, 1936-), III/2, pp. 610, 611.

⁵⁸ "Immortality," in *William James and Other Essays on the Philosophy of Life* (New York, 1911), p. 263.

AN UNRECOGNIZED VASSAL KING
OF BABYLON IN THE EARLY ACHAEMENID PERIOD

III*

WILLIAM H. SHEA

Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, West Indies

IV. *A Re-examination of the Nabonidus Chronicle*

I. *Comparative Materials*

Introduction. If a solution to the problem posed by the titulary of Cyrus in the economic texts is to be sought, perhaps it is not unexpected that the answer might be found in the Nabonidus Chronicle, since that text is the most specific historical document known that details the events of the time in question. However, there are several places in this reconsideration of the Nabonidus Chronicle where the practices of the Babylonian scribes who wrote the chronicle texts are examined, and for this reason other chronicle texts besides the Nabonidus Chronicle are referred to in this section. The texts that have been selected for such comparative purposes chronicle events from the two centuries preceding the time of the Nabonidus Chronicle. Coincidentally, the chronicle texts considered here begin with records from the reign of Nabonassar in the middle of the 8th century B.C., the same time when the royal titulary in the economic texts began to show the changes discussed in the earlier part of this study. Although there are gaps in the information available from the chronicles for these two centuries, we are fortunate to have ten texts that chronicle almost one-half of the regnal years from the time of Nabonassar to the time of Cyrus (745-539). The texts utilized in this study of the chronicles are listed in Table V.

* The first two parts of this article were published in *AUSS*, IX (1971), 51-67, 99-128.

TABLE V
THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE TEXTS FROM 745 TO 539 B.C.

No.	Reference	Publication	Type	Principal Contents	B.C.
I	BM 92502	Babylonian Chronicle ⁷²	a) Summary	Nabonassar to Sennacherib	745-681
			b) Detail	Reign of Esarhaddon	680-669
II	BM 25091	Esarhaddon Chronicle ⁷³	Extract ?	Reign of Esarhaddon	680-669
III	BM 96273	Another Chronicle Text ⁷⁴	Extract	Yrs. 14-18 Shamashshumukin	654-650
IV	BM 86379	Chr. of Years 680-625 ⁷⁵	Extract	Yrs. 16-20 Shamashshumukin	652-648
V	BM 25127	CCK, No. 1	Detail	Yrs. Acc.-3 Nabopolassar	626-623
VI	BM 21901	CCK, No. 2	Detail	Yrs. 10-17 Nabopolassar	616-609
VII	BM 22047	CCK, No. 3	Detail	Yrs. 18-20 Nabopolassar	608-606
VIII	BM 21946	CCK, No. 4	Detail	Yr. 21 of Nabopolassar to Yr. 10 of Nebuchadrezzar	605-595
IX	BM 25124	CCK, No. 5	Detail	Yr. 3 of Neriglissar	557-556
X	BM 35382	Nabonidus Chronicle ⁷⁶	a) Detail	Reign of Nabonidus	555-539
			b) Summary	Early Persian Period	539-?

⁷² An extensive bibliography on this text may be found in *CCK*, p. 1, n. 1. For the purposes of this study I have used the transliteration and translation of F. Delitzsch, "Die Babylonische Chronik", *Abhand. d. Phil.-Hist. Klasse der königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* XXV, I (1906), 8ff., in conjunction with the translation of A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, pp. 301-303.

⁷³ *BHT*, pp. 12ff. and Pls. 1-3.

⁷⁴ A. R. Millard, "Another Babylonian Chronicle Text," *Iraq*, XXVI (1964), pp. 14-35 and Pl. VII.

⁷⁵ *BHT*, pp. 22-26 and Pl. IV.

⁷⁶ *BHT*, pp. 98-123 and Pls. XI-XIV; Oppenheim's translation appears in *ANET*, pp. 305-307.

Detail Chronicles. The more recently published texts in this corpus of chronicles have added considerably to our knowledge of this type of text. It is now recognized that there are three different types of chronicles among these texts, and they have been classified accordingly in Table V. The most common type of text in the list is the Detail Chronicle which is best represented by the texts published by Wiseman in *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*. These texts are written on small single-columned tablets that employ catch-lines to indicate the sequence of the texts. The detailed events described in this type of chronicle are often military in character, and they are customarily arranged in a consecutive year-by-year format. The entries for the various years are labeled according to the regnal years of the ruling king and they are ruled off by lines drawn across the tablet between them. The events recounted for the individual years are also commonly listed according to their consecutive and respective day and/or month dates.

Extract Chronicles. The most unusual type of text in Table V is the Extract Chronicle. Millard has described these texts as "Several small tablets [that] comprise the third group, the 'Extracts' (*nishu*). Notes of events of all sorts in various years, often with no connection of subject, and irregular time lapse between them, are entered in these." ⁷⁷

(1) The Chronicle of the Years B.C. 680-625: This chronicle was the first text of this type to be published. The record in this text skips from the accession year of Shamash-shum-ukin to his 16th year, and then from his 20th year to the accession year of Nabopolassar. Sidney Smith, who published the text, acknowledged its unusual character with the comment, "The document is not so much a chronicle as an extract of those entries from a chronicle which concern hostilities between the two countries for the years 668-625. For what special purpose the document may have been required is not clear." ⁷⁸ Wiseman concurs with Smith's judgment that the data in this text

⁷⁷ Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁷⁸ *BHT*, p. 23.

“have been selected from a more detailed original for a particular purpose and period.”⁷⁹ He also agrees that “the purpose [of the text] cannot be judged.”⁸⁰

(2) The New Babylonian Chronicle Text: This most recent chronicle published has brought the Extract Chronicle into focus again. This text also relates events from the reign of Shamash-shum-ukin, but surprisingly enough it has very little in common with the preceding text, even though the regnal years in them overlap. Millard, who published this text, says that “it is obvious that B.M. 96273 falls into the third category, the Extracts, for its entries are varied and disjointed.”⁸¹ According to the various entries in this chronicle the materials incorporated into it came from at least four or five different sources, undoubtedly from more detailed chronicles in several cases. Millard also points out some additional similarities of this text with the others: “There are some physical features shared by this and other Extract Chronicles; the reddish-brown clay is very like the substance of the Esarhaddon Chronicle and the Chronicle of the Years B.C. 680-625, the script is small and clear, and each year’s entry is ruled off.”⁸² As in the case of the preceding Extract Chronicle, Millard notes in regard to the scribe who wrote this chronicle that “no single theme is discernible in the information he has collected together.”⁸³

(3) The Esarhaddon Chronicle: This text has also been classified with the Extract Chronicles. This has been done on the basis of a notation on the edge of the tablet and because of the contents of the text.⁸⁴ The classification of the Esarhaddon

⁷⁹ *CCK*, p. 4.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸⁴ “The sign on the edge of the tablet (*ippiru*) shows that this document belongs to the same category as the first chronicle in vol. II of L. W. King’s *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II (London, 1907), which is similarly marked. Its content places it with the ‘Extracts’ rather than with the second type (Detail Chronicles).” *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Chronicle is not very important to this study, but it does seem that the "Extract" nature of this chronicle is much less obvious than it is in the case of the two preceding texts. The text is a chronologically consecutive chronicle of the regnal years of Esarhaddon that is very close in content to the last column of the Babylonian Chronicle, which is also a year-by-year record of Esarhaddon's reign. Sidney Smith compared the correspondences between the two texts and discussed their relationship in his publication of the Esarhaddon Chronicle. He favored the view that the Esarhaddon Chronicle represents an earlier copy of the original text than the Babylonian Chronicle because "the scribe of the former [the Esarhaddon Chronicle] could still read passages on the original which the scribe of the Babylonian Chronicle found broken."⁸⁵ He concluded that the Esarhaddon Chronicle was "a close parallel to, but not a duplicate"⁸⁶ of the last part of the Babylonian Chronicle. One unusual feature of the Esarhaddon Chronicle is the fact that although the regnal years in the text are clearly labeled, they are not ruled off by lines as they are in all the other nine chronicle texts listed above.

Summary Chronicles. The third kind of chronicle for consideration here is the type of text that may be called the Summary Chronicle. The first and last texts in Table V, the Babylonian Chronicle and the Nabonidus Chronicle respectively, may be classed in this category. Both of these texts were written upon large, double-columned tablets. Wiseman describes the Summary Type of Chronicle as follows:

It is, however, evident that some chronicle tablets bear fuller details than the "Babylonian Chronicle" which cannot therefore be regarded as a specimen of their original. The diversity in form of the extant chronicle texts suggests rather that in each case we have summaries designed for different purposes. Thus the two-columned "Babylonian Chronicle" type of texts concentrates on the major internal political events, especially the date of the king's accession and death and the length of his reign. The consecutive

⁸⁵ *BHT*, p. 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

outline of the king's activities introduces external or foreign matters only if they mark a distinct change in the control of Babylonia or in its relations with its immediate neighbours such as Assyria or Elam. The emphasis is political, and the style which is formal and brief betrays a long established practice.⁸⁷

(1) The Babylonian Chronicle: The major components of the Summary Chronicles have been itemized in Table V to emphasize the composite nature of these texts. In the Babylonian Chronicle the dividing line between the two principal parts of the text comes toward the end of the third column where the record of Esarhaddon's reign begins. The summary nature of the Babylonian Chronicle in the three columns before that point is clear. Eight of the Babylonian kings listed in the first three columns of the text had short reigns, not exceeding six years. In four of these eight cases the first regnal year is mentioned after the record of the king's accession, but in all eight cases the next entry is the last regnal year with a summary statement of the length of the king's reign, and this is followed by the record of the accession of the succeeding king. Two Babylonian kings mentioned in the first three columns had fairly long reigns, Nabonassar and Merodach-baladan II. Three regnal years of Nabonassar are included in the text, his 3d year (broken) and his 5th year are followed by the record of his 14th and final year with the usual summary statement. In the case of Merodach-baladan, his 2d, 5th, and 10th years are mentioned after his accession and they are followed in turn by his 12th and last year. The record for the rule of Sargon over Babylonia is somewhat exceptional for the first part of the Babylonian Chronicle. His 13th through 16th years are listed consecutively after Merodach-baladan's reign in Babylon, so in this case the scribe reckoned by his Assyrian regnal years. The entries for these four years are quite brief and after a break in the text the chronicle continues in summary fashion.

The foregoing description of the format used in the first part

⁸⁷ *CCK*, pp. 3-4.

of the Babylonian Chronicle and the fact that some 65 years are covered in the first three columns of the text make it obvious that the older historical materials on which this portion of the text was based (Detail Chronicles in all probability) were abridged considerably. A somewhat similar editorial procedure has been observed in the revising and updating that went on with the annals of some of the Assyrian kings. In the case of this chronicle a considerable number of year-entries in the older records were dropped in the process of editing the materials that were finally incorporated into this part of the text. Apparently these entries were omitted because the events listed for those years were not considered to be very important or because they were not germane to the purpose of the chronicler. However, the accession records, the year-entries with the more important events, and the consecutive order of the chronicles were incorporated into the text. The summary statements on the length of reign may have come from the older records too, since a statement of this kind appears in the one case in which the transition from one king to another is attested in a Detail Chronicle.⁸⁸

The summary nature of the first three columns of the Babylonian Chronicle contrasts with the detailed treatment of the reign of Esarhaddon in the fourth column of the text. The year-by-year account of his reign begins at the bottom of column III and continues through column IV to his 12th and last year. His death date there is followed by the summary statement of the length of his reign and the record of the accession of his two sons to their respective thrones. The tablet concludes after that with the record of the accession year of Shamash-shum-ukin. The Esarhaddon Chronicle terminates just beyond that point with the entry for the first year of the Babylonian king. Portions of the record for

⁸⁸ "For twenty-one years Nabopolassar had been king of Babylon. On the 8th of the month of Ab he died (lit. 'the fates'); in the month of Elul Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon and on the first day of the month of Elul he sat on the royal throne in Babylon." *CCK*, p. 69.

Esarhaddon's 2d and 3d years are missing from the Babylonian Chronicle in the damage to the tablet at the bottom of column III and the top of column IV, but comparison of the phrases that are still legible in the text with the corresponding portions of the Esarhaddon Chronicle shows that the entries for these years were present in the undamaged text of the Babylonian Chronicle. The only detail definitely omitted from the record of Esarhaddon's reign was the entry for his 9th year, and this was not written in either the Babylonian Chronicle or the Esarhaddon Chronicle. Records from all of his other regnal years are present in the text and they supply a fair amount of detailed information. Since this portion of the Babylonian Chronicle comes considerably closer to the form of the Detail Chronicles than the first part of the text does, the two different types of material in the text have been noted in Table V: (a) the Summary Chronicle from Nabonassar to Sennacherib in the first three columns of the text, and (b) the Detail Chronicle for the reign of Esarhaddon in the fourth and final column.

(2) The Nabonidus Chronicle: In his publication of this text Smith suggested that it "was probably written in the Seleucid period."⁸⁹ He also thought it was "safe to assume that the original itself was written in or after the reign of Artaxerxes."⁹⁰ More recently Wiseman has noted that the Nabonidus Chronicle and the Babylonian Chronicle texts are similar "not only in the arrangement of subject matter but also in script and in the form of the two-columned tablet."⁹¹ On this basis he suggested that the two texts "seem to have been written by the same scribe."⁹² If this conclusion is correct it may indicate an earlier date for the copy of the Nabonidus Chronicle than Smith suspected, since the text of the Babylonian Chronicle tells us that it was copied at

⁸⁹ *BHT*, p. 98.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *CCK*, p. 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Babylon from an older text in the 22d year of Darius (*ca.* 500 B.C. if Darius I).

The situation in the Nabonidus Chronicle is just the reverse of that in the Babylonian Chronicle as far as the component parts of the text are concerned. The Detail Chronicle comes first in the text of the Nabonidus Chronicle and the Summary Chronicle follows it. The records for the 17-year reign of Nabonidus constitute the Detail Chronicle in this case, and they occupy the first two and one-half columns of the text. Unfortunately, however, the text is damaged in several places; consequently it is not clear just how complete this chronicle of his reign originally was. The bottom half of the first column of the text is badly damaged, so it is not evident whether the records for his 4th and 5th years were included there or not. The next big break comes at the bottom of the second column. His 11th year is the last definite entry there and the damaged text at the top of the third column apparently takes up with the record from the last part of his 16th year. How many of the four missing years originally filled this damaged gap in the text is not known. Aside from these two breaks in the record, however, the rest of the legible passages in this part of the chronicle detail the reign of Nabonidus in the usual manner. The various entries in the first two columns of the text are dated according to his regnal years and they are ruled off with lines between them in the standard fashion. As the tablet presently stands, ten of his 17 regnal years are definitely recorded in the text.⁹³ How many of the entries for the missing years were present originally in the portions of the text that are damaged now cannot be determined.

This detailed, year-by-year treatment of the king's reign in the first two columns of the Nabonidus Chronicle stands

⁹³ Lines ruling off three years are still evident in column I of the text, six years are ruled off in column II, and two in column III. One exception to this scheme occurs in column II. The eighth year is ruled off and labeled there, but no record was written for that year in the space assigned to it. Perhaps this entry was badly damaged in the text the scribe copied from.

in rather sharp contrast to the nature of the remainder of the text. Column III is the most important part of the text in this connection and fortunately it has come down to us in fairly good condition. Very little of column IV remains and what there is of it is so badly damaged that it is largely unintelligible.⁹⁴ Although much detailed information is found in column III, it is clear that it is structured according to the regnal years of the king only at the very beginning of the column. The first four lines of column III apparently close the record for the 16th year of Nabonidus, although the number for that year is not legible in the text. The last horizontal line on the tablet that divides the regnal years follows this, between lines four and five. Two such lines are still present in the badly damaged first column and five more occur in the second column that is better preserved, but no more such lines are detectable anywhere in the text after this one that divides the record of the 16th and 17th years of Nabonidus. Although various chronological references occur in the remainder of the text, they are only day and month dates, and no date occurs after the beginning of Nabonidus' 17th year in line five⁹⁵ that refers to any year of any king.

Not only are there no further year dates or dividers in the remainder of the text, but the concluding statement on the reign of Nabonidus is also absent. The fact that his death date is not mentioned in the text might be taken as indirect confirmation of the statement in Josephus that he did not die with the fall of Babylon but was exiled to Carmania.⁹⁶ How-

⁹⁴ So much so that Oppenheim did not even attempt a translation of it, *ANET*, p. 307. Smith opines that "the years 536-circ. 520 were described in the broken part of column IV, obviously in a summary fashion, perhaps because there were few events in that period which closely affected Babylon." *BHT*, p. 106.

⁹⁵ The number of the year that marked off this section of the text is missing at the beginning of line five, but it may safely be assumed that it was originally present there in the undamaged text, as it is obvious from the text that the record of Nabonidus' last year began there.

⁹⁶ Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 20-21, cited in *BHT*, pp. 34-35.

ever, that still leaves the absence of any summary statement on the length of his reign unexplained, and there is no *specific* statement in the text regarding the accession of his successor. The accession period in the same year in which the reign of Nabonidus ended is not demarcated in the text in any way, and no succeeding calendar year is mentioned or marked off in the text either—in spite of the fact that the actions of Cambyses in Nisanu (III, 24) must have happened in a year subsequent to the year of the events that precede it in the record. It may be noted in this connection that Smith observed that although lines 23-28 of column III were “not separated from the previous section”⁹⁷ they recorded events of the next calendar year. All these elements of the Nabonidus Chronicle contrast with the customary conventions of the chronicles and they emphasize the exceptional nature of this part of the text. What we have here is not so much a Summary Chronicle as it is an extended appendix with a record of significant events surrounding the transition of Babylonia from Chaldean to Persian control. In essence the Nabonidus Chronicle is (a) a Detail Chronicle for the reign of Nabonidus, with (b) an extended appendix of important events from the earliest part of the Persian period.

2. *The Chronological Order of the Events in Column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle*

The concluding remarks in the preceding section point out the fact that the chronology of the third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle is not as explicitly detailed with regard to the years involved as one might desire. The historical framework in which the events recorded in this part of the text are placed depends in turn on the chronological order one presupposes for those events. Line 21 contains the key passage in this connection. It records the fact that the gods of Akkad

⁹⁷ *BHT*, p. 105.

that Nabonidus gathered into Babylon before the Persian armies attacked were returned to their respective cities after the conquest, and the text states that this activity took some four months to complete, from the month of Kislimu to the month of Addaru. The activity mentioned here is related to the problem of the relationship of Nabonidus and Cyrus to the gods of Babylonia that has been discussed by scholars, but the chronological significance of this reference to the events that surround it in the chronicle has not been noted in those discussions. The last dated events in the text before this notation is the reference to the triumphal entry of Cyrus into Babylon, which occurred on the 3d of Arahsamnu. Up to this point there is no problem, but the next line in the text after the reference to the return of the gods is the record of the death of Ugbaru on the 11th of Arahsamnu. This is the chronological dividing point. The standard interpretation in the past has placed the death recorded in line 22 in the same month of Arahsamnu during which Cyrus entered Babylon mentioned in line 18.⁹⁸ This puts the death of Ugbaru just one week after that event and just three weeks after he and his troops took the capital city.⁹⁹ The problem with this interpretation is that it overlooks the intervening event recorded in line 21 and the dates connected with it. If the death of Ugbaru occurred where it is located in the text, after the four-month period recorded in the line preceding it, then he died in Arahsamnu of the next year, 538, instead of the same Arahsamnu in which Cyrus entered Babylon after the Persian victory in 539. I have

⁹⁸ The most recent complete publication of the text is that of Smith in *BHT*. The most recent translation of the text is that of Oppenheim in *ANET*.

⁹⁹ According to Smith, Gobryas "did not live long enough to see the fruits" of the conciliatory policy toward Babylonia that he initiated when Cyrus appointed him governor there just after the conquest. *BHT*, p. 105. Dougherty was even more specific in this regard, arranging the events from the Chronicle with a few contract tablets in order. It is interesting to note that he omitted the return of the gods from his table in so doing. R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, 1929), n. 557, p. 171.

termed these two chronological views of these events the retrospective and consecutive interpretations, and to illustrate the difference between them more graphically, they have been tabulated according to their Babylonian and Julian dates in Table VI.

TABLE VI
A CHRONOLOGICAL COMPARISON OF THE
EVENTS IN COLUMN III OF THE NABONIDUS CHRONICLE

<i>Line</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Julian Date</i> ¹⁰⁰
<i>1. The Retrospective Interpretation</i>			
12	Cyrus attacks at Opis	Tashritu	October, 539
14	Fall of Sippar	14 Tashritu	October 10, 539
15	Fall of Babylon	16 Tashritu	October 12, 539
18	Cyrus enters Babylon	3 Arahsamnu	October 29, 539
21	Return of the gods of Akkad	Kislimu to Addaru	November 25, 539 to March 23, 538
22	Death of Ugbaru	11 Arahsamnu	November 6, 539
23 a	Death of the king's [wife ?]	date damaged	—
23 b	Official period of mourning	27 Addaru to 3 Nisanu	March 20/21, 538 to March 26, 538
24-25	Cambyzes enters the temple	4 Nisanu	March 27, 538
<i>2. The Consecutive Interpretation</i>			
12	Cyrus attacks at Opis	Tashritu	October, 539
14	Fall of Sippar	14 Tashritu	October 10, 539
15	Fall of Babylon	16 Tashritu	October 12, 539
18	Cyrus enters Babylon	3 Arahsamnu	October 29, 539
21	Return of the gods of Akkad	Kislimu to Addaru	November 25, 539 to March 23, 538
22	Death of Ugbaru	11 Arahsamnu	October 26, 538
23 a	Death of the king's [wife ?]	date damaged	—
23 b	Official period of mourning	27 Addaru to 3 Nisanu	March 8/9, 537 to March 14, 537
24-25	Cambyzes enters the temple	4 Nisanu	March 15, 537

From the alternate dates determined for the events listed in Table VI, it is obvious that the two interpretations presented

¹⁰⁰ The Julian dates in this table and elsewhere in this study have been abstracted from the tables in *PDBC*.

there involve the chronological difference of a year. As the table points out, the four dated events in lines 22 to 25 that come after the dividing point in line 21 took place one year later (538-537) according to the consecutive reckoning than if the retrospective interpretation is followed (539-538). The question here is, did these events occur in the order in which they are listed in the text, or did the scribe jump back more than four months in the record to tell us of the death of Ugbaru a week after Cyrus arrived in Babylon in 539?

The consecutive nature of these texts has already been referred to several times in the preceding section. By their very nature the chronicles necessitated a consistent relation of the events recorded in consecutive chronological order. The scribes who wrote these texts needed this frame of reference to keep their records accurate, to prevent them from degenerating into a confused and disorganized collection of individual pieces of information. That consecutive dating was the standard practice employed in the construction of these texts is fairly evident from even a cursory examination of the materials. The dividing lines and labels for the different years in the texts have already been discussed. Many instances of the consecutive use of month dates could be mentioned; the record for the 19th year of Nabopolassar¹⁰¹ is one of the better examples of this, as six of the 12 months of the year are referred to there, all in the correct consecutive sequence. References to two or more days within a single month are naturally less common in the chronicles, but the principal text of this section, the Nabonidus Chronicle, has two examples of this in column III, and the entry for the 10th year of Esarhaddon in the Babylonian Chronicle lists four different days in one month, all in numerical order.

Granted that it can be amply demonstrated from the dated events in various chronicles that the consecutive order for days, months, and years was the standard procedure employed

¹⁰¹ *CCK*, p. 65.

in these texts, the question arises—are there exceptions to this rule? Do the chronicles on occasion revert back to an earlier date in the course of a passage? If there are exceptions, how many are there, and when, where, and why do they occur? To answer these questions the practices of the scribes who wrote the chronicles that are included in this study have been examined with regard to the order of the dated events recorded in the texts. The results of this survey are presented in Table VII.

TABLE VII

THE ORDER OF EVENTS IN BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES
FROM THE 8TH TO THE 6TH CENTURIES B.C.

<i>Chronicle No.</i>	<i>Chronological Observations in Consecutive Order</i>				<i>Chronological Observations Not in Consecutive Order</i>			
	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Total</i>
Chronicle I	34	35	28	97	0	1	0	1
Chronicle II	12	15	10	37	0	0	0	0
Chronicle III	8	5	6	19	1	0	0	1
Chronicle IV	7	5	2	14	0	0	0	0
Chronicle V	4	10	8	22	0	1	1	2
Chronicle VI	8	27	5	40	0	0	0	0
Chronicle VII	3	10	0	13	0	0	0	0
Chronicle VIII	12	22	4	38	0	0	0	0
Chronicle IX	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Chronicle X	5	17	9	31	0	1	0	1
Total:	94	147	72	313	1	3	1	5

The five exceptions to the rule of the consecutive order of the chronicles deserve some comment here. The first case is undoubtedly due to a scribal error. The record for the 8th year of Esarhaddon in the Babylonian Chronicle reports that the country of Shuprisa was conquered and looted in Tebetu, the 10th month, and that the booty from that conquest was

brought to the city of Uruk in Kislimu, the 9th month. Obviously something is wrong here, as one does not conquer and loot a country in the 10th month and bring the booty back from it in the 9th month. The scribe who copied this text tells us that the day number immediately adjacent to the questionable month sign of Tebetu was broken off, so there was a very good reason why the month sign was not clear. The parallel passage in the Esarhaddon Chronicle states that Shuprisa was conquered on the 18th of Addaru, and it places the death of the queen before that event instead of after it as it is in the Babylonian Chronicle. The record for the 9th year of Esarhaddon that followed this entry is missing from both texts. All this is evidence that the scribe who copied this passage was working from a damaged text here and was not able to read the month sign in the original clearly enough to identify it correctly.

The second text in Table VII that has an entry out of order is the one that was published most recently, the new Extract Chronicle. The entry for the 18th year of Shamash-shum-ukin (650) in line 19 of this text is followed in line 20 by a reference to the three-month reign of Shiriqti-Shuqamunu, which we know from other sources occurred in the time of Ashur-rabi II, who ruled Assyria at the beginning of the 10th century.¹⁰² The extract nature of this chronicle is emphasized by the fact that from line 19 to line 20 the text reverts back not just a year or two but three and one-half centuries, which is the greatest chronological gap in the entire text. Technically speaking, even though this is an Extract Type Chronicle, this is the only entry in the text that is out of order. Ashur-nadinshumi (699-694), who is mentioned before Shamash-shum-ukin in the text, ruled before him too, and Nabu-shum-ishkin (762-748), who is referred to after Shiriqti-Shuqamunu, also ruled after him. Since the reference in question here undoubtedly was extracted from a different text than the one

¹⁰² Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

that comes from the Chronicle for the reign of Shamash-shum-ukin, this discontinuity represents a problem in the arrangement of the different extracts that the scribe used, not a retrospective reference within one Chronicle. It is interesting to note that even though the entries in the Extract Chronicles represent selections from various older texts, they still tend to be arranged in consecutive order. In this sense the entry in line 20 of this text is exceptional. The two other texts that have been classified as Extract Chronicles do not have any dated events out of the usual consecutive order.

The next two references for consideration in this connection come from the first chronicle for the reign of Nabopolassar. The first case occurs in lines 10-11 of that text where the time just before Nabopolassar's accession is mentioned. Wiseman's translation is, "In the month of Iyyar the Assyrian army had come down into Babylonia. On the 12th of the month of Tisri the Assyrian troops . . . came against Babylon."¹⁰³ Two dated events appear in the lines that precede this passage, the burning of the temple in Shaznaku on the 12th of Ululu in lines four and five, and the coming of the gods of Kish to Babylon in Tashritu in line six. These dates put the reference to Iyyar (the 2d month) in line ten out of order. One explanation for this is evident from the translation of line ten quoted above. The verb following the month date in question is in the perfect, and in this case the significance of the perfect as denoting past action with present consequences has been made use of to indicate that the Assyrian army that "had come down" into Babylonia in the 2d month engaged the Babylonian forces before Babylon on the 12th day of the 7th month. This use of the verb is quite acceptable and it clarifies the irregular chronological reference here in a satisfactory manner.

Another explanation is possible in regard to this passage, however, and that is simply that the months mentioned in the text are in the correct consecutive order. The last official

¹⁰³ *CCK*, p. 51.

king of Babylon before Nabopolassar was Kandalanu, and he died during the calendar year that preceded the one in which Nabopolassar's official accession took place. As noted earlier, the Babylonian scribes referred to the remainder of the year 627 as "the 21st year after Kandalanu" and to the first part of 626 as "the 22d year after Kandalanu." It is possible that the events chronicled here come from both the 21st and the 22d years "after Kandalanu," and that all the months mentioned in these lines are in consecutive order. In this case the verb in the perfect is simply used in the normal narrative sense which is common in Neo-Babylonian texts, and it may be translated, "In the month of Iyyar the Assyrian army came down into Babylonia." This interpretation would make it necessary to suggest that the dividing line between the 21st and the 22d years "after Kandalanu" was not included in the text, but this might not be considered too remarkable in view of the unusual circumstances that obtained at that time. If this interpretation is correct, it may provide a parallel with column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle which also omits that dividing line at the time of unusual circumstances. For the purposes of this study, it is not as important to decide between these two interpretations of this passage as it is to note that at least two explanations are possible for this chronological reference that is apparently out of consecutive order.

The other date in this Chronicle that is out of order is found in line 21 which states that "on the twentieth the gods of Sippar came to Babylon."¹⁰⁴ The event in the preceding line dates to the 21st of Iyyar. Both of the dates in this passage are clear on the tablet and although the month involved was not specifically written in the second reference, it is obvious from comparison with the dating methods in other chronicles that the day number there applies to the same month mentioned previously. This unquestionably is a case of retrospective dating in a chronicle text, but the one day involved can

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

hardly be considered a very significant statistical difference.

The fifth and final case of non-consecutive dating in a chronicle is the most important case to be considered here since it definitely demonstrates a date that is out of order and because it comes from the special text of this section, the Nabonidus Chronicle. The particular passage of the chronicle involved is the entry for the 9th year of Nabonidus in column II of the text. Line 13 in that passage records the fact that the king's mother died during the 1st month of that year, on the 5th of Nisanu. The next two lines tell us that the official mourning, or "weeping," for her took place some two months later, during Simanu, the 3d month of the year. The scene changes after that reference and the next three lines of the chronicle record a campaign of Cyrus that apparently took him to the kingdom of Lydia. The text states that Cyrus called up his army and crossed the Tigris on his way in Nisanu and that he was involved with the country in question sometime in the next month of Aiaru. The date that is obviously out of order here is the month of Simanu during which the mourning was held for the king's mother, as it fell after the two dates in the account of Cyrus' campaign.

It is pertinent here to note that the record for Nabonidus' 9th year has a very definite structure to it. The entry for the year begins with three lines (10-12) that are concerned with the New Year's festival and the king's absence from it; the next three lines (13-15) refer to the death of the king's mother and the mourning for her; and the last three lines (16-18) for the year describe the campaign of Cyrus. Chronologically speaking, these three sections are in consecutive order as far as the beginning of each section is concerned. The New Year's festival ordinarily would have begun on the 1st of Nisanu, which places it before the death date of the king's mother on the 5th day of the same month, and this in turn probably occurred before Cyrus called up his army, or at least before news of that event was known in Babylonia. The problem here comes from the fact that the event described in the third

section began before the last activity of the second section, the official mourning, had taken place. It seems apparent in this case that the scribe chose to relate each complex of events within the year in its entirety before proceeding to the next section of the record. The distinction between the second and third items entered here is evident from the change of geographic scene, from the nature of the activities in the two sections, and from the different persons participating in them, so there is no confusion between the two events. To place the phrase about the mourning in Akkad for the mother of Nabonidus in the latter part of the account of the campaign of Cyrus in Anatolia would have made a very disjointed record here, since the two events were not related at all. The scribe simply wished to keep the mention of the mourning for the mother of the king connected with the record of her death, even though this involved placing it out of chronological order in the text.

At this point the results of this examination of the exceptions to the consecutive order of the chronicles encountered in Table VII may be summarized. The first case comes from a scribal error, the second from an Extract Chronicle with a difference of three and one-half centuries between the extracts, the third case may not be out of order after all, the fourth only involves the difference of one day, and the last case resulted from the chronicler's intent to keep the record of three different events separate. None of these five exceptions provides any parallel that might explain why the events in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle would be out of order or why they should be interpreted retrospectively.

The few exceptions cited above contrast directly with the amount of evidence collected in Table VII in support of the rule of the consecutive order of dated events in the chronicles. More than 300 references to days, months, and years in consecutive order have been tabulated there from the century's worth of regnal years that are attested in the ten chronicles surveyed. Since it is obvious that the consecutive chronological

order of the text was the standard rule in these chronicles, it seems reasonable to apply that rule to the events in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle. The date that is out of order in column II of that text might be mentioned as an example of the opposite practice, but the preceding discussion shows how solitary an example it is, and since this is the only definite example known of a date that is out of order in the Nabonidus Chronicle, it is exceptional for that text too. The difference between the situations in columns II and III of this chronicle is relatively clear. In the former case the geographic scene changed from Babylonia to Persia and Anatolia, but in the latter case Babylonia continued to be the geographic setting all the way through column III, and in column IV too as far as can be determined.¹⁰⁵ The cast of characters involved also presents a point of contrast between these two passages of the chronicle. Nabonidus, his mother, and his son are mentioned in the first episode of the passage in column II, while Cyrus and the king of Lydia participate in the second. In column III, Nabonidus, Cyrus, Ug/Gubaru, and Cambyses all appear in order in a continuous and connected sequence of events in Babylonia.

In addition, the chronological problems involved in these two passages are basically different in nature. The chronological overlap in column II is clear, but an overlap in column III is not clear. In column II the length of time between the death of the king's mother and the period of mourning for her poses the problem, for the campaign of Cyrus occurred in that interval. In column III, however, the death of the king's wife and the mourning period for her appear after the chronological crux of the passage. The beginning dates for the three sections of the record for the 9th year of Nabonidus are still in order in column II even though the beginning of the third event

¹⁰⁵ The name Babylon appears three or four times in the legible portions of the badly damaged fourth column, *BHT*, p. 118. Smith thought that the record there referred to the defeat of Nidintu-Bel at Babylon by Darius I, *ibid.*, p. 106.

there overlaps with the end of the second. The situation in column III is different. According to the retrospective interpretation, the death of the king's wife (?) (date undetermined) and the date for the beginning of the mourning for her (?) (27 Addaru) can theoretically be superimposed upon the period from Kislimu to Addaru during which the gods of Akkad were returned to their cities. However, this still leaves the problem of the death date for Ugbaru (II Arah-samnu) which, as an independent piece of information, should have been placed before the activity that started in Kislimu, instead of after it where it stands in the current order of the text. This brings up a very important difference between the retrospective and the consecutive interpretation of the events in column III. The problem here is not just the difference between two equally reasonable alternative interpretations, for in the retrospective view of the text—since the date for Ugbaru's death does not overlap with any other dates in column III—a scribal error must definitely be posited here. On this basis it must be assumed that the scribe located this event in the wrong place in the text. The reliability of the chronicles as historical sources has been commented upon by various observers.¹⁰⁶ In his discussion of the chronicle published most recently, Millard concurs with this view in the cautionary comment, "It is unwise to assume a mistake by the Babylonian historian without more supporting evidence, since these chronicle texts have hitherto been shown to be a reliable source of historical fact."¹⁰⁷ As far as can be determined by this investigation, it is not only unwise but also unwarranted to

¹⁰⁶ W. F. Albright says that "the Babylonian Chronicle and related texts from the eighth-sixth centuries B.C. are generally recognized as the most objective and historically reliable annals that have come down to us from the ancient Orient." Cf. "The Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar Chronicles," *BASOR*, 143 (1956), p. 28. Wiseman refers to these texts as "a unique and reliable source of knowledge of the history of Babylonia," and says that "they are both accurate and objective in their portrayal of historical facts." *CCK*, pp. 1, 5.

¹⁰⁷ Millard, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

assume that the text in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle is in error and that the dated events there are out of order.

There is another aspect to the text of the third column of the Nabonidus Chronicle that is relevant to the discussion of the chronological order of the events recorded there. This particular feature of the text is the manner in which the dates were written in this passage. Month names are missing from five of these dates and all five cases occur where the event referred to was only dated by a day number and that day happened to fall in the month mentioned previously in the text. The first three cases of this come from the month of Tashritu at the beginning of the passage that is pertinent to this study. After the initial statement there of Cyrus' attack on the army of Akkad at Opis in that month, the dates that follow in the text are simply "day 14" (l. 14), "day 16" (l. 15), and "the end of the month" (l. 16). Obviously, these three dates refer to the month of Tashritu in line 12 since the next dated event in the text is Cyrus' entry into Babylon on the 3d of Arahsamnu. The same thing occurs at the end of this section where the date that Cambyses entered the temple is simply given as "day four." Again this clearly refers to the last month mentioned in the text. The date in the last phrase of the preceding line is the 3d of Nisanu on which the mourning for the king's wife ended, so this places Cambyses' entry into the temple on the 4th of Nisanu, during the New Year's festival. Had the death of Ugbaru occurred on the 11th of the same month of Arahsamnu that Cyrus entered Babylon, the record of his death should have followed that reference in the text, and according to his custom the scribe probably would have dated it simply to "day 11" without mentioning the month again, in which case the account would have read, "In the month of Arahsamnu, the 3d day, Cyrus entered Babylon, . . . on the night of the 11th day, Ugbaru died."

One final but minor objection to the interpretation of the text proposed here might be raised, and this stems from the fact that the New Year's festival is not mentioned between

the events of lines 21 and 22 where it occurred according to the consecutive interpretation. This objection does not pose any great threat to this view of the text, however, since more often than not the chronicles did not mention the regular occurrences of the New Year's festival. In fact, the chronicles record the omission of the New Year's ceremonies more commonly than they mention the occasions on which they were performed. Statistically speaking, 12 entries in the ten chronicles discussed here tell of a total of 31 years during which these rites were not celebrated, while they refer to the fact that they were performed on only four specific occasions. Although the Nabonidus Chronicle notes that the New Year's festival was omitted during the years that the king was off in Tema, one of the four references to its performance occurs in the record at the beginning of his 17th year, after he had returned to Babylon. The absence of any reference to the contrary may generally be taken to imply that the ceremonies of the New Year were performed. Since the chronicle specifically states that the rites were performed at the beginning of Nabonidus' 17th year, it seems safe to assume that they were performed regularly thereafter too, which would include the occasion in question above. The return of the gods of Akkad to their cities and temples by the end of Addaru points out the fact that they were ready for the ceremonies of the New Year on time, even though the New Year's festival in question is not specifically referred to in the text.

In concluding this section it may simply be said that the consecutive view of the order of the events in column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle has been adopted in this study because it seems to be the most reasonable interpretation of the evidence currently available on the subject. This conclusion makes the dates in part 2 of Table VI requisite to any further discussion that involves the chronology of the events listed there.

3. *The Correlation of the Early Titulary of Cyrus in the Babylonian Economic Texts with Column III of the Nabonidus Chronicle in Consecutive Chronological Order*

In the second installment of this study evidence from the royal titles in the economic texts was presented, that led to the hypothesis that there may have been a king in Babylon who ruled as a vassal to Cyrus for a short time after the Persian conquest. At that point, however, any suggestion as to the possible identity of this king had to be deferred until further information on the subject could be obtained. With the foregoing discussion of the Nabonidus Chronicle in hand this problem may now be approached more positively. The first step in this approach is to correlate the findings from the titles in the economic texts with the chronology of the third column of the chronicle that was adopted in the preceding section.

TABLE VIII
TITLES FROM TABLE II
CORRELATED WITH THE DATES FROM TABLE VI

<i>Date</i>	<i>Chronicle or Tablet Reference</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Title or Julian Date</i>
539	<i>Nabonidus 1052</i>	17	VI	28	King of Babylon
	Cyrus attacks at Opis	17	VII	—	October, 539
	<i>REN 189 (Uruk)</i>	17	VII	4	King of Babylon
	The fall of Sippar	17	VII	14	October 10, 539
	The fall of Babylon	17	VII	16	October 12, 539
	<i>GCCI I 390 (Uruk)</i>	17	VII	17	King of Babylon
	<i>BM 56154</i>	Acc.	VII	23	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	<i>Cyrus 1</i>	Acc.	VII	—	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	<i>NBRVT 21</i>	Acc.	[VII ?]	25	King of Babylon, [King of Lands ?]
	Cyrus enters Babylon	Acc.	VIII	3	October 29, 539
	<i>Cyrus 2</i>	Acc.	VIII	24	King of Lands
	<i>Cyrus 4</i>	Acc.	IX	24	King of Lands
	Return of the gods				
	begins	Acc.	IX	—	from November, 539
	<i>RECC 1</i>	Acc.	X	21	King of Lands

<i>Date</i>	<i>Chronicle or Tablet Reference</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Title or Julian Date</i>
538	RECC 2	Acc.	XI	21	King of Lands
	RECC 3	Acc.	XII	8	King of Lands
	Cyrus 7	Acc.	XII	10	King of Lands
	RECC 4	Acc.	XII	17	King of Lands
	Cyrus 8	Acc.	XII	21	King of Lands
	Cyrus 9	Acc.	XII	—	King of Lands
	Cyrus 10	Acc.	—	—	King of Lands
	Return of the gods ends	Acc.	XII	—	to March, 538
	RECC 5	I	I	4	King of Babylon
	Cyrus 12	I	I	7	King of Lands
	BLC C 1	I	I	30	King of Lands
	RECC 10	I	II	1	King of Lands
	BRLM 58	I	II	8	King of Lands
	Cyrus 15	I	II	25	King of Lands
	RECC 8	I	II	30	King of Lands
	RECC 9	I	III	5	King of Lands
	RECC 6	I	IV	29	King of Lands
	TCL XIII 124	I	V	1	King of Lands
	GCCI II 102	I	VI	1	King of Lands
	RECC 7	I	VI	—	King of Lands
	TCL XIII 125	I	VIII	8	King of Lands
	MLC 1824	I	—	3	King of Lands
	RECC 13	I	—	14	King of Lands
	NBC 4713	I	—	22	King of Lands
	RECC 16	I	—	—	King of Lands
	The death of Ugbaru	I	VIII	11	October 26, 538
	NBC 4761	I	VIII	12	King of Lands
	CUL 357	I	VIII	23	King of Lands
	BRLM 57	I	IX	20	King of Lands
	Cyrus 18	I	X	—	King of Babylon
537	Cyrus 22	I	XI	16	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	Cyrus 23	I	XI	17	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	NBRU 37	I	XI	18	King of Lands
	NBC 4664	I	XI	19	King of Lands
	Cyrus 24	I	XI	26	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	Cyrus 25	I	XI	27	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	VAS III 35	I	XI	28	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	Cyrus 26	I	XI	29	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	Cyrus 27	I	XII	2	King of Lands
	Cyrus 30	I	XII	18	King of Babylon, King of Lands
	Cyrus 29	I	XII	26	King of Lands
	Death of the king's [wife ?]	I	—	—	date undetermined
	Period of mourning begins	I	XII	27	March 8, 537

<i>Date</i>	<i>Chronicle or Tablet Reference</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Day</i>	<i>Title or Julian Date</i>
VAS III 60		1	XII	28	King of Babylon, King of Lands
Cyrus 31		1	—	—	King of Babylon, King of Lands
Cyrus 32		2	I	1	King of Babylon, King of Lands
Official mourning ends		2	I	3	March 14, 537
Cambyses enters the temple		2	I	4	March 15, 537

For the purposes of this study the most important feature of this table is the fact that the change in Cyrus' titulary in the economic texts, which formerly went unexplained, can now be connected with a recognizable event in Neo-Babylonian history—the death of Ugbaru. This correlation of the materials demonstrates that the title "King of Babylon" was added to the titulary of Cyrus shortly after the death of Ugbaru, when that event is located according to the consecutive chronological interpretation of the Chronicle. The implication of this information is readily apparent. Since these two events are closely connected chronologically, it follows that they may be related as cause and effect. If Cyrus waited until Ugbaru died to take up the title "King of Babylon" and become the official king there, it seems reasonable to surmise that Ugbaru held title to that office before him, up to the time of his death. If this line of reasoning is correct, then the king who was vassal to Cyrus in Babylon during the time he carried the suzerain's title ("King of Lands" only) in the texts written there has been identified.

It may be asked in this connection, if Ugbaru was the king of Babylon under Cyrus until late in 538, then why was there a time lag from the time of his death until the tablets took up the title "King of Babylon" for Cyrus? Actually, the six or seven weeks involved are just about the lapse of time that one would expect before such a change in the titulary. Since Cyrus probably was not in Babylonia at the time Ugbaru died,

messengers had to take this news to him in Persia or wherever he may have been on one of his campaigns. Beyond that, additional time must be allowed for the messengers to return to Babylon with the decree that Cyrus made after he received the news they brought to him. There are various historical parallels for a time lag like this after the death of a king. The date on which Nebuchadrezzar arrived from Syro-Palestine to take the throne in Babylon after he received the news of his father's death is recorded in one of the Chronicles that Wiseman published. Assuming that messengers were not sent to summon Nebuchadrezzar before his father died, the report reached him and he returned to Babylon in a remarkably short period of time, just three and one-half weeks.

It is uncertain exactly where Nebuchadrezzar himself was at the time of the death of Nabopolassar on the eighth of Ab (15/16th August, 605 B.C.). The transmission of this news from Babylon to Syria and Palestine by signal through hostile and partly uninhabited territory would have been impossible. Time must therefore be allowed for the intelligence to reach Nebuchadrezzar by fast courier as well as for him to settle local affairs before his return journey with a small mounted party by the shortest desert route to Babylon. Since the crown-prince reached the capital twenty-three days after his father's death the Chronicle supports the tradition of a swift return to Babylon so vividly preserved by Berossus.¹⁰⁸

The accessions that took place subsequent to the death of Esarhaddon occurred at a somewhat slower pace than this. Both the Esarhaddon Chronicle and the Babylonian Chronicle report that Esarhaddon died on the tenth of Arahsamnu while he was on the way to Egypt. The Chronicles do not specify the exact date of Ashurbanipal's accession in Assyria, but they do tell us that it occurred the month after Esarhaddon died, in Kislimu. In addition, Shamash-shum-ukin did not become king of Babylon until sometime in the next calendar year, four months or more after Ashurbanipal's accession, for

¹⁰⁸ *CCK*, p. 26. Berossus' record of Nebuchadnezzar's rapid return to Babylon after his father's death is found in Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 19 (136-138).

the year after the one in which Esarhaddon died was reckoned as the accession year of Shamash-shum-ukin while it was the 1st year of Ashurbanipal.

Another example of the lapse of time involved in the change of kings and titles occurred in the case of Bardiya that has been referred to in Parts I and II. This case is possibly more pertinent here than the two preceding examples since it is considerably closer in time and geography to the case of Ugbaru and Cyrus. Bardiya revolted in Persia on the 14th day of the last month of 523/522, but since news of this apparently did not reach Babylonia until after the New Year began, scribes there dated documents to him in two different ways for a while: (a) "First year of Bardiya, King of Lands," and (b) "Accession year of Bardiya, King of Babylon, King of Lands." Poebel's solution to the problem posed by these dates and titles has been quoted in this study before, but it bears repeating in this connection.

The use of different dating methods, however, could not go on for any longer time, and actually we notice that from the second half of the fourth month there is used a uniform formula designating the year 522/21 as "first year of Barzia, king of Babylon and king of lands," a formula of the same type as that used during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. Apparently the change came about in what may be called the usual manner. The Persian authorities in Babylon simply invoked the decision of the Persian king, and Bardia or rather his ministers decreed that the foregoing formula should be used.¹⁰⁹

It took considerably less time for the title "King of Babylon" to appear in connection with Cyrus after the death of Ugbaru than it did for the Babylonian scribes to get the dates and titles of Bardiya straightened out. Ugbaru died on the 11th day of the 8th month, and three more tablets dated after that used the sole title "King of Lands" for Cyrus. The last one of these three dates to the 20th day of the 9th month, or about six weeks after Ugbaru's death. The only tablet in Table VIII

¹⁰⁹ Poebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126.

from the 10th month of Cyrus' 1st year (*Cyrus* 18) uses the title "King of Babylon" for him without the title "King of Lands." This text is not dated to the day, but since it is a contract it is very possible that it comes from the 1st day of the month. The compound titulary begins to appear regularly with the next tablet after that (*Cyrus* 22), the first of eight tablets that date to the 11th month. From the evidence currently available, it seems probable that the interval between the death of Ugbaru and the time when Cyrus used the title "King of Babylon" was less than two months in length. This does not appear to be an inordinately long period of time for the news of Ugbaru's death to be taken to Cyrus and for his decree concerning the disposition of the title to the kingship of Babylon to be returned there. Considering the parallels cited above, the amount of time involved here seems to fit such a situation very well.

On the basis of the royal titles in the business and administrative texts that were examined in Part II, the hypothesis was proposed in the conclusion to that section that there was evidence—a gap in the use of these titles—for the existence of a king in Babylon other than Cyrus for a short time after the Persian conquest. Information from the Nabonidus Chronicle studied in this section has brought increased specificity to that hypothesis with the observation that the references to Ugbaru in the Chronicle fit the gap in Cyrus' titulary in the texts with precision. The close correspondence of these materials has led to the identification of Ugbaru as the king of Babylon during that brief period. This brings up the question, is there any other evidence to confirm the identification of Ugbaru as the king of Babylon? That evidence is examined in the next section.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

Epp, Frank H. *Whose Land Is Palestine?: The Middle East in Historical Perspective*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1970. 283 pp. \$ 3.95 (paperbound).

This book calls to attention what is too often overlooked in assessing current tensions in the Middle East; namely, a long and relevant historical background. After two introductory chapters, the book gives a helpful historical survey in a series of chapters whose titles furnish the clue as to their content: "The Claims of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob"; "The Claims of Islam"; "The Claims of Christianity"; "The Claims of Zionism"; "The Claims of the British"; "The Claims of the Arabs"; "The Claims of the United Nations" (this chapter includes some notations on the U.S.A.'s position); "The Claims of Israel"; and "The Claims of the Palestinians." Virtually no relevant matter is overlooked in this historical survey, and various vital items are highlighted with tables and maps (there are 18 tables and 13 maps).

In such a vast survey, it is not surprising that the author should make occasional errors in detail (for example, it was not Nebuchadnezzar, but his father Nabopolassar who struck the death-blow to Assyria [see p. 64]; and various dates given in the chapter on "The Claims of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" surely are not based on the most up-to-date chronology). But such errors seem trivial in view of the main thrust of the work in providing necessary historical background for an understanding of the Middle East situation as it exists today. Moreover, the book manifests a certain balance in outlook which is especially commendable in view of the rather common tendency of writers on the subject to charge their work with emotional overtones.

In a final chapter entitled "The Claims of God," the author appeals for the kind of Christian involvement which, among other things, renounces claims to any holy places in Palestine (pp. 238, 239). Christians should, he feels, lay aside the distortions which are altogether too common in Christianity and "first of all, accept their Messiah and become Christians" (p. 255). Moreover, their "prophetic contribution" should mold public opinion regarding (1) justice for the Palestinian Arabs, (2) security for the Jews, and (3) restraint of the Powers and the boosting of the United Nations (pp. 256-263); but this "contribution to peace does not end, or perhaps even begin, with the spoken word. . . . The bold word must be accompanied, as it always has been in the best of the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions, by the sacrificial deed" (p. 263). This sacrificial deed may mean "philanthropy for Jews and Arabs," but it also means more: "The present Middle East conflict, however, calls for the deed that goes beyond the ordinary and the usual. It calls Christians back to the central theme of their

faith, namely, that of a man laying down his life for his friends and his enemies. . . . The Middle East situation confronts us with the historical fact that many Jews and Muslims have died or sacrificed their rights on behalf of Christians. Christians can now make a contribution to peace only if they become willing to die and sacrifice on behalf of Israelis and Arabs (pp. 263, 264). A specific application, says the author, would be "entering the arena of war on both sides and sharing the insecurity that the conflict brings" (p. 264). What is meant is not fighting in behalf of either side (rather "it is time for Christians to leave all their guns at home"), but an "unarmed peace force" standing by and helping each side as it is attacked by the other (*ibid.*).

There is a great deal of sound food for thought in Epp's concluding chapter, but he also manifests therein some rather unrealistic idealism. Furthermore, his major contribution in this book is, in my opinion, his careful analysis of historical backgrounds; and he tends to become weaker as he analyzes the present situation. Indeed, at times he appears to be somewhat ignorant of forces currently at work; as for example, in suggesting that the "large and virile Christian Arab community in the Middle East" is an asset for the West by providing "a strong bridge to the Arabs" (p. 235). Apparently he is unaware of Christian-Muslim antagonisms among the Arabs themselves (sometimes nearly as great as Arab-Israeli tensions), to say nothing of the diminutive position of Arab Christianity in some of the Arab countries (Arab Christians do not everywhere enjoy the prestigious status they hold in Lebanon, for example).

On the whole, this reviewer must highly commend Epp's publication. He would concur with the writer of the Foreword, John H. Davis, International Consultant and Former Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, that this "is a book that needs to be read widely by the public, particularly by those persons in governments and on delegations to the United Nations who have responsibility for formulating policies that pertain to the Middle East" (p. 5). Regardless of how impractical one may consider *some* of Epp's suggestions in his last chapter, his interest in providing historical background is surely a vital concern. To such background the book is for the most part devoted, and herein lies a contribution which should not be ignored by anyone interested in the Middle East, past or present.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Froom, LeRoy Edwin. *Movement of Destiny*. Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971. 700 pp. \$ 9.95.

With this book LeRoy Edwin Froom climaxes his career as a research-author, denominational apologist, and counselor to Adventist ministers. *Movement of Destiny* attempts to speak both for Seventh-day Adventists (SDA's) and to them.

The underlying theme is (a) that all truth is and of necessity must be centered in the person of Jesus Christ; (b) that though of course there are many authentic Christians who are not Adventists, certain special eschatological insights needed by the world of today have, in God's own providence, been entrusted to SDA's; (c) that although these special truths were discovered by SDA's as early as the 1840's and 1850's, they were distorted at that time because "some" SDA's erroneously denied what Froom calls the "eternal verities," namely, the eternal fullness of the deity of Christ as the basis for righteousness by faith, and the Act of Atonement as completed on the cross; (d) that between 1888 and 1957 these "eternal verities" came to be generally accepted by SDA's; (e) that in consequence SDA's are now both required *and ready* to fulfill their "bounden mission" to the world; (f) that SDA's, soon to be empowered by the latter rain of the Holy Spirit, will gloriously fulfill their commission just before the second coming of Christ; and (g) that in consequence they constitute a Movement of Destiny.

The year 1888 is pivotal in SDA history. Prior to the General Conference session held that year in Minneapolis, typical Adventist evangelism had stressed the unique obligation of the Sabbath to the neglect of adequate emphasis on Christ as the only source of righteousness. When two young denominational editors from the west coast, A. T. Jones and E. J. Waggoner, presented glowing lectures on the centrality of Christ, many delegates were taken by surprise and a number of the old guard reacted defensively. It is a matter of record, furthermore, that early SDA writers who referred to trinitarianism treated it as false. And although in thoroughly orthodox fashion SDA's have always considered the cross the central sacrifice on which every man's salvation depends, they have preferred during much of their history to reserve the biblical term "atonement" for Christ's ministry in the heavenly sanctuary, rather than to apply it to the cross.

Insofar as it focuses on 1888, *Movement of Destiny* is one more serious work in a series of studies that includes *Christ Our Righteousness* (1926), by A. G. Daniells; *1888 Re-examined* (1950), by R. J. Wieland and D. K. Short; *By Faith Alone* (1962), by Norval F. Pease; and *Through Crisis to Victory* (1966), by A. V. Olson.

Froom's contributions include valuable and fascinating chapters devoted to recollections recorded (42 years after the event) by numerous participants in the 1888 conference, and other impressive chapters portraying Christ in every doctrine, defending the reality of the heavenly sanctuary, and locating Adventism within the sweep of history from creation to the end of the age. His greatest contribution is the emphasis that for SDA's 1888 was a discovery not so much of righteousness by faith as of Christ Himself. The importance of this cannot be exaggerated. Ellen G. White, the most authoritative voice in Adventism, also summed up Waggoner's presentations as "the matchless charms of Christ."

A major purpose of *Movement of Destiny* is to defend Adventism from all critics, both foreign and domestic. Much of it cannot be understood without reference to D. M. Canright and his heirs and to Wieland and Short. Unfortunately a defensive stance frequently betrays a man.

There are instances of special pleading. For example: (1) Pre-1888 denials of the *eternal* preexistence of Christ are condemned as glaring error when committed by the brethren, but E. J. Waggoner's similar denial in 1888 results in a whole chapter (ch. 17) dedicated to his defense. (2) When the biblical origin of SDA doctrines is asserted, it is claimed that Ellen G. White was never the first to introduce a major doctrine or interpretation (e.g., pp. 89, 107). Later, when Waggoner needs a defense, Ellen White is treated as far in advance on the "eternal verities" (e.g., pp. 186, 296, 446-447).

Several secondary theses of *Movement of Destiny* need further explication by the author. For example: (1) Froom says that the "eternal verity" that the cross represents the "completed Act of Atonement" was incorporated generally into Adventism via the baptismal vow of 1941 (pp. 421, 465, 482). However, the 1941 vow merely refers to the cross as the "atoning sacrifice" and does not define it as "complete"; and F. D. Nichol, editor of the prestigious *Review and Herald*, denied that the atonement was complete on the cross—using arguments taken bodily from Uriah Smith—as late as 1952 (*Answers to Objections*, pp. 407-409).

(2) Froom reluctantly admits that at Minneapolis E. J. Waggoner was wrong in respect to the eternal deity of Christ in contrast to Ellen White, who was uniformly correct on the subject. Curiously, Froom does quote Ellen White as giving Waggoner a "sweeping endorsement" (p. 229-231). It would probably have been better to quote also her disclaimer: "Some interpretations of Scripture given by Dr. Waggoner I do not regard as correct" (E. G. White MS 15, 1888; quoted in Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 54). (3) Froom says (p. 158) that Uriah Smith never significantly changed his concept of the nature of Christ. In actual fact in 1898 Smith described Christ's equality with the Father in terms similar to Waggoner's: Christ, "the uncreated Word," is "equal with the Father," and in Him "the fulness of the Godhead" dwells bodily (*Looking Unto Christ*, pp. 10-17).

Numerous problems such as these, when coupled with an obviously apologetic spirit, somewhat diminish the work as dependable history.

Though we appreciate the list of Ellen White articles on righteousness by faith through the years, we regret the absence of references to the issues that contained them and the criteria used in selecting them. In a work of such pretensions we miss a bibliography. Many readers will wonder why men like M. L. Andreasen, Taylor Bunch, Edward Heppenstall, and F. D. Nichol are treated so lightly or not at all.

Froom's goal is to show that however badly SDA's treated the "eternal verities" in the past, they are thoroughly orthodox today—and that after all, there were only "some" SDA's who were ever

wrong. Evidence is abundant, however, that antitrinitarianism was normative for Adventists until the 1890's. Froom might better have admitted the facts, then explained that many SDA's opposed trinitarianism, not so much because it elevated Christ above His "due status" as because (confused with a kind of monarchianism) it seemed to downgrade the Godhead to impersonality.

This reviewer, as a church historian and lifetime SDA, is disappointed to see Christ's special work in heaven since 1844 described chiefly as an act of judging. Froom has not grasped the developing significance of this heavenly ministry as it was understood by SDA's before and after 1888 and therefore has failed to explain that SDA's could be true Christians while not calling the cross the "atonement," and to show how 1888 was applied by many in the 1890's to total victory through Christ and the blotting out of sins. We await publication of Robert Haddock's 1970 Bachelor of Divinity thesis on the doctrine of the sanctuary, 1800-1915. Meanwhile we wonder if exclusive emphasis on the cross as the locus of a completed atonement is a theological or merely semantic advance and if it may not actually endanger a vital concept.

In short, *Movement of Destiny* is neither the last word on the history of SDA doctrines nor a perfect one; nonetheless, it is beyond doubt a substantial and stimulating work that will play an important role in the continuing quest for understanding of the SDA church.

Andrews University

C. MERVYN MAXWELL

Hamilton, Neill Q. *Jesus for a No-God World*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1969. 203 pp. \$ 6.50.

This book is an attempt to argue for a secular Christianity that has a Biblical foundation. It is, therefore, only natural to be tempted to draw a comparison with Van Buren's *The Secular Meaning of the Gospel*. Unlike Van Buren, who outlines the Christological controversies of the first five centuries and the canons for meaning established by logical positivism in order to defend an existentialist view of Jesus that satisfies the questioning of modern philosophy and remains "orthodox," Hamilton wishes to argue for diversity within Christianity. According to him, the Christological controversies of the first Christian centuries, ironically, obscured the image that Jesus had of himself. But it just happens that precisely Jesus' own model is the one that may best serve those who live in a secular world.

Hamilton does not argue that this image is the only correct one, or the "true" one, but rather one which deserves to be brought to the forefront so that it may be a viable option among others already well known. But Hamilton maintains that critical historical investigation is what brings forth this image as the one that served Jesus in his self-identification. This image is one that derives its essential characteristics from Judaism and was later suffocated by Hellenistic Christianity, or so Hamilton thinks.

To reconstruct this lost tradition Hamilton embarks on a new quest for the historical Jesus. The result is the recovery of Jesus as the eschatological prophet, the only person with real flesh and blood at the core of the Gospel. He is set up over against the Kerygmatic Christ of the Resurrection narratives, whose reality is based on revelational experiences. It is important to observe here that the Gospel of Jn, where there is an explicit polemic against the Samaritan views of the Messiah as the eschatological prophet, is completely ignored by Hamilton. But he is quite correct in challenging the methodological presupposition of the New Quest that judges any statement ascribed to Jesus in the Gospel which has Jewish parallels to be *a priori* suspect. This represents a "particular cultural bias" which needs to be corrected. Hamilton makes the axiom read: "It is *safe* to predicate authenticity of any passage of the Gospels that deals with Jesus where there is agreement with contemporary Judaism" (p. 137, italics his). On the basis of this methodology Hamilton defends the interpretation of Jesus as the eschatological prophet over against competing Christologies because "it allows the historical Jesus to remain what he most certainly was—a Jew" (p. 136). Concerning the other Jewish Messianic images prominent at the time, Hamilton finds it impossible to think that the concept Son of Man could have been part of Jesus' self-consciousness because "there is no Jewish tradition prior to the resurrection that speaks of an earthly career for the apocalyptic Son of Man" (pp. 135, 136).

Hamilton's major contribution to the current debate is in his chapter on "The Resurrection of Jesus, The Composition of the Gospels, and the World to Come." Here he advances the argument that the Synoptic Gospels are not Passion stories with extended introductions, as Kähler characterized them at the turn of the century and everyone seems to have taken for granted ever since, but rather Resurrection stories with extended introductions, whose purpose is to apologize for this embarrassing impasse. The Pauline Gospel spiritualized the union of the believer and Christ in terms of Christ's resurrection. This vision of things immediately opened itself up to the extreme positions adopted by different brands of Gnosticism. The Gospels then attempted to deal with the reality of the resurrection in more concrete terms, in contrast to Paul's spiritual revelations and psychical bodies. Here each gospel has a particular interest in the resurrection and this may be recognized by the way in which each writer deals with the resurrection, and builds up to it in the extended introduction.

Hamilton gives rather original explanations for the writing of the Synoptics. Here he is in dialogue with the most significant voices in Gospel research. His voice carries the authority of home-work well done. The basic research on Mk was published originally in *JBL*, LXXXIV (1965), 415-421. Now he is extending the argument to Mt and Lk, and in so doing he strengthens it.

His basic argument is that the other-worldliness informing the

traditional understanding of Jesus is not essential for a recognition of Jesus' significance, and that therefore one may pledge allegiance to Jesus and what he stood for (as this may best be documented from the sources using historical methods) without having to accept the apocalyptic other-worldliness which informs the Gospels. It is of Persian origin anyway, and was amalgamated into Judaism as a means of dealing with the contradictions of history (as argued in Chapter I).

It is in the last chapter, "The Dawn of This World," where Hamilton works out his "hermeneutic of analogy" and his "process eschatology," that he becomes unconvincing. The substance of eschatology is provided by the behavioral sciences because the "convictional structure" of man today so demands. This means that the only agency in eschatology is the agency of man. "... man assumes the direct historical agency which God had in the traditional view. It is God's role to persuade man how he is to use that agency. In the older view man is waiting for God to arrange man's destiny. In the newer view God is waiting for man" (p. 186), which, it would seem to me, means that everyone is waiting for Godot.

Hamilton, in the final analysis, is looking for an alternative to Bultmann. He distinguishes his hermeneutic of analogy from demythologizing by claiming that his hermeneutic "allows the Biblical images to maintain their full stature" (p. 202). This is hard to see. Indeed, one may agree that Bultmann's hermeneutic is a reductionist one since it allows the Biblical images to speak only in terms of human existence. But Bultmann insists that the Gospel concerns God's actions, and he insists with vigor that the Christian must speak of God's action, even if only by analogy in terms of the Self and not apocalyptically or mythologically. Hamilton's No-God World based on social and political categories seems to constitute an even more drastic reduction of God's presence in this world. It has been reduced to the historical appearance of the man Jesus for a ministry of a few months.

Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, Indiana

HEROLD WEISS

Halvorson, John V. *The Ages in Tension*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1970. 87 pp. \$ 1.95 (paperbound).

This book attempts to explain the problem of how to relate the new age in Christ with the old age of sin. It endeavors to tell how the Christian can be in the world and relevant to it, yet not of it.

Halvorson presents the two ages and shows how they are and must be in tension. As his main source he uses the Apostle Paul (Rom 5 in particular). Like Karl Barth in *Christ and Adam*, he compares Adam and Christ as being the first and second Adam, respectively, but does so without Barth's stress on the nature of man. Adam is the originator of the old or present age, while Christ is the founder and sustainer of the new age.

The old man is this world and what we have done with it in our rebellion. Man is both creature and creator, and "it is because man possesses such remarkable creative freedom that he is able to tie himself up in such knots" (p. 25). Yet while a creator in this respect, he is also a creature who is dependent on God. This dependence is faith.

Reinhold Niebuhr, whom the author quotes in every chapter except one, stresses that history is a mixture of nature and creative freedom. Man goes to work with his creative freedom and creates something new. The past, however, cannot always be changed, and herein lies the problem of tension between the two ages.

In speaking of the new age, the author traces the historical development of Israel. Starting with the Exodus there is an orientation toward the future. Again during the Babylonian Captivity, Isaiah forms a new concept of a new age (Is 40-55). During the intertestamental period a new literary style emerged, apocalyptic, with its distinction between this age and the age to come. Then in the NT Paul, in Rom 5 and 1 Cor 10:1-3, implies that there are two distinct ages, but the distinction is not between what is and what is to come. The two ages co-exist, though ultimately this age does pass away.

The entire NT is concerned about the quality of our existence in the new age as believers. Love, grace, and righteousness of faith are the dynamics of this new age, with baptism as an act of incorporation.

To the author the distinction between the two ages is that grace is the dynamic of the new age while the law and death are among the dynamics of the old. Paul in Rom 5 mentions that the law increased the tendency to sin (old age), yet grace (new age) would abound much more.

What Halvorson seems to be saying is that the reality of the new age is that though man has estranged himself from God, at the Cross and through the Resurrection of Christ man's estrangement has been conquered.

The author repeatedly premises that because man's creative freedom is so great he is constantly tempted to idolatry. In other words, man becomes enslaved to the things he has made with his fingers and mind, and ultimately he becomes enslaved to his own self. The new age of grace with its dynamic of love takes away this idolatry.

Man is made for community, the author points out; and it is easy to see how the old age can endanger man's relationship to others in the community. Pride is the disruptive force. The dynamic of the new age will help man to die to self and thereby include others in his life. This is the basic way in which Halvorson relates the two ages. Unfortunately, how the ages relate is not made clearer than this.

The title of the volume would suggest treatment of the conflicts within a Christian's heart over how to relate his new life in Christ with the world in which he must live. But such treatment is not forthcoming. The author, except for a few illustrations, simply defines or identifies the characteristics of the two ages. On the other hand, the

reader should have little trouble in making applications. There is tension, for example, between loving one's neighbor and racial prejudice, between "Thou shalt not kill" and war, and between the Gospel of Christ and the human heart. The fact that the two ages can exist and do exist together indicates that there must be some tension. One could wish the tension had been discussed more thoroughly.

The book is written for the layman. It is easy to understand and interesting. Though it deals with an old subject, it can give even the theologian a new perspective for this day. A subject as relevant as this could easily have filled a much larger book. The brevity of treatment is one of the major weaknesses. One gets the feeling that only the surface is being touched.

Not discounting its weaknesses, this book is well worth reading. In this age of constant change, a realization of how to relate Christianity to the problems of today is vital. As believers we are open toward the future rather than slavishly attached to the past. The important premise in this volume is that the new age is able to set us free from those elements in the old age that seek to enslave and make us too defensive to change.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

LARRY VANDEMAN

Rogness, Michael. *Philip Melancthon, Reformer Without Honor*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1969. 165 pp. \$ 4.95.

The reader of Reformation history generally first became aware of Melancthon as a "footnote" to Luther. His place in history was expressed by Clyde Manschreck in the title of his book, *Melancthon, the Quiet Reformer*, and now by Michael Rogness in his chosen title, *Philip Melancthon, Reformer Without Honor*. Melancthon has been one of the most enigmatic figures from his own days to ours, but as a by-product of a renewed examination of the theological issues of the sixteenth century Melancthon is gradually finding his rightful place beside Luther. The English translations of some of his most significant theological treatises by Clyde Manschreck, Wilhelm Pauck and that edited by Elmer Flack and Lowell Satre have made Melancthon more accessible to the English reader. The various analyses of Melancthon's theology in the introductions to these translations, as well as separate studies, account for the re-appraisal of him. Among these contributors is Michael Rogness.

Rogness' objective is to define Melancthon's specific place in the development of "Lutheran" theology with reference to sin, law, gospel, Christ, justification, and new life. The findings of his research are brought together in four chapters: "Reformer" covers the years between 1519 and 1523, during which the new ideas worked in his mind; "Spokesman" treats the formative period of his life from 1523 to 1533; "Theologian" reveals the "mature" theologian as he emerged

between 1530 and 1535; "Controversialist" deals with the Adio-phoristic, Majoristic, Synergistic, Crypto-Calvinist, and Osiandrian controversies during the latter years of his life.

The formation and formulation of Melanchthon's theological concepts are traced through his *Loci Communes* of 1521, 1535, 1555, and 1559 and compared with his other major writings during this period as *Annotationes in Evangelium Matthaei*, 1519-20, and *Evangelium Joannis*, 1523, his commentary on Rom, 1532, as well as the *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology*. Much information available only for Latin scholars is thus shared with the English reader.

Comparing the Mt lectures, 1519, with the *Loci* of 1521 it is found that his change from humanist to reformer was a shift from incarnational to sacrificial Christology. In this process he also became "Pauline," for the *Loci* he regarded basically as a commentary to Rom. His annotations to the Gospel of Jn, 1523, give a deeper dimension to his Christology; here Christ is presented as the Word of God. In the *Loci* man's problem was one of disobedience to God and this required a sacrifice. In the annotations the issue was man's ignorance of God, but it was met by a revelation of God through Christ. Here Melanchthon is back to the incarnation; however, it is different from the Mt lectures. In the latter the incarnated Christ is the perfect, triumphing, and conquering champion. In the commentary on Jn it is Christ's humiliation and *mortificatio carnis* which are in the center of his thoughts. In the *Augsburg Confession*, 1530, its *Apology*, the commentary on Rom and the second *Loci* we find the matured theologian. Here the two aspects of the incarnation as expressed in the annotations to Mt and Jn are submerged. The emphasis on justification by faith makes him focus his theology on Christ's saving on the cross as the only *beneficium Christi*. His Christology now stresses the news, the truth, or gospel about Christ. The redeeming work of the cross rather than Christ himself is the center of his theology.

Throughout his book the writer compares Luther and Melanchthon and emphasizes significant agreements and consequential differences of opinion. For example, Luther emphasized more than Melanchthon the *communio Christi*. The first dwelt on the person of Christ while the latter stressed the message about Christ. Accordingly, Luther's Christology was basically incarnational. Where Melanchthon would say *Christus pro nobis*, Luther would affirm *Christus in nobis*. Their different Christological outlooks account for Luther's expression, "in the bread and wine," while Melanchthon spoke about Christ's presence "with the bread and wine." The latter's interest in the Eucharist was "functional" rather than incarnational and theological. Melanchthon shared with Luther the orthodox view that properties of the divine and human natures are shared by the one concrete person Christ. But, "Luther affirmed the exchange of natures with each other in order to establish his conviction regarding Christ's physical presence in the Lord's Supper; Melanchthon emphasized the union of natures into the whole person of Christ to guard against speculation while

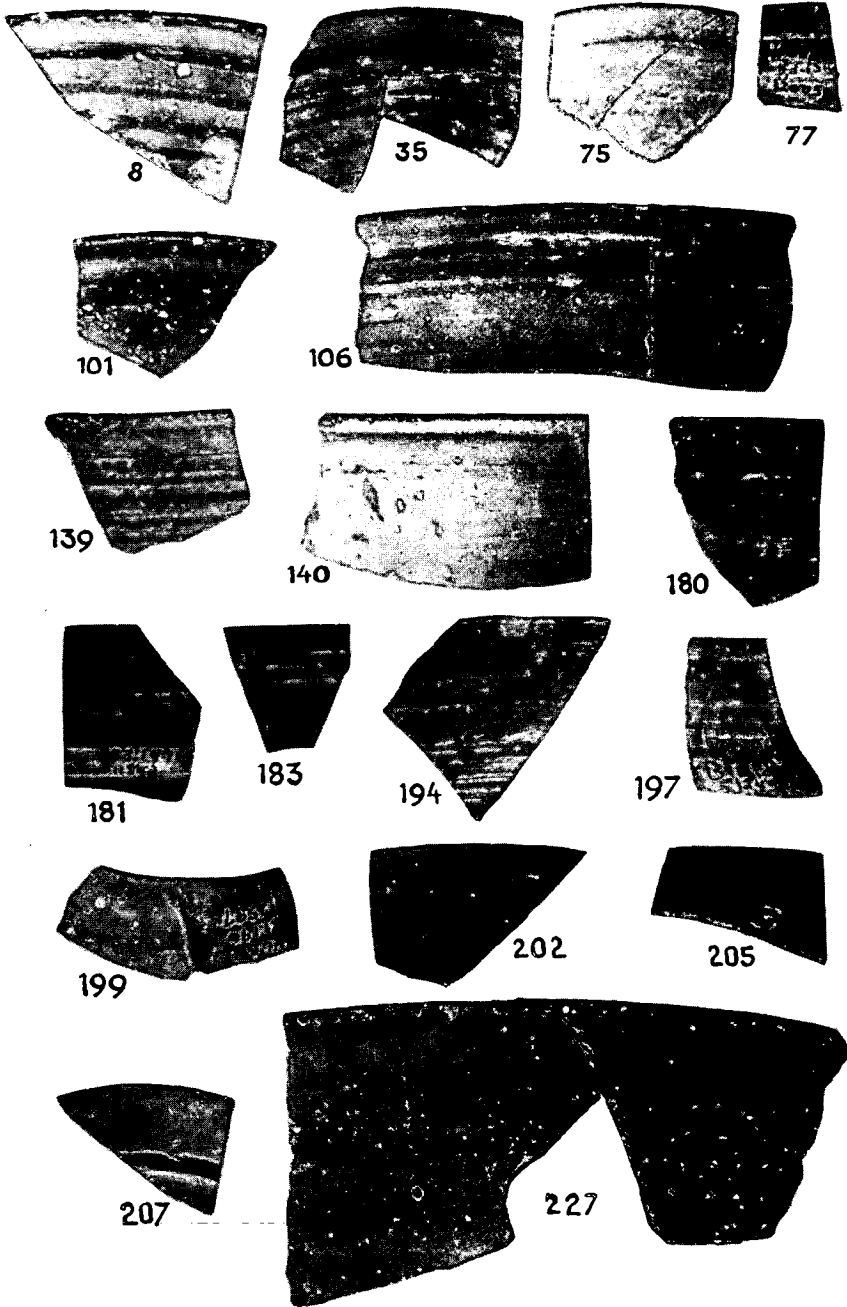
maintaining Christ's presence" (p. 86). In late 16th- and 17th-century Lutheranism justification and sanctification were strictly separated, but this development had its roots in Melanchthon's forensic concept of justification. "By basing justification on a pronouncement from God about something outside of us, imputed to us, the whole process acquired a somewhat abstract coloring. In removing justification from any quality or work in us, it tended to become something apart from us altogether. This was certainly not the case with Luther. Justification, for him, was very concrete, a uniting of ourselves with Christ" (p. 112).

While many of Rogness' assertions are plausible and even profound, one weakness remains. His findings have not been compared with recent Melanchthon studies as, for example, Manschreck is. Not all of his conclusions agree with the latter's and should therefore not have been drawn without a reference to them or to other recent findings on the same topics. Accordingly, Rogness' book will not be the last word, but its stimulating and creative suggestions give it a distinct place in the most needed search for a better understanding of the theology of Melanchthon.

The work grew out of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Erlangen University. The writer is at present assistant professor of research at the Centre d'Etudes Oecuméniques in Strasbourg.

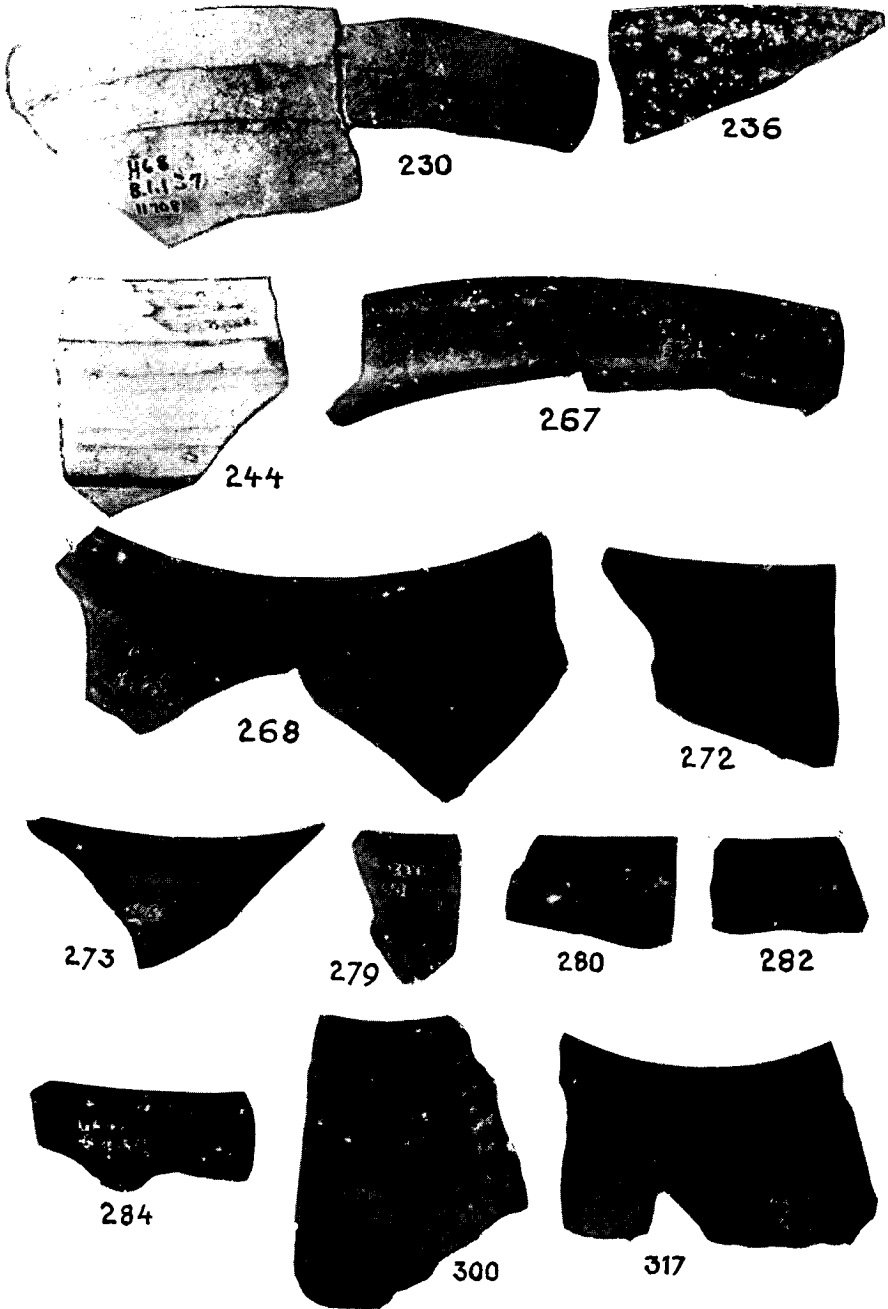
Loma Linda University
Riverside, Calif.

V. NORSKOV OLSEN

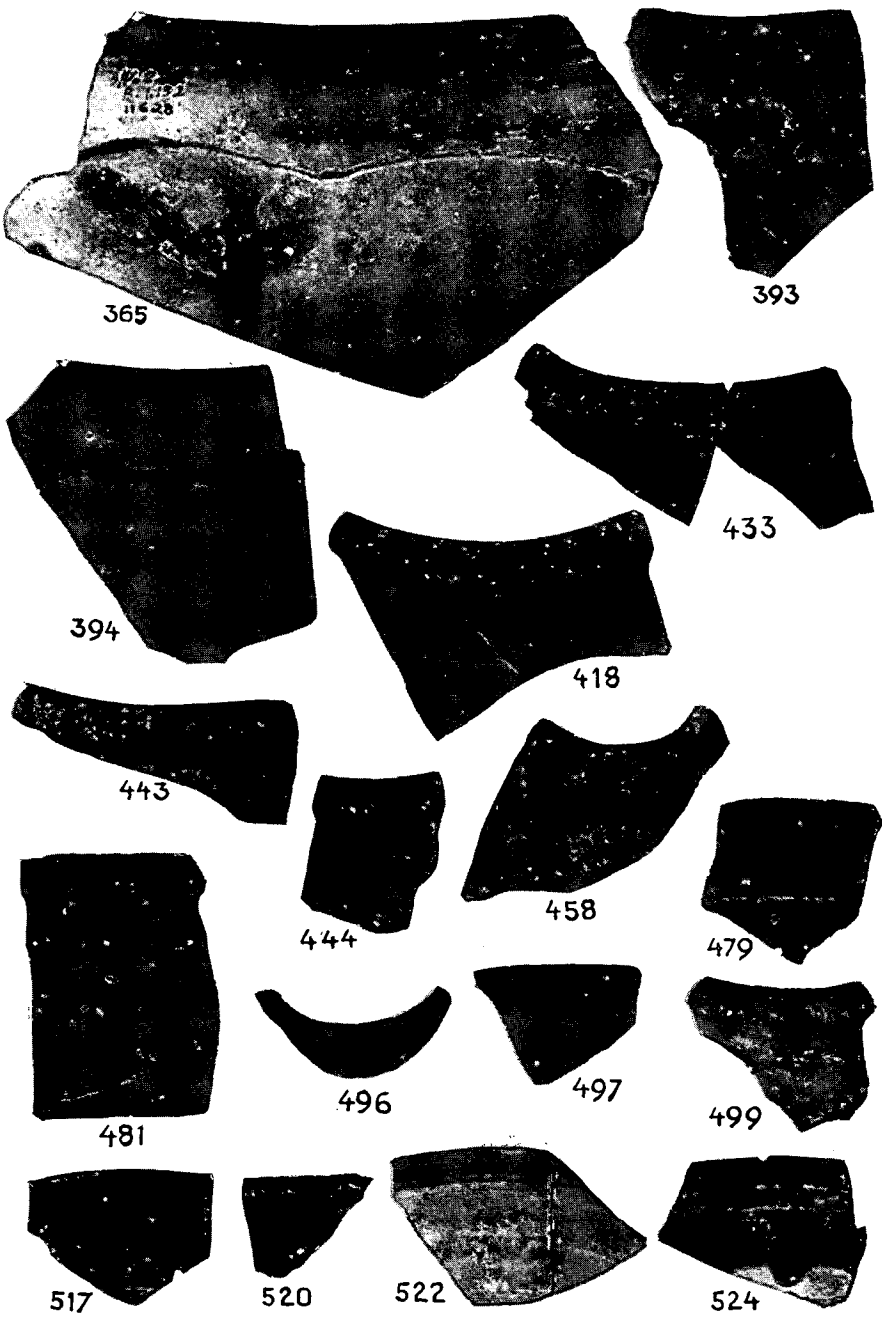


Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Selected Sherds (1/2 of original size)
(Photos: Orville V. Schneider)

PLATE B



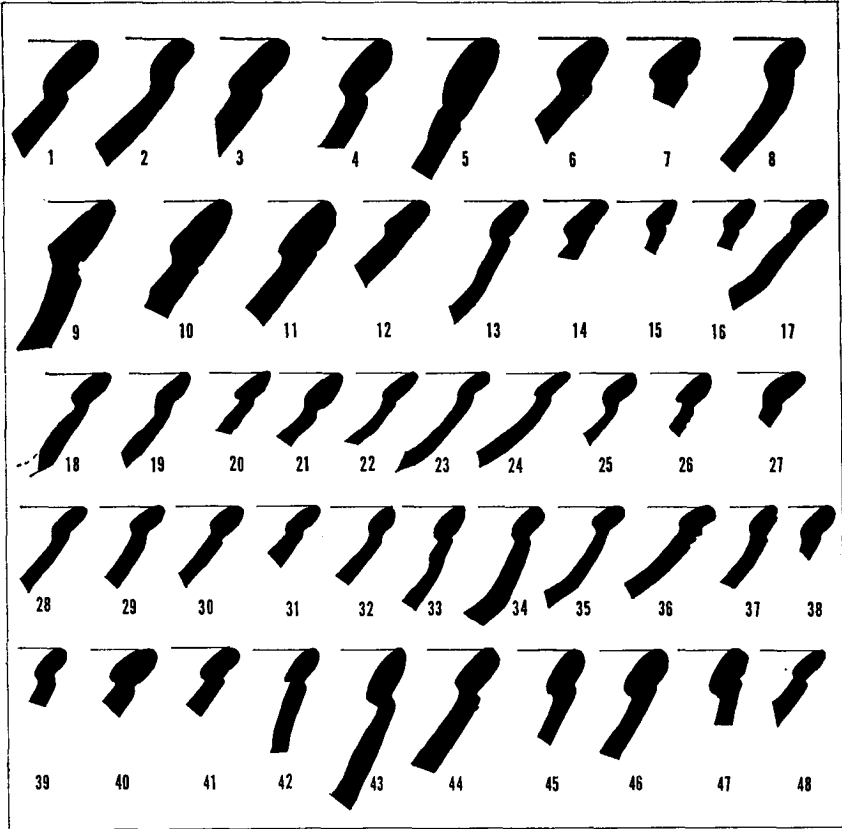
Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Selected Sherds (1/2 of original size)
(Photos: Orville V. Schneider)



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Selected Sherds (1/2 of original size)
(Photos: Orville V. Schneider)

Description of the Pottery of Plate I

Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
1	12547	47	Bo:1a	300+	crs.	av.			I,E,C-7.5YR 7/4
2	12093	47	Bo:1a	?	av.	met.	I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 5.5/6; R,C-7.5YR 7/4
3	12256	47	Bo:1a	300	fine	av.	I	RB 1,E	1-5YR 7/4; E-10YR 5/2; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray
4	11593	38	Bo:1a	340+	typ.	av.	I,E	RB 1	I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4
5	11215	24	Bo:1a	320	typ.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/6; C-dark gray
6	12554	47	Bo:1a	?	fine	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 5.5/6; R,C-7.5YR 7/4
7	11989	47	Bo:1a	400	fine	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	1(rim)-5YR 5/7; E-5YR 5/6; R,C-7.5YR 7/4
8	11956	45	Bo:1a	300	typ.	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	1-5YR 6/6; E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 5/6 (E-contrast. RB, black)
9	11308	24	Bo:1a	?	av. +	av.	I,E?	RB 1,E	I, E-5YR 4/6; C-gray
10	11434	36	Bo:1a	?	typ.	av.		RB 1,E	I, E-5YR 6/6; C-dark gray
11	11546	32	Bo:1a	320	crs.	av.	Maybe	RB 1,E	I,E-weathered, black remnants; C-gray; R-pink. (Temper ill-sorted)
12	11518	38	Bo:1a	215	typ.	av.		RB 1	I,R-7.5YR 6/4; E-5YR 6/6; C-small, gray
13	11812	39	Bo:1a	180	fine	met.	E,I(rim)	RB 1,E	I-7.5YR 6.5/4; E-red; C-dark gray
14	11851	44	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.		RB 1-rim	I,E-red; R,C-5YR 7/6
15	12021	45	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	E, I-r	RB 1-rim	1-5YR 7/4; E-red; C-light gray
16	11846	44	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	E, I?	RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 6/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-thin, light gray
17	11725	40	Bo:1a	220	typ.	met.		RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 6/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-thin vestigial light gray
18	11750	44	Bo:1a	?	crs.	hard	E, I?	CRB 1,E	Variiegated surf. 5YR 5/2 (?); C-dark gray (Sherd pocked, much temper)
19	11964	45	Bo:1a	200+	typ.	met.	E, I	RB 1,E	1-5YR 5/3; E-5YR 3/1; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-light gray
20	11965	45	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	E?	CRB 1,E	I-red; E-red; C-light gray (Contrast. burnish-black)
21	12714	49	Bo:1a	210	fine	av.		RB 1	I,E-orange-red; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray
22	12361	51	Bo:1a	?	typ.	met.			I,E-5YR 5/3; C-light gray (Sherd very rough, hard, altered?)
23	12710	49	Bo:1a	180	fine	met.	I?EP2cm	RB 1,E	I-10YR 6/2; E and interior of rim-red; C-dark gray; Ext. rind only
24	12358	51	Bo:1a	190	typ.	met.	I,E		I-pinkish gray; E-light gray; R-pink; C-gray
25	12130	44	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	I,E?	RB 1,E	I,E-7.5YR 7/4; C-light gray; thin rind. (Ext RB only on rim?)
26	11796	44	Bo:1a	?	fine	av.	I,E	RB 1	I,E-red; R,C-7.5YR 7/4 (no rind actually, R = original surface)
27	11850	44	Bo:1a		fine	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	1-5YR 7/8; E-redder than 1; O-5YR 8/6; C-5YR 8/6
28	12313	48	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	I,E?	RB 1,E	I-redder than E; E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 7/4
29	11759	39	Bo:1a	200	fine	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-10YR 3/1; R-pinkish gray; C-gray (Dark gray variety of slip)
30	12088	47	Bo:1a	200	typ.	met.			I,E,R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray
31	12129	49	Bo:1a	200?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-red; R-reddish; C-7.5YR 7/4
32	11970	45	Bo:1a	180	fine	met.	I,E?	RB 1,E	1-becomes gray; E-5YR 6/5; C-10YR 6/1 (temper uniquely fine)
33	12205	47	Bo:1a	200+	typ.	met.	I	RB 1,E	1-10YR 3/1; E-reddish gray to brown; C-light gray; ER-10YR 5/3
34	12402	47	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.		RB 1,E	1-lighter gray; E-darker gray reflecting core color gradation
35	11986	44	Bo:1a	?	typ.	met.	I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4
36	11988	44	Bo:1a	180	typ.	av.		RB 1,E	I,E,R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray. No rind on interior below lip of rim
37	11638	38	Bo:1a	170	typ.	av.	I,EP	RB rim	1-7.5YR 6/4; E-10YR 3/1 (bottom becomes brownish); C-gray
38	11837	44	Bo:1a	?	fine	av.			I,E,C-7.5YR 7/4
39	12079	47	Bo:1a		fine	av.		RB 1,E	1-10YR 6/1; E-black; C-7.5YR 4/0
40	12560	47	Bo:1a	300	typ.	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-quite red; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Highly burnished sherd)
41	12668	47	Bo:1a	200	fine	met.		RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 6/6; C-dark gray; thin rind
42	11605	38	Bo:1a	300	crs.	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	1,E-10YR 3/1; C-gray. (Dark gray variety of slip)
43	11601	38	Bo:1a	280	med.	av.		RB 1	1,E-5YR 6/4, C-dark gray (Top of rim painted white; I-CRB)
44	11955	45	Bo:1a	?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	1,E-10YR 3/1 to 4/1; R-7.5YR 7/2; C-slight. gray (Dark gray type slip)
45	11991	44	Bo:1a	?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB 1,E	E-5YR 5/1.5; C-gray; I-varied: top of rim red, rest of interior shows bands of greenish grays and browns. Ext. R only
46	11794	44	Bo:1a	?	typ.	av.		CRB 1,E	I, E,O-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray
47	11639	38	Bo:1a	280	typ.	av.		RB?	I,E-10YR 4/1; R-pink; C-gray (Sherd. smudged?)
48	12141	44	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.		RB 1,E	1,O-5YR 6/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Ext. changes color to 7.5YR 7/4 and gray)

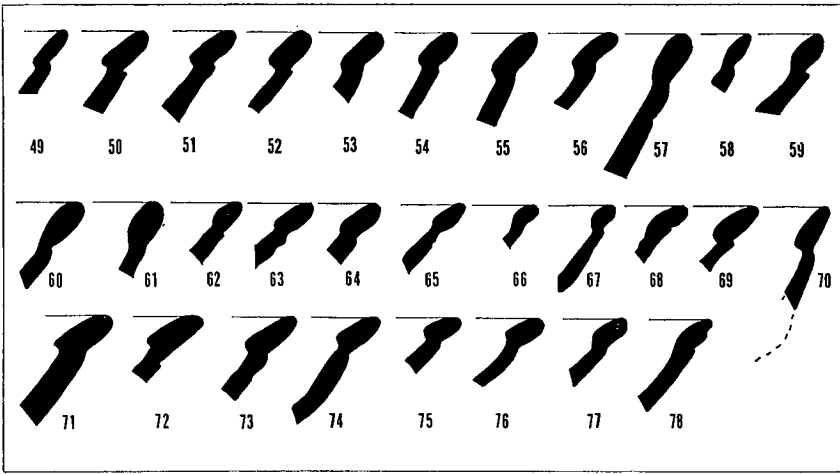


Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Nos. 1-48, Bowls (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate I

Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
49	11634	38	Bo: 1a	240	fine	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-red; C-gray
50	11967	45	Bo: 1a	300	crs.	av.			I,E,O-5YR 7/6; C-gray
51	12084	47	Bo: 1a	200	typ.	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-red; O and R-7.5YR 7/4; C-dark gray
52	12686	49	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.	I,E		Weathered, pink to darker shades, core dark gray, R-5YR 7/6
53	12277	47	Bo: 1a	240	typ.	av.		RB	I,R-5YR 6/6; E,C-7.5YR 7/4 (very little burnish)
54	12089	47	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	hard	E,rim	RB E,rim	1.7.5YR 7/4 except for lip of rim and core; E-red
55	12140	44	Bo: 1a		typ.	av.		RB I,E	I,E,R-5YR 7/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (mat surface, no luster)
56	11600	38	Bo: 1a	220	typ.	av.	I,F	RB I,E	I,F-5YR 5/6; O,C-7.5YR 7/4 (highly burnished)
57	12070	47	Bo: 1a	250	med	+ av.	I,F	CRB I	1-5YR 5/3; E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 7/4
58	12137	44	Bo: 1a	?	fine	av.	I??	RB E	1-red; E-7.5YR 6/4; C-gray, R-light brown
59	12304	44	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB I	Varied; 1-reddish brown to dark gray. E-mottled (5YR 5/3?) C-gray
60	12246	27	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.	E	CRB	Color see No. 45. (CRB not black. Dark gray variety ext. slip)
61	12306	44	Bo: 1a	?	fine	av.	?	RB	1,O-7.5YR 6/4; E-5YR 5.5/6; C-light gray
62	12004	44	Bo: 1a	?	fine	av.			I,E,O-7.5YR 7/4; C-medium gray
63	12058	45	Bo: 1a	?	fine	av.	I,E	RB I,E	1,E-red; C,O-7.5YR 7/4
64	12365	47	Bo: 1a	?	PS	av.		RB 1-rim	1,C-7.5YR 7/4; E-5YR 7/6
65	11998	44	Bo: 1a	?	fine	met.	??	RB I,E	1,E-5YR 5/6; O,C-5YR 7/6
66	(See number 67 for description—possibly from same vessel)								
67	11931	45	Bo: 1a	170	fine	met.		RB I,E	1-black to dark gray; C-light gray; E-5YR 5.5/4 (Interior charred?)
68	11822	43	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.	Rim, E	RB I,E	1-7.5YR 7/4; E-red; rim interior-red; core wholly oxidized
69	11751	39	Bo: 1a	?	fine	met.	I,E	RB, I,E	1,E-red; C,O-7.5YR 7/4-5
70	12707	49	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.		RB	1,E-5YR 5/6; C-light gray
71	12082	47	Bo: 1a	400?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB I,E	1,E-red; R-7.5YR 7/6; C-dark gray (CRB on interior—black)
72	12492	53	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB I + rim	1,E-5YR 5/2; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray
73	12128	44	Bo: 1a	?	fine	av.	I,E	CRB E + rim	1,E-5YR 5.5/6; R-5YR 7/6; gray core only partially retained
74	12334	49	Bo: 1a	?	typ.	av.	I,E	RB I,E	1-10YR 3/2; E-7.5YR 5/6; C-dark gray; R-pink
75	12388	47	Bo: 1a	210	fine	av.			1,E,O,C-5YR 7/4
76	12459	52	Bo: 1a	200	typ.	av.		RB I	1,E,C-5YR 6.5/4
77	12005	47	Bo: 1a	?	fine	met.		RB I,E	1,E,C-10YR 6/1.5
78	12127	44	Bo: 1a	190	typ.	met.	I,E	RB I	1,E-dark red; C-gray; R-7.5YR 7/4

PLATE IA

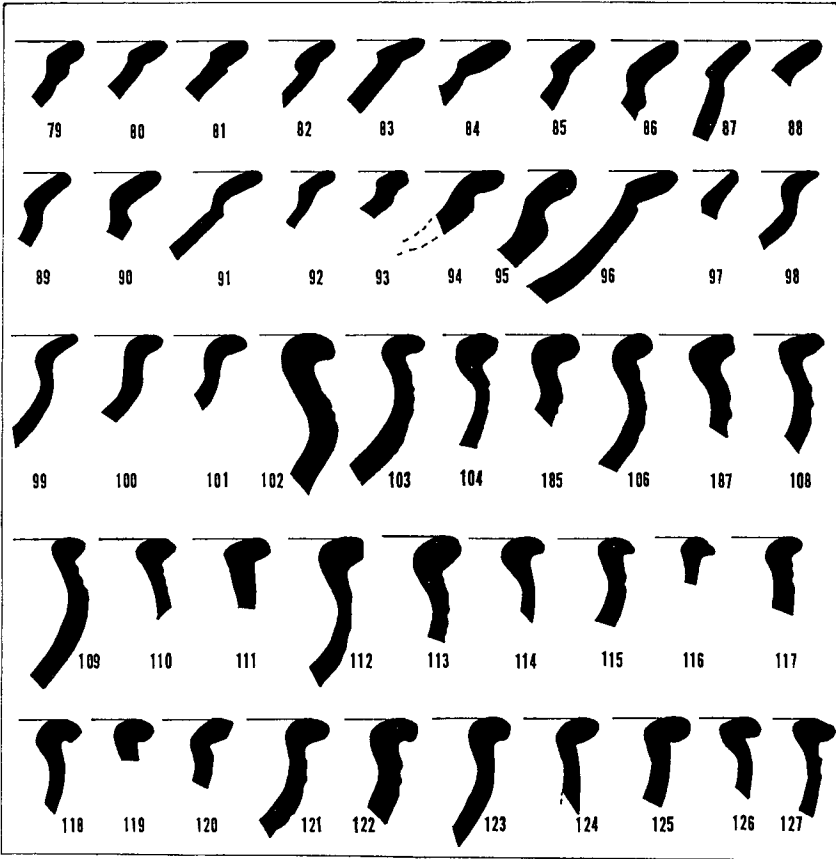


Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Nos. 49-78, Bowls (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate II

Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
79	12302	44	Bo:1a	?	typ.	av.		RB I,E	I-5YR 6/5; E-5YR 6/5; O-5YR 6/5; C-7.5YR 4/0
80	11735	43	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 5/6; C,O-7.5YR 7/4
81	12685	40	Bo:1a	?	typ.	av.			I,E,C-7.5YR 7/3
82	11730	43	Bo:1a	?	fine	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-red; R-red, C-7.5YR 8/4
83	12382	47	Bo:1a	?	fine	hard	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-reddish brown; R-7.5YR 7/4; thin light gray color
84	12316	48	Bo:1a	?	typ.	hard	I,E	RB slight	I,E-red; C-gray; R-pink
85	11758	39	Bo:1a	240	fine	met.		RB I,E	I,E-7.5YR 2/0; C-2.5Y 6.5/0 (highly burnished, continuous on rim)
86	12008	47	Bo:1a	?	typ.	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 4/6 (slightly redder than this); O,C-7.5YR 7/4. Very burn.
87	12588	53	Bo:1a	240	fine	av.	I,E?	RB	Weathered, pecked. Core-2.5Y 8/2 (dark gray variety slip on rim)
88	12413	47	Bo:1a	210	fine	hard	E,I	RB I,E	I,E-black, C-dark gray. (Highly burnished, continuous)
89	12467	53	Bo:1a	240	fine	av.	I,E	RB, cont.	I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4
90	12370	47	Bo:1b	?	fine	av.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Highly burnished, cont. on rim at least)
91	11440	30	Bo:1b	?	fine	hard		RB I,E	I,E-black; C-7.5YR 4/0 (Continuous burnishing)
92	12460	52	Bo:1b	210	fine	met.		RB on rim	I-7.5YR 7/4; E-7.5YR 6/4, C-dark gray; R-light brown on ext.
93	12574	47	Bo:1b	?	fine	av.		RB I,E	I,E-5YR 7/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-thin, light gray. (CRB on exterior)
94	11433	30	Bo:2	180	typ.	av.			I,E,O-7.5YR 7/4; C-dark gray
95	12580	53	Bo:3	?	(See number 88 for description)				
96	11315	24	Bo:4	240	typ.	hard		RB I,E	I,E,O-5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0 (surface rough, no luster, crude)
97	11990	44	Bo:4	?	fine	hard	I,E	RB cont.	I,E-5YR 4/6; R-5YR 6/6; C-thin and gray
98	12126	44	Bo:5	150	crs.	soft	I,E		I,E-10YR 7/1.5; C-7.5YR 7/4 (ware like jugs and jars. "GGP")
99	12371	47	Bo:5	160	fine	av.		RB I,E	I,E-reddish orange; R-5YR 7/4; C-5YR 6/6
100	12206	47	Bo:5	230	typ.	av.		RB I,E	I,E, C-10YR 7/3; center of core slightly gray
101	12638	53	Bo:5	170	crs.	av.	?	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 4.5/1; C-2.5Y 5/0 (Much pocking of surface)
102	11809	30	Bo:6	300	med.	av.		slight	I,E,R-7.5YR 6/4; C-dark gray (Ribbing on ext. Pocked surf.)
103	12372	47	Bo:6	260	(See 102 for description)				
104	11793	44	Bo:6	210	typ.	av.		RB I,E	I,E-5YR 6/4; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Well-burnished)
105	11923	45	Bo:6	260	med.	av.		RB I,E	Color same as number 102
106	12681	49	Bo:6	260					
107	12595	53	Bo:6	?	(See 130 for description—maybe same vessel?)				(Possible slip on interior and top of rim)
108	12546	47	Bo:6	260	(See 128 for description)				
109	11953	45	Bo:6	300	fine	av.	I,E?	RB I,E	I-red and down to ext. shoulder; E-7.5YR 6/4; C-7.5YR 7/2
110	12022	45	Bo:6	?	crs.	av.			1-10YR 7/2; C-2.5Y 4/0; E-thin light gray film (ribbed surface)
111	12301	44	Bo:6	280	typ.	av.			E-5YR 6/4; I-redder than exterior; R-5YR 7/6; C-thin, gray
112	11426	30	Bo:6	260	typ.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/3.5; R-5YR 6/6; C-dark gray
113	12705	40	Bo:6	260	typ.	E		RB I,rim	1-7.5YR 3.5/0; E-7.5YR 7.5/4 or 10YR 7/3; C-7.5YR 4.5/0; Ext rim
114	12290	44	Bo:6	260	(See 102 for description)				
115	12019	45	Bo:6	?	typ.	av.	I,E		I,E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/6
116	11034	45	Bo:6	?	med.	av.	E,rim	RB,rim	I,E-red; R-7.5YR 7.5/4; C-7.5YR 7/5; vestigial gray core
117	11963	45	Bo:6	260	med.	light			I-red; E-7.5YR 6/4; R-7.5YR 7/6; thin gray core
118	11927	45	Bo:6	?	med.	av.		RB E,rim	I-5YR 6.5/4; E and rim-5YR 5/6; R-7.5YR 7.5/5; gray core
119	12676	49	Bo:6	?	(See 105 for description)				
120	11962	45	Bo:6	?	(See 102 for description)				
121	11830	47	Bo:6	260	fine	av.		RB I,E	I,E-7.5YR 7/4; C-medium gray (Cont. Burnishing int.)
122	11836	44	Bo:6	260	(See 102 for description)				
123	12657	55	Bo:6	280	(See 102 for description)				
124	12359	47	Bo:6	260	(See 102 for description)				
125	12261	47	Bo:6	?	med.	av.			I,E,R-7.5YR 6/4; C-medium gray (No ribbing)
126	12010	40	Bo:6	?	med.	av.		Slight?	E-7.5YR 7/4; I-redder than exterior; R-5YR 7/6
127	12321	48	Bo:6	?	typ.	av.		RB rim, I,E	I,E,R-10YR 5/1; C-2.5Y 5/0 (Exterior RB very limited)

PLATE II

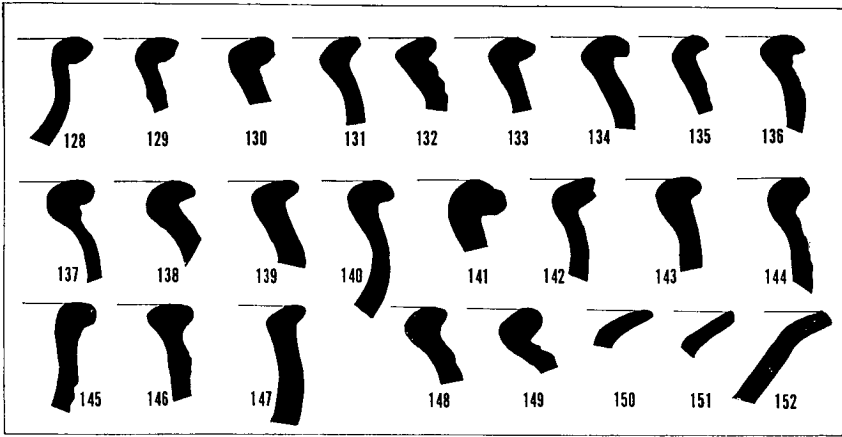


Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Nos. 79-127, Pawns (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate II

Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
128	12380	47	Bo:6	?	(See 102 for description)				
129	12152	44	Bo:6	260	(See 126 for description)				
130	12587	53	Bo:6	?	med. av.		1, rim	RB 1,E	I-red; E-7.5YR 7/4; C-7.5YR 7.5/4
131	12199	47	Bo:6	260	med. av.			RB,rim	1,E,R-7.5YR 6/4; C-dark gray
132	12303	44	Bo:6	290	med. av.			RB,rim	1,E-7.5YR 7/4 (interior slightly darker); R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray
133	11795	44	Bo:6	300	typ. av.			RB,rim,E	1,E,R-7.5YR 6/4; very little core
134	12050	45	Bo:6	?	typ. av.		1,E	Slight?	E-7.5YR 7/4; 1-redder than ext.; R-5YR 7/6
135	12261	47	Bo:6	?	PS	av.			1-10YR 6/2; E-5YR 7/6; Ext. Rind-5YR 7/6
136	12679	49	Bo:6	(See 102 for description)					
137	11430	36	Bo:6	240	med. av.			RB,rim	1,E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray
138	12148	44	Bo:6	260	fine av.			RB, rim	1,E-red; R-7.5YR 7.5/4 to 8/5; Thick rind and light gray core
139	11513	38	Bo:6	260	fine av.			RB 1,E	1,E-red;R-7.5YR 7.5/4 to 8/5; R-thick; C-7.5YR 7/5
140	12202	47	Bo:6	260	med.+av.		1,E	Slight?	1,E-10YR 7/2 or 6.5/2; R-5YR 7/6; C-2.5Y 6/0
141	11435	36	Bo:6	300	med.+av.		1,E		1-10YR 7/2; E-10YR 8/1; C-7.5YR 7/2
142	12083	47	Bo:6	220	fine av.			RB 1,E	1,E-10YR 8/3; C-7.5YR 8/4
143	11826	43	Bo:6	260	fine av.			RB 1,E	1,E-red; fairly thick red rind; C-7.5YR 8/4
144	11457	38	Bo:6	250	med. av.				1-reddish gray but close to 7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray
145	11756	39	Bo:6	?	med. av.		E,rim	RB 1,E	I-red; E-7.5YR 7/4; C-7.5YR 7.5/4 (Not well burnished)
146	12586	53	Bo:6?	?	(See 142 for description)				
147	11035	45	Bo:6	300	typ. av.			RB 1,E	1,E,R-5YR 6/4; dark gray core. (Poorly, sparsely burnished)
148	11565	40	Bo:6?	170	typ. hard		1,E		1,E-10YR 7.5/3; Ext. Rind-5YR 7/6; dark gray core. (Finger mark)
149	11636	38	Bo:6?	160	fine hard			RB 1,rim	1,E,C-7.5YR 7.5/4
150	12263	39	Bo:7	?	fine hard				1-5YR 7/4; E-7.5YR 7/4
151	11508	40	Bo:7	?	fine hard				1,E-7.5YR 6/4 (grayer than this, hard to match "gray-brown")
152	12048	47	Bo:7	200	med. hard			RB 1,E	1-10YR 6/1.5; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; Ext. R- 7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0

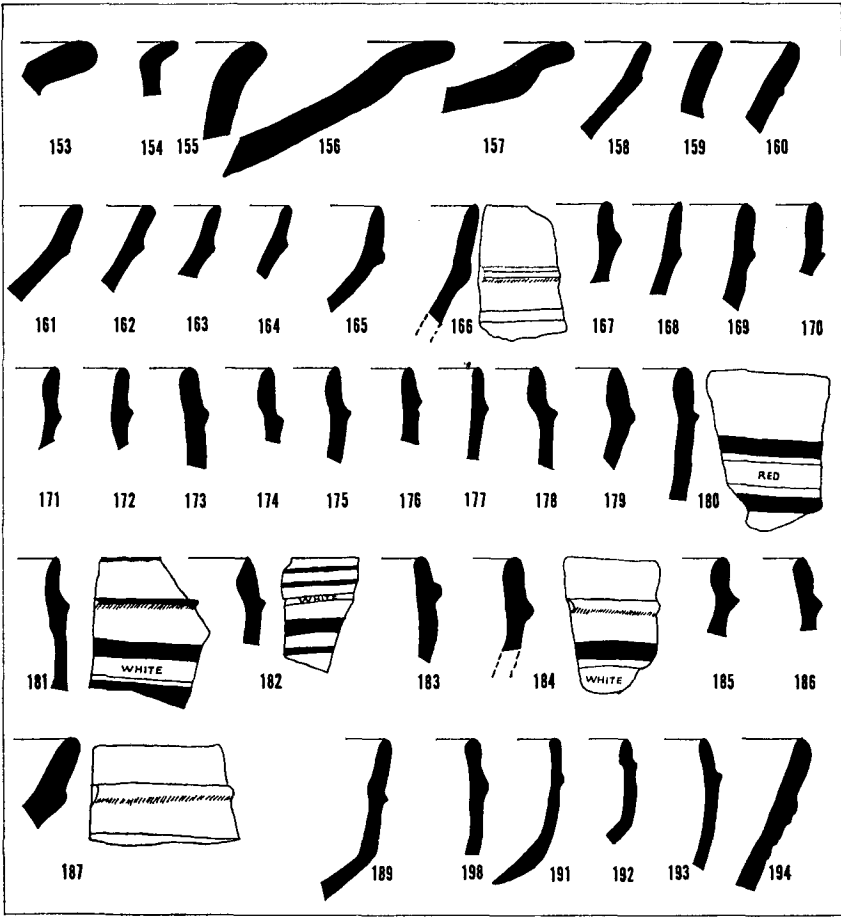
PLATE IIA



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Nos. 128-152, Bowls (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate III

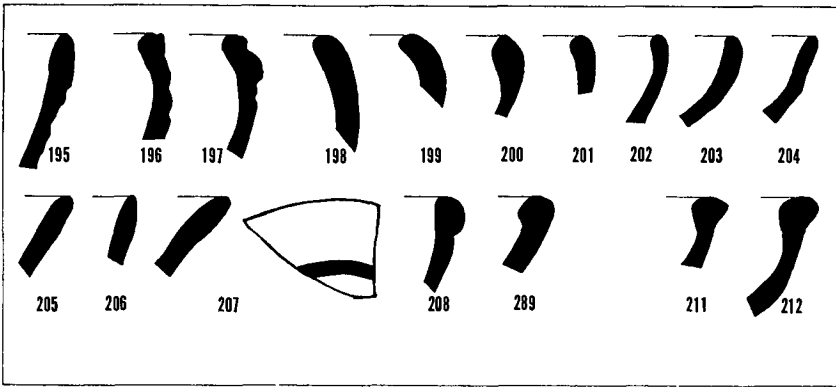
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
153	11776	41	Bo: 8	230	med.	soft			I,E-5YR 7/4; C-10YR 7/3; (sherd feels chalky)
154	12600	53	Bo: 9	140	fine	av.		RB I,E	Black ware
155	12133	44	Bo: 10	?	med.	av.		RB I,E	I,E-orange-red; C-7.5YR 7/6 (surface rough and crude)
156	11209	24	Bo: 11	?	crs.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/4; C-dark gray
157	11971	45	Bo: 12	?	typ.	av.	E		1-10YR 5/2; E-10YR 7/3; C-dark gray; thin pink rinds
158	12651	55	Bo: 13a	160	fine	hard		RB I,E	I,E,R-orange; C-7.5YR 7/4 (surface blotched)
159	12493	47	Bo: 13a	?	typ.	av.	I?		I,E-7.5YR 6/4; sherd same color throughout, no core
160	12271	47	Bo: 13a	?	(See 169 for description)				
161	11544	32	Bo: 13a	180	typ.	met.	I,E-rim?	RB I,E	I,E; and O-orange; C-7.5YR 7/4; thin gray core
162	11219	24	Bo: 13a	?	fine	hard	E	CRB I(blk.)	I-red; E-5YR 4/1; R-5YR 7/6; C-medium gray
163	12134	44	Bo: 13a	150	fine	met.	I,E?	CRB	1-5YR 6/6; E-5YR 6/6 below rib; above rib dark; C-gray; rinds
164	11858	44	Bo: 13a	190	(See 192 for description)				
165	11612	40	Bo: 13a	230?	fine	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 4/1; C-lighter gray than surface
166	12040	45	Bo: 13a	150?	fine	met.	I,E?	RB I,E	1-7.5YR 6/4; E-orange; R-7.5YR 6.5/4 (Blk. & white paint bands ext.)
167	11849	44	Bo: 13a	?	(See 161 for description)				
168	12000	44	Bo: 13a	?	fine	met.	I, E?	RB I,E	I,E, O-orange and mottled red; C-7.5YR 7/4
169	1226?	47	Bo: 13a	200	fine	hard		sketchy	I,E,O-orange; C-7.5YR 7/4 (blotches of yellow on surface)
170	12055	45	Bo: 13a	?	fine	hard	I,E	CRB I(blk.)	I-red; E-5YR 4/1; R-5YR 7/6; C-medium gray
171	12131	44	Bo: 13a	?	fine	hard	I,E	CRB	I-red; E-also red but not as dark; C-dark gray (blk. CRB)
172	11368	31	Bo: 13b	?	med.	hard	I,E		I,E,O-orange; C-gray shading to pink
173	12395	47	Bo: 13b	220	(See 169 for description)				
174	11999	44	Bo: 13b	220	typ.	met.	I,E?	RB I-rim, E	I,E,O-orange; C-7.5YR 7/4; thin gray core
175	11815	39	Bo: 13b	200	med.	av.	I		I-reddish brown; E-mottled various shades of brown; C-7.5YR 7/4
176	11842	44	Bo: 13b	200	fine	met.		RB I,E	I,E-5YR 5.5/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-dark gray
177	11841	44	Bo: 13b	180	fine	met.		RB I,E	Smudged, probably 5YR 5.5/6 int. and ext.; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray
178	12136	44	Bo: 13b	170	(See 195 for description)				
179	12052	45	Bo: 13b?	130	fine	met.			Dark gray to blackish. Mottled. (Ware different. Intrusive?)
180	11752	39	Bo: 13b	200	fine	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I-red; E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Blk., red, painted bands on ext.)
181	11848	44	Bo: 13b	180	fine	met.	I,E	RB I-rim, E	I,E-red; R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray (Blk. & white painted bands ext.)
182	11928	45	Bo: 13b	?	fine	hard	I, E	CRB E (blk.)	1-5YR 5/6; R-7.5YR 6/4; C-dark gray; exterior surface badly blotched. (White painted band above rib on exterior)
183	11561	40	Bo: 13b	190	fine	met.	I,E	RB	I,E-red; C-medium gray; R-5YR 7/6 (Blk., white painted bands)
184	12209	47	Bo: 13b	220	fine	hard	I,E	RB E	I-orange; E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Blk., white bands of paint-ext.)
185	11814	39	Bo: 13b	200	med.	av.			I,E,O-orange; C-gray shading to pink
186	11647	38	Bo: 13b	190	med.	hard	I?		E-7.5YR 6/4; I-bit redder than ext.; C-dark gray
187	12051	45	Bo: 13c	300	typ.	av.		RB I,E	I,E-5YR 6/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; very little core. (Blk., red paint)
189	11432	36	Bo: 13c	120	fine	hard			I,E-orange; C-2.5Y 6/0; no rinds
190	11620	37	Bo: 13c	160	(see 193 for description)				
191	12690	49	Bo: 13c	103	(see 192 for description)				
192	12275	47	Bo: 13c	160	fine	met.	I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 5.5/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-dark gray
193	11529	38	Bo: 13c	?	fine	hard		RB I,E	I,E-reddish orange; C-light gray
194	11456	38	Bo: 13f	190	fine	hard	I,E	CRB I,E	I-red; E-5YR 5.5/6; R-5YR 7/6, C-gray (Blk painted bands)



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos. 153-194, Jars (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate III

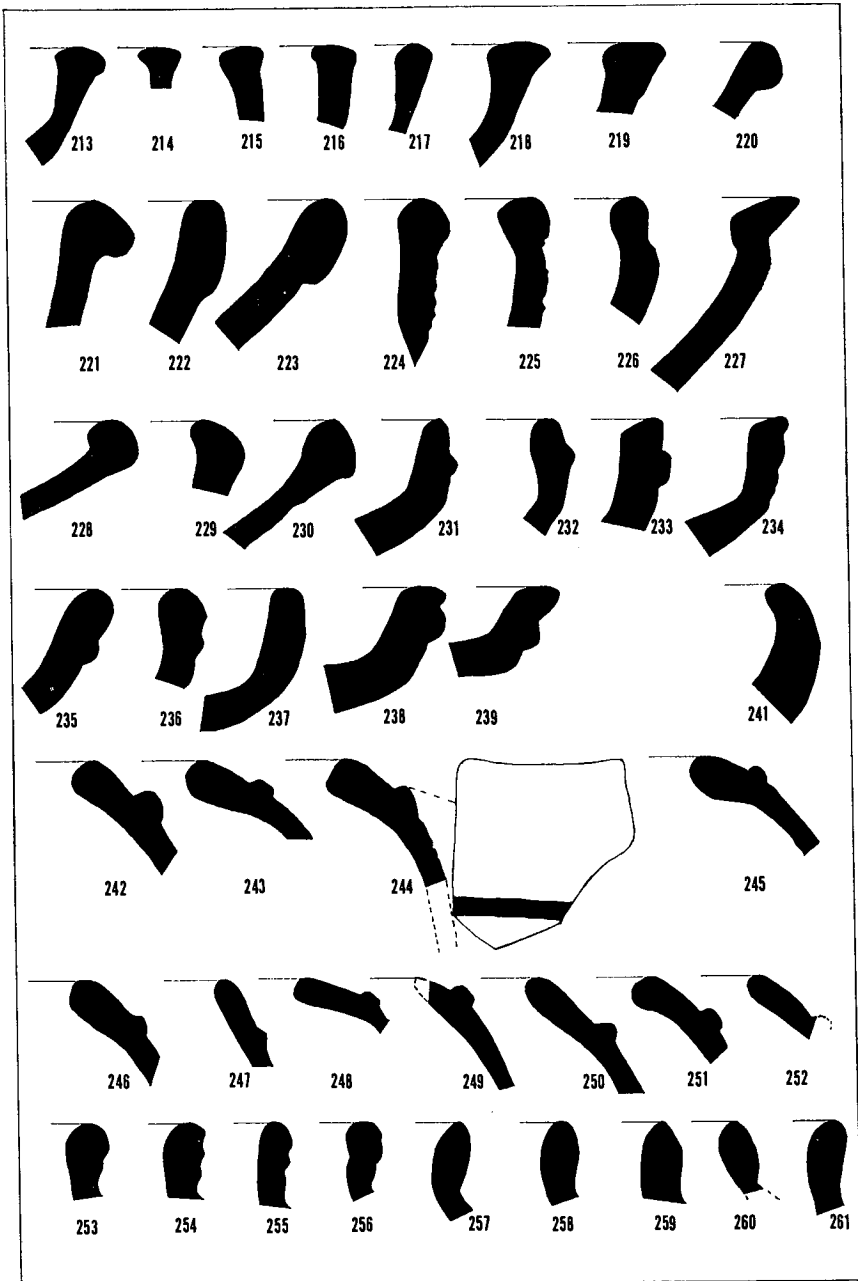
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments	
195	11932	45	Bo:13f	190	fine	hard	1,E	C/RB 1,E	1,E-5YR 4.5/3; R-5YR 6/4; C-2.5Y 6/0	
196	11372	31	Bo:14a	225	fine	av.			1,E,0-7.5YR 7/4; thin gray core remains	
197	12458	52	Bo:14b	180	fine	hard	1,E	Cont RB 1,E	1,E-orange-red; C-7.5YR 7/4	
198	12593	53	Bo:14c	100	med.	av.	E		1-10YR 6/2; E-10YR 7/3; Ext. R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0	
199	12584	53	Bo:14c	90	med.	av.	E,I		1-10YR 7/3; E-10YR 7/3; Ext. R-7.5YR 7/4 (also int.) C-gray	
200	11711	42	Bo:14c	180	med.	av.	E		1,E-10YR 7/2; C-2.5Y 5/0	
201	12655	55	Bo:14c	140	med.	hard	1,E		1,E-10YR 7/3; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 4/0	
202	12712	49	Bo:14c	145	(description similar to 254)					
203	11436	36	Bo:14c	190	(similar to number 200 otherwise)					
204	11390	31	Bo:15a	180	med.	av.			1,E-5YR 7/4; reddish-yellow rinds; gray core remains	
205	12596	53	Bo:15b	180	fine	met.	1,E	Cont RB 1,E	1-5YR 4/2; E-5YR 4/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; gray core remains	
206	11824	43	Bo:15h	?	fine	met.	1,E ?	RB 1, E- rim	1,E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 7/4	
207	12135	44	Bo:16	120	med.	hard			1,E-10YR 7/3; C-7.5YR 7/4 (black painted band-ext.)	
208	12711	49	Bo:17a	?	med.	av.		RB 1,E	7.5YR 7/4 throughout sherd	
209	11819	43	Bo:17a	340	med.	av.	E		1-10YR 7/3; E-10YR 7/3; Ext. R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0	
211	12650	55	Bo:17b	220	fine	av.	1,E	RB 1,E	1,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4 (continuous burnish- ing, lustrous)	
212	12337	49	Bo:17b	240	med.	av.		RB 1,E	1,E-5YR 6/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (closely bur- nished)	



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
Nos. 195-212, Jars (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate IV

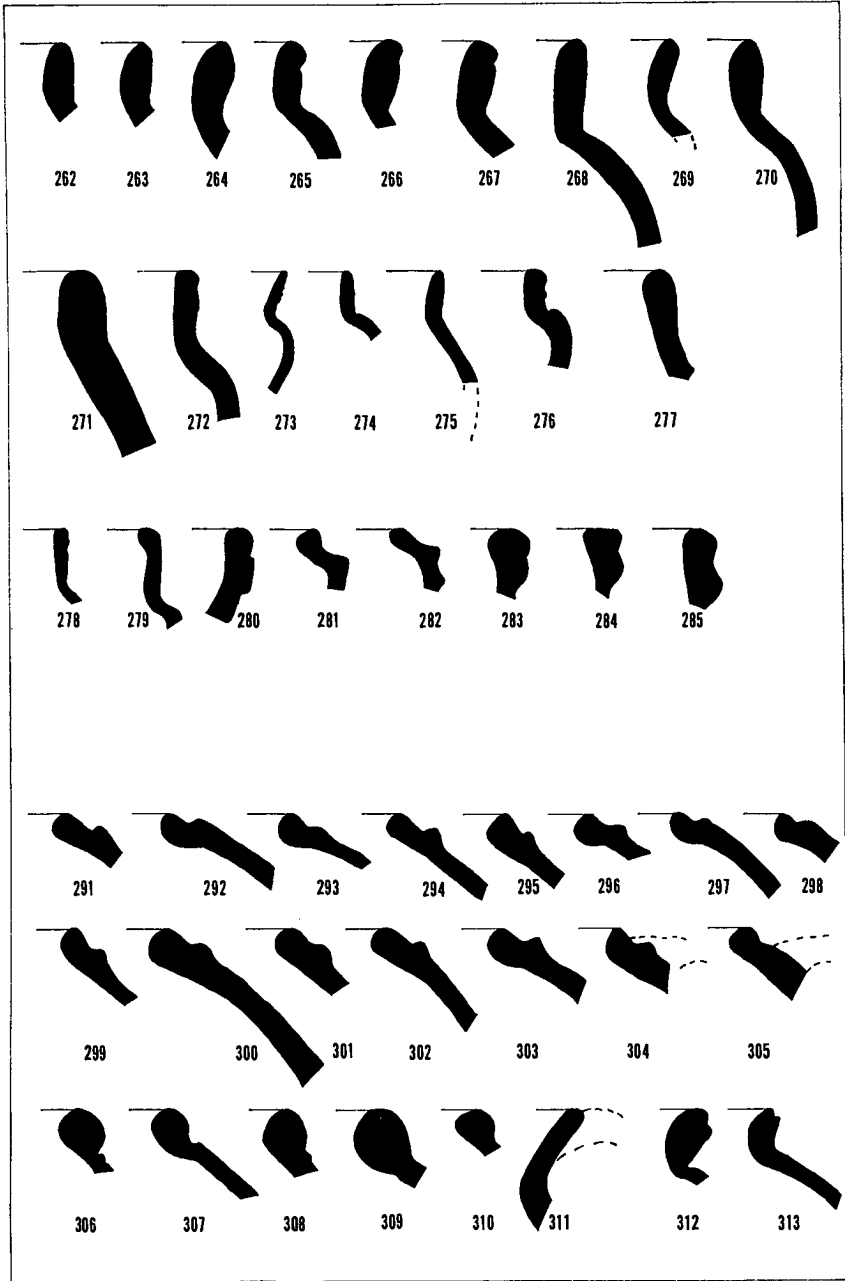
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
213	12470	47	Bo:17b	230	med. av.			RB 1,E	I,E,O-7.5YR 6.5/4; C-2.5Y 5/0
214	11437	36	Bo:17b	275	med. av.		I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 5/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (closely burnished, lustrous)
215	12470	53	Bo:17b	?	med. av.		I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 7/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (closely burnished)
216	11210	24	Bo:17b	?	crs. av.		I,E ?		I,E-7.5YR 6/2 to 6/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-gray ("Slip" may be bloom)
217	11843	44	Bo:17b	300	med. av.			RB 1,E	7.5YR 7/4 throughout sherd
218	12702	49	Bo:17b	?	med. av.		E	RB 1,E	1-10YR 7/3; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; C-2.5Y 5/0
219	11728	40	Bo:17b	300	med. av.		E,1	RB 1,E	I,E-10YR 7/2; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0
220	11611	40	Bo:18	300	med. av.				I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; 2.5Y 4/0 dark gray core
221	12006	47	Bo:19	300	crs.		I,E	RB 1	I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; C-2.5Y 4/0; R-5YR 6/6
222	11534	31	Bo:20a	480	med. av.				1-light gray; E-7.5YR 6.5/3; Ext. R-7.5YR 7/4; C-dark gray
223	11318	24	Bo:20b	300	med. av.				1-7.5YR 8/6; E-10YR 7/3; C-dark gray (Similar to jar type 1)
224	11538	31	Bo:21	320	(Similar to number 396 otherwise—				interior perhaps a bit redder)
225	11505	40	Bo:21	300	med. hard				1-7.5YR 6/4; E—similar, not as red; C-grayish. (Ware diff.?)
226	11519	38	Bo:22	?	typ. av.		I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4
227	11491	31	Bo:23	410	(See 396 for description)				
228	11463	38	Bo:24	300	(See 396 for description)				
229	12549	47	Bo:24	350	typ. av.		E		I,R-7.5YR 8/6; E-10YR 8/2; C-dark gray
230	11708	42	Bo:24	300	(see 396 for description)				
231	11813	39	Bo:25	250	med. soft		I,E	RB ?	I,E-red; R(thick)-7.5YR 7/4; C-light gray (surf. weathered)
232	11438	36	Bo:25	275	(see 231, definitely no RB however)				
233	12351	47	Bo:25	?	med. av.		I,E	RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 5/3; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0
234	11847	44	Bo:25	300+	typ. av.		I,E		1-10YR 8/3; E-similar to interior; R-5YR 7/6
235	11613	37	Bo:25	320	crs. soft		I,E		I,E-5YR 4/1; C-7.5YR 6/4 (weathered. Dark gray slip)
236	11646	38	Bo:25	230 ?	(see 235 for description)				
237	12379	47	Bo:25	340	typ. av.		I,E		I,E-10YR 7/2; C-dark gray
238	12385	47	Bo:25	?	typ. av.				1-10YR 3/1; E-7.5YR 6/4; C-gray. (Black blotches)
239	11789	41	Bo:25	?	med. av.			RB 1,E	I,E-5YR 5/6; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0
241	11738	43	Bo:25	?	med. av.		E ?		1-5YR 7/4; E-10YR 6/2; C-2.5Y 5/0
242	11827	43	Bo:26	300	(see 243; no painting evident on this sherd however)				
243	11517	38	Bo:26	280	med. av.				I,E-5YR 6/4; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 5/0 (Blk. painted band-ext.)
244	11937	45	Bo:26	350	med. hard		E		1-10YR 6/1; E-10YR 8/3; ext. R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 5/0 (This sherd has painted black bands-ext; and ribbing)
245	11810	39	Bo:26	275	(see 243 for description—no painting on ext. however)				
246	11966	45	Bo:26	?	(see 243 for description—no painting evident)				
247	11993	44	Bo:26	300	(see 243 for description)				
248	12700	49	Bo:26	?	fine hard		I,E	RB	I,E-red; R-5YR 6/6; gray core
249	11462	38	Bo:26	?	(see 251 for description)				
250	11617	37	Bo:26	320	med. av.		I,E		I,E-red; C-gray; R-reddish-yellow (Blk. cross painted over knob of knob and bar handle; also white paint on top of rim with traces of black)
251	11520	38	Bo:26	250	med. av.		E ?		1-5YR 6/4; E-pale gray; 10-5YR 6/6; C-gray (bands of paint)
252	12060	45	Bo:26	?	(see 243 for description—no painting)				
253	12080	47	Bo:27a	375	med. hard		I,E ?	RB 1,E	1-7.5YR 6.5/4; E-5YR 6/6; R,C-7.5YR 7/4
254	12649	55	Bo:27a	210	med. av.				I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0
255	12268	47	Bo:27a	300	med. av.				I,E-5YR 7/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6.5/0
256	11211	24	Bo:27a	?	med. av.		I,E	RB 1,E	1-5YR 5/6; E-7.5YR 4/2, C-gray; R-5YR 6/6 (closely RB)
257	12063	45	Bo:27b	?	med. av.		I,E ?	Cont RB 1,E	I,E-7.5YR 6/6; C-7.5YR 7/4
258	11844	44	Bo:27b	200+	med. av.			Slight 1,E	I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; No core
259	12315	48	Bo:27b	300	med. soft		I,E	Burnished	I,E-red; 7.5YR 8/6 rims and core
260	12387	47	Bo:27b	280 ?	(see 254 for description)				
261	12145	44	Bo:27b	300+	med. av.		I,E	RB ? weathered	I,E-red; R-7.5YR 8/6; C-2.5Y 5/0



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos. 213-261, Bowls (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate V

Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
262	12149	44	Bo:27b	?	(see 263 for description)				
263	12398	44	Bo:27b	240	med.	hard	I,E	spotty	I,E-reddish orange; R-5YR 7/4; C-7.5YR 7/4
264	12288	47	Bo:27b	?	med.	hard	I,E	RB 1	I,E-reddish orange; R-5YR 7/4; very slight gray core
265	12399	47	Bo:27b	200	(see 267 for description)				
266	12153	44	Bo:27b	200	(see 267 for description)				
267	12556	47	Bo:27b	190	med.	av.			I,E,O-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0; (surface color varies)
268	12602	53	Bo:27b	220	med.	soft			I-5YR 6.5/4; E-red; C-5YR 6/5
269	11391	31	Bo:27b	150	med.	av.			I,E-10YR 5/1; no rinds; C-2.5Y 5/0
270	11425	36	Bo:27b	?	crs.	av.			I,E,C-7.5YR 6.5/5
271	11823	43	Bo:27b	?	crs.	av.			I,E-10YR 6.5/1.5; R-7.5YR 7/6; C-2.5Y 5/0
272	11428	36	Bo:27b	270	med.	hard	I,E	Cont RB I,E	I,E-reddish orange; R-5YR 7/4; C-7.5YR 7/4
273	12485	53	Bo:28	130	fine	met.		RB I,E	I,E-7.5YR 6/4; C-2.5Y 4/0 (very fine temper)
274	12594	53	Bo:29	150	fine	hard	I,E	Close RB I,E	I,E-reddish orange; R-5YR 7/4; C-7.5YR 7/4
275	12143	44	Bo:27b	?	(see 272 for description)				
276	11312	24	Bo:30	310	med.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 6/3; C-gray
277	12637	53	Bo:31	300	med.	+ av.			I,E-5YR 7/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0
278	12473	53	M:1a	55	fine	av.			I,E,C-10YR 7/3
279	12132	44	M:1b	60	med.	av.			I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4
280	12562	47	Tc:1	?	PS	av.		E??	I-7.5YR 6.5/4; E-10YR 5.5/1.5; C-thin, gray; R-7.5YR 7/4
281	12322	48	Tc:2	120	fine	av.			Orange-pink throughout
282	11442	36	Tc:3	300?	med.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-2.5Y 5/0
283	12091	47	Tc:4	280	med.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 7/5; R-7.5YR 7/6
284	12598	53	Tc:4	240	med.	av.			RB I,E
285	12636	53	Tc:4	?	(see 283 for description)				
291	12480	53	P:1a	120	fine	friable		RB I,E	I-black; E-5YR 7/6; C-very dark gray
292	11516	38	P:1a	100?	(see 291 for description)				
293	11760	39	P:1a	130	(see 291, exterior dark because smudged by use)				
294	12689	49	P:1a	120	(see 291; this sherd differs only in having a slight core not fully oxidized so still grayish)				
295	11852	44	P:1a	150	(see 291; smudged by use)				
296	12690	47	P:1a	120?	(see 291)				
297	12101	47	P:1a	120?	(see 291)				
298	11968	45	P:1a	?	(see 291)				
299	12311	48	P:1a	140	(see 291—this sherd slightly drabber in color)				
300	11987	44	P:1a	140	(see 291; smudged by use)				
301	12108	47	P:1a	?	(see 291)				
302	12056	45	P:1a	?	(see 291; these type 1a pots are all very similar. Basic color is orange to reddish orange. Exterior color depends mainly on amount of smudging due to use)				
303	12682	49	P:1a	?	(see 291)				
304	12323	48	P:1a	110	(see 291)				
305	11948	45	P:1a	?	(see 291)				
306	11717	42	P:1b	130	(see 291)				
307	11950	45	P:1b	110	(see 291)				I,E-5YR 4.5/1; C-5YR 4.5/1; R-5YR 7/8
308	12362	51	P:1c	?	(see 291)				
309	11458	38	P:1c	300?	fine	friable			I,E-5YR 6/4; C-5YR 6/6 (Temper contains some carbonates too)
310	11610	40	P:1c	110	(see 291)				
311	11377	31	P:2a	?	(see 291) sherd has orange surface then a darker rind and below rind an orange core				
312	11563	40	P:2b	120	(see 291)				
313	11369	31	P:2b	?	(see 291) sherd not quite as friable and has less quartz temper than most other potsherds				

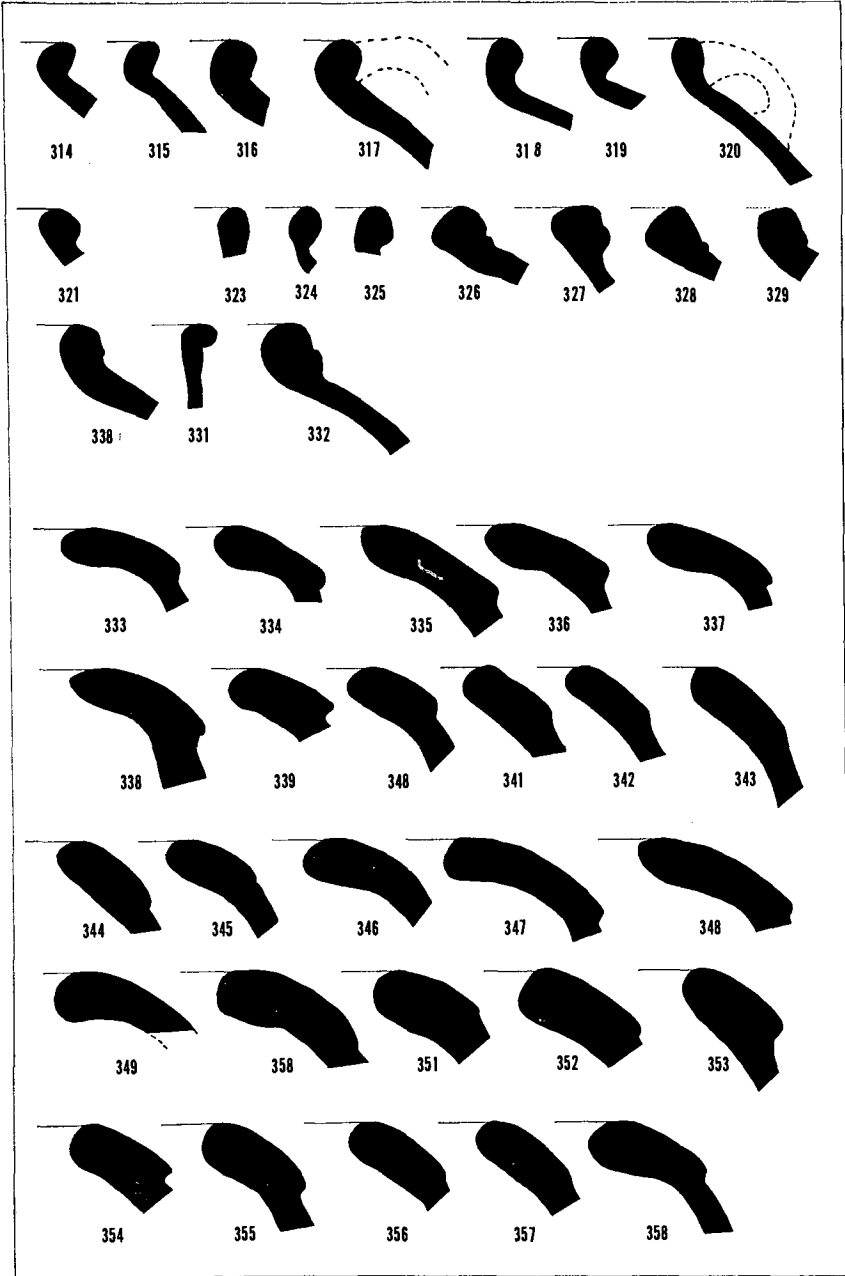


Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon

Nos. 262-277, Bowls; 278-279, Mugs; 280-285, Tripod Cups; 291-313,
Cooking Pots (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate VI

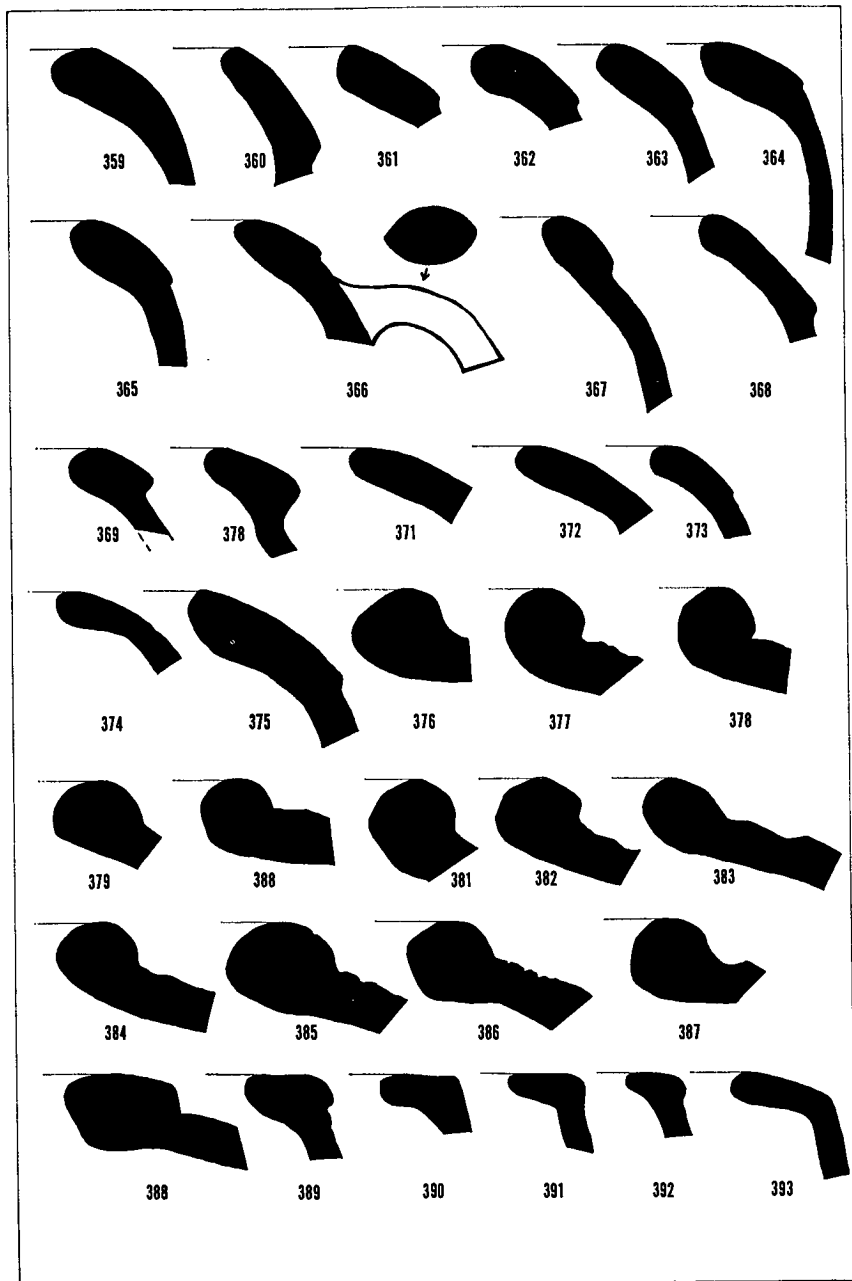
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
314	11317	24	P:2c	?	(see 291)		exterior blackened;	orange	-red ware as the others; light gray core.
315	11306	31	P:2c	?	(see 291)				I,E-7.5YR 7/4 or black; C-gray
316	11459	38	P:2c	?	(see 291)				C-gray; R-reddish-orange; I,E-blackened
317	11856	44	P:2c	130			fine		I,E-orange-red; C-7.5YR 8/4, some light gray also remains
318	11649	38	P:2c	120	(see 291 and 302)				
319	11817	39	P:2c	130	(see 291 and 302)				
320	12047	44	P:2c	140	(see 291 and 302)				
321	11811	39	P:2c	130	(see 291 and 302)				Orange-red throughout
322	11476	38	P:2c	140	(see 291 and 302)				
324	11929	45	P:2c	110	(see 291 and 302)				I-red; E-5YR 4.5/1; C-5YR 4.5/1; R-5YR 7/8
325	11450	36	P:2c	?	(see 291 and 302)				
326	12134	44	P:3	150	(see 332)				I,E-dark gray (smudged); C-black or dark gray; R-light brown
327	12201	47	P:3	?	med. hard				I,E-deep red; C-5YR 5/6 (temper atypical for our pot types; not as much temper; ware dense. Approximates ware of type 3 pots but better quality)
328	12121	44	P:3	120	(see number 332)				
329	12589	53	P:3	120	(see number 332)				
330	12581	53	P:3	?	(see number 332)				
331	11564	40	P:4	90			fine av.		I,E-5YR 4/1; C-5YR 4/3 (quartz grit, thin sandy ware, well-fired, looks like later forms. Intrusive?)
332	12477	53	P:3	110	crs.	hard			I,E-5YR 5/3; C-similar but not quite as reddish. Ware distinctive; hard but loose textured. Coarse, poorly sorted grit. Unlike other pots temper not quartz
333	11864	47	Ja:1	350	med. av.	E	RB E-rim	I-7.5YR 5/0; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; Ext. R-5YR 6.5/5; C-2.5Y 4.5/0	
334	12255	47	Ja:1	?	med. av.		RB E-rim	I-7.5YR 5/0; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; Ext. R-5YR 6.5/5; C-2.5Y 4.5/0	
335	12097	55	Ja:1	?	(see 333 for description)				
336	11995	44	Ja:1	?	(see 334)				
337	12383	47	Ja:1	400?	(see 334)				
338	11777	41	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
339	11739	43	Ja:1	?	(see 346)				
340	12023	45	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
341	12012	40	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				E-10YR 8/3
342	11629	38	Ja:1	?	(see 334)				
343	12474	53	Ja:1	350	typ. av.				I, E-red; C-dark gray; very little rim
344	12385	47	Ja:1	?	(see 334—external surface slightly redder than 334)				
345	11591	38	Ja:1	350	typ. av.	E			I-7.5YR 5/0; E-2.5Y 8/2; Ext. R-5YR 6.5/5; C-2.5Y 4.5/0
346	12200	47	Ja:1	300+	typ. av.				I,E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 6.5/5; C-2.5Y 4.5/0
347	11464	38	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
348	12468	53	Ja:1	400?	(see 334 though exterior somewhat redder. Rim has transition from gray to brown to red at bottom)				
349	11635	38	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
350	11615	37	Ja:1	300	(see 333)				
351	12018	45	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
352	12332	49	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
353	11609	40	Ja:1	?	typ. av.	E			I,E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 6.5/5; C-2.5Y 4.5/0
354	11828	43	Ja:1	?	(see 353)				
355	11867	44	Ja:1	?	typ. av.				I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7.5/5
356	12653	55	Ja:1	?	typ. av.				I,E,C-7.5YR 7/4
357	12069	47	Ja:1	?	(see 334)				
358	11940	45	Ja:1	350	(see 334)				



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos 314-332, Cooking Pots; 333-358, Jars (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate VII

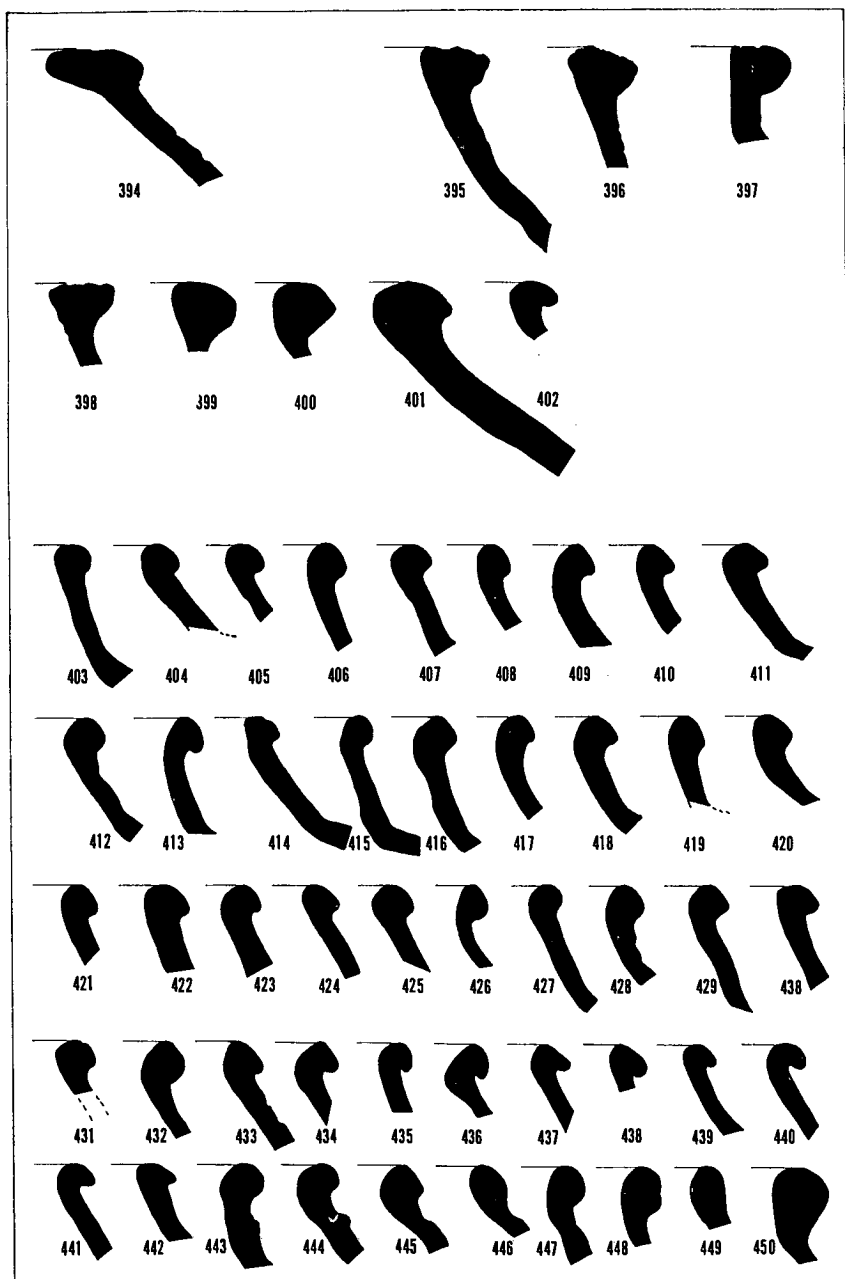
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
359	12369	47	Ja:1	350	(see 334. This sherd differs in having redder exterior and more crudely finished surface, no RB)				
359	12369	47	Ja:1	350	(similar to 358 with reddish exterior, no RB on rim, crudely finished rough surface)				
360	11643	38	Ja:1	350	typ.	av.	E		I-10YR 6/2; E-gray slip over reddish-brown rinds; C-gray
361	11525	38	Ja:1	350+	(see 333)				
362	12359	51	Ja:1	?	(see 333)				
363	12386	47	Ja:1	?	(see 334)				
364	12025	45	Ja:1	390	(see 334)				
365	11658	38	Ja:1	380	(see 333)		E	RB rim	I-7.5YR 5/0; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; Ext. R-5YR 6.5/5; C-gray
366	11511	38	Ja:1	?	typ.	av.		RB rim	I-10YR 7/3; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; Ext. R-5YR 6.5/5; C-gray. (Interior well finished—RB?—and rim closely burnished)
367	11607	38	Ja:1	340	crs.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/4; C-dark gray. (Poorly finished, rough, crude vessel)
368	11553	32	Ja:1	340	typ.	av.			I-5YR 7/2; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; Ext. R-5YR 6.5/5; C-2.5Y 4.5/0
369	11589	35	Ja:1	320	typ.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/4; C-medium gray (surface very rough)
370	12317	48	Ja:1	450	(see 369)				
371	11554	32	Ja:1	?	(see 334. Interior of this sherd a bit blacker and has been smoothed—burnished?)				
372	12631	53	Ja:1	?	(see 334) No RB on rim				
373	12068	47	Ja:1	?	(see 334)				
374	11741	43	Ja:1	?	(see 333) Interior also oxidized somewhat thus light beige in color				
375	12384	47	Ja:1	400	typ.	av.		RB 1?	I-black; E-reddish brown. C,R-typical of type 1 jars
376	12001	44	Ja:2a	120	crs.	av.	E?		I,E-7.5YR 7/2; R-5YR 7/6; C-2.5Y 6/0
377	11958	45	Ja:2a	130	crs.	av.			I-red; E-7.5YR 8/4; C-2.5Y 6/0; R-5YR 7/6 (surface varies to red)
378	11608	38	Ja:2a	130	(sherd encrusted, smudged, cannot be observed)				
379	12314	48	Ja:2a	130	(see 376)				
380	12453	52	Ja:2a	130	(see 376)				
381	12054	45	Ja:2a	150	(see 376)				
382	11619	37	Ja:2a	120	crs.	av.	E?		I-7.5YR 6/4; E-7.5YR 8/4; C-2.5Y 6/0; R-5YR 7/6
383	12528	47	Ja:2a	180	crs.	av.	E?		I-2.5Y 6/0; E-7.5YR 8/4; C-2.5Y 6/0; R-5YR 7/6, no int. rind
384	11938	45	Ja:2a	140	(see 382)				
385	12591	53	Ja:2a	130	(see 382)				
386	12368	47	Ja:2a	130	(see 376) Slip very wispy slip? Is it a slip or just bloom?				
387	12087	47	Ja:2a	140	(see 376)				
388	11596	38	Ja:2b	130	crs.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 4/0 (temper, poorly sorted)
389	11514	38	Ja:3a	200?	crs.	av.			I-dark gray like coru; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; C-2.5Y 4/0; Ext. R-5YR 6/6
390	12095	47	Ja:3a	?	crs.	hard			I,E-reddish orange, R-5YR 7/4; C-7.5YR 7/4 (gray in thickest part)
391	11862	44	Ja:3a	?	crs.	av.			I-10YR 5.5/1; E-red; C-2.5Y 5/0 (Red goes up to rim)
392	11633	38	Ja:3a	?	med.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 5/4 (brown); C-gray
393	12684	49	Ja:3b	140	(see 388)				



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos. 359-393, Jars (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate VIII

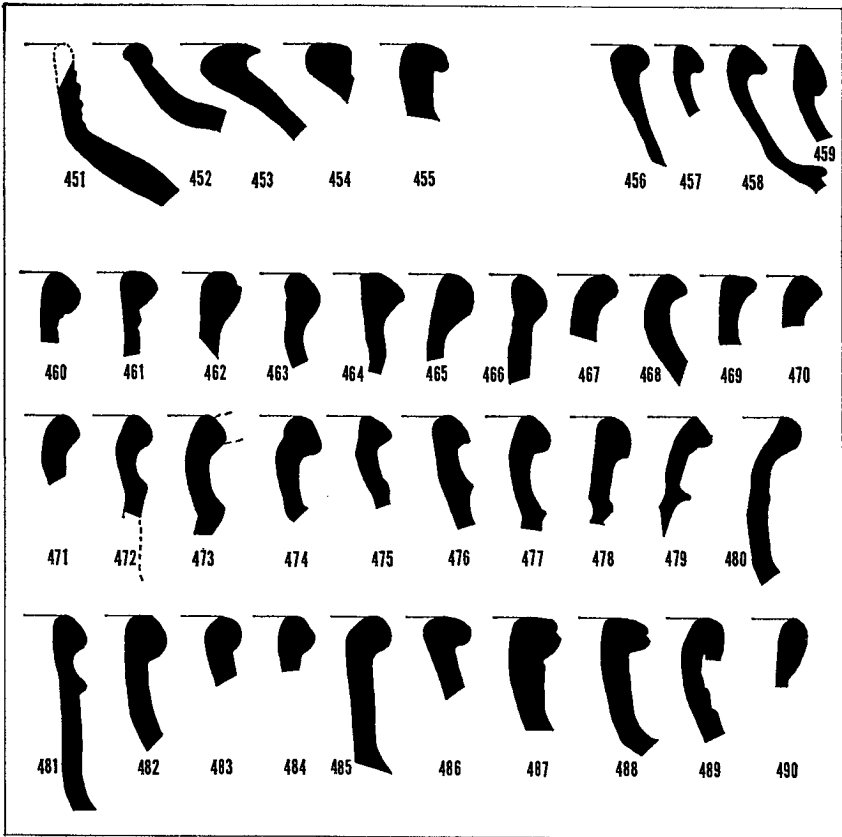
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
394	11616	37	Ja:4	350	fine	hard	I,E		I,E-10YR 8/2; C-7.5YR 7/4
395	11547	32	Ja:5a	210	med.	av.			I,E-5YR 7/4; R-7.5YR 6/4; slight gray core in thickest portions
396	11424	36	Ja:5a	160	(see 388)				
397	11376	31	Ja:5b	?	med.	av.			I-red; E-10YR 8/3; C-2.5Y 4/0
398	11388	31	Ja:5a	?	(see 395)				
399	11466	38	Ja:6	?	med.	av.	I,E ?		I,E-10YR 8/4; C-6.5YR
400	12099	47	Ja:6	?	abun.	snudged	I,E ?		I,E-10YR 8/2; R-5YR 7/6; C-7.5YR 7/4
401	12452	52	Ja:7	Sherd	badly	bloused	by carbon.	Impossible to describe	
402	11630	38	Ja:8	220?	med.	+ soft		RB-rim?	I,E-5YR 7/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0 (sherd badly weathered)
403	11996	47	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.	E ?		I,E-O-7.5YR 6/4; C-dark gray
404	12706	49	Ja:9a	?	fine	hard+	E ?		I,C-5YR 5/2; Ext. R-red; E-thin gray film, slip? bloom?
405	11074	45	Ja:9a	90	abun.	av.	E		1-7.5YR 7/2; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-2.5Y 6/0; R-5YR 7/6 (This is the "gray, gritty, porous" ware. Fairly loose textured. The gray wash or slip typically flakes off surface of these sherds)
406	11389	31	Ja:9a	?	med.	av.			I,E,R-5YR 6/4; C-dark gray
407	11954	45	Ja:9a	105	med.	av.	E ? ?		1-10YR 6.5/2; E-5YR 6/3; Ext. R-5YR 6/6; core-gray
408	11797	44	Ja:9a	100	(see 407)				
409	12122	44	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.	E		1-10YR 7/3; E-10YR 7/2; C-2.5Y 6/0
410	12367	47	Ja:9a	100	abun.	av.	E		1-7.5YR 7/2; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-gray; R-5YR 7/6 ("GGP")
411	12150	44	Ja:9a	?	abun.	av.	E		1-10YR 8/3; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-gray; R-5YR 7/6 ("GGP")
412	11754	39	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.			1-10YR 6/1; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-10YR 6/1
413	12046	44	Ja:9a	100	(see 403)				
414	11866	44	Ja:9a	?	med.	av.	E ? ?		I,C-dark gray; E-5YR 6/3; Ext. R-5YR 6/6
415	12691	49	Ja:9a	?	(see 407)				
416	12688	49	Ja:9a	100	fine	hard			J-5YR 6/4; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; light gray core
417	1193?	45	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.			1,E-10YR 7.5/3; R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray
418	12701	49	Ja:9a	105	med.	av.			1,E,O-7.5YR 6/4; C-dark gray
419	11992	44	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.			1-5YR 5/2; E-7.5YR 6/4; C-dark gray
420	11645	38	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.			1-5YR 6/6; E-7.5YR 7/4; R-reddish yellow; C-gray
421	11507	40	Ja:9a	75	(see 502)				
422	12081	47	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.			I,C-gray; E-red
423	12053	45	Ja:9a	90	crs.	av.			1-5YR 6/6; E-red; R-7.5YR 7/4 to 7/6. Light gray core → pink
424	11855	44	Ja:9a	75	med.	av.	E ?		1-10YR 6.5/2; E-7.5YR 6/3; Ext. R-5YR 6/6; core is gray. Brown slip
425	11930	45	Ja:9a	90	med.	av.	E ?		1-7.5YR 7/4; E-7.5YR 6/2; R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray. If sherd has slip it is not the common gray or cream variety
426	12569	47	Ja:9a	85	fine	hard	I,E	(see 404)	Gray core; red rinds; light gray surface slip interior and ext.
427	12605	53	Ja:9a	90	fine	hard+	E ?		I,C-5YR 5/2; Ext. R-red; E-gray surface film
428	11427	36	Ja:9a	100	med.	av.	E ?		1-5YR 6/4; E-varies from red to gray; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 5/0
429	11857	44	Ja:9a	85	(see number 436)				
430	12298	44	Ja:9a	90	med.	av.			I,E,C-7.5YR 7.5/4
431	12066	47	Ja:9a	80	(see 430)				
432	11697	29	Ja:9a	95	med.	av.	E ?		1-5YR 6/5; E-10YR 8/3; C-slight, gray; R-reddish yellow
433	11799	42	Jr:9b	90	(see 436)				
434	12360	51	Ja:9c	100	med.	av.			1-10YR 6/1.5; E-10YR 6/2; C-2.5Y 6/0
435	11521	38	Ja:9c	?	abun.	av.	E		1-10YR 5/1.5; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-gray; R-5YR 7/6 ("GGP")
436	12652	55	Ja:9c	100	crs.	av.			1-5YR 6/6; E-red; R-7.5YR 7/4 to 7/6; light gray core becoming pink
437	11648	38	Ja:9c	90	(see 502)				
438	12693	49	Ja:9c	?	fine	hard		RB-rim	7.5YR 7/4 throughout
439	11924	45	Ja:9c	90	(see 417; this sherd may have external gray slip)				
440	11919	45	Ja:9c	90	(see 441)				
441	11972	45	Ja:9c	90	med.	av.			I,C-10YR 6/1; E-10YR 7.5/3
442	12100	47	Ja:9c	100	med.	av.			I,E-red; C-pink to reddish yellow
443	11631	38	Ja:9d	90	abun.	av.	E		1-10YR 6/1.5; no reddish yellow rinds; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-gray
444	11523	38	Ja:9d	80	(see 443)				
445	11526	38	Ja:9c	100	med.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/5; C-dark gray
446	11976	45	Ja:9c	100	(see 418)				
447	11936	45	Ja:9c	85	med.	av.			I,E, R-7.5YR 6/4 to 7/4; C-gray
448	12122	24	Ja:9f	90	fine	hard			I,E,C-10YR 7/1 (a distinctive ware)
449	12664	55	Ja:10	80	med.	av.	E		1-5YR 6.5/4; E-10YR 7/2; C-dark gray
450	11460	38	Ja:11	110	crs.	av.			I,E,C-7.5YR 7/4 (slight gray remnant in thickest part of core)



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos. 394-450, Jars (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate IX

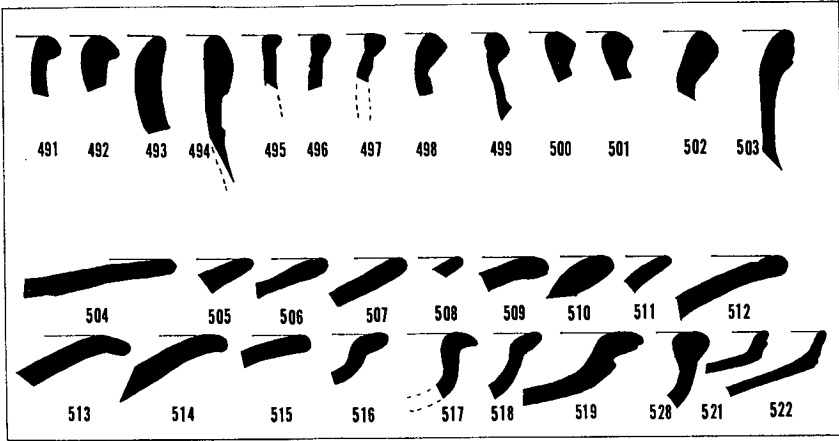
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
451	11541	31	Ja:12	?	med.	av.			1-5YR 6/4; E-7.5YR 7.5/3; C-gray
452	12106	47	Ja:13	?	fine	dense			1,C-pink; E-red
453	12673	49	Ja:14	100	crs.	av.	E		1-5YR 6/4; top of rim-10YR 8/3; below rim-red; E-pale brown; C-gray
454	12142	44	Ja:15	180	med.	av.	I,E	RB E	1,E-red; R-7.5YR 8/6; C-2.5Y 5/0
455	12062	45	Ja:16	170	crs.	soft	I,E		I,E-5YR 4/1; C-gray
456	12092	47	Ja:17	45	med.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 7/4; very slight gray core
457	11779	41	Ja:17	45	(see 436;	vessel may have had red			external slip)
458	11904	44	Ja:17	50	med.	av.			I-brown to gray; E-5YR 6/4; C-dark gray. (light porous ware)
459	11444	36	Ja:17	40	abun.	hard			7.5YR 6.5/4 throughout. (like 483 much fine carbonate powder grit)
460	11781	41	Ju:1	80	abun.	loose	I,E?		1-7.5YR 6.5/4; E-10YR 8/2; C-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/6
461	12632	53	Ju:1	75	med.	av.	I,E		I,E-10YR 8/2 (white); C-7.5YR 7/4
462	12124	44	Ju:1	95	crs.	av.	E		(see 417)
463	11524	38	Ju:1	100	med.	av.	E		(see 418)
464	12094	47	Ju:1	100	med.	av.			7.5YR 7/4 throughout
465	12687	49	Ju:1	95	med.	av.	E		I,E-10YR 8/4; C-7.5YR 7/5
466	12703	49	Ju:1	70	med.	av.	E??		I,C-10YR 7/3; E-weathered, remnants of darker brown slip?
467	11853	44	Ju:2a	120	fine	av.			I,E,R-red; C-5YR 5/6
468	11535	31	Ju:2a	105	med.	av.	E		1-5YR 7/4; E-10YR 7.5/2; R-5YR 6/6; gray core
469	11217	24	Ju:2a	100	med.	av.			I,E-10YR 7/2; C-dark gray
470	12017	45	Ju:2a	75	abun.	hard			Charcoal gray; C-2.5Y 5/0 (grit may be quartz largely, fine, abun.)
471	12408	47	Ju:2a	80	(see 436)				
472	11997	44	Ju:2b	100	med.	av.			1,E-10YR 8/3.5; just a hint of a gray core
473	12548	47	Ju:2b	100	med.	av.	E??		I,E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 5/0 (pale brown slip or bloom?)
474	12078	47	Ju:2b	100	med.	av.	I,E		I,E-10YR 7/2; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray
475	11387	31	Ju:2b	100	abun.	av.			I,E-red; C-dark gray (poorly sorted grit, surface pocked)
476	11740	43	Ju:2b	100	med.	av.	E		I-red; E-5YR 5/2; R-5YR 6/8; light gray core (dark gray type slip)
477	12067	47	Ju:2b	55	med.	av.	I,E		1-10YR 7/1; E-10YR 8/2; C-2.5Y 5/0
478	12073	47	Ju:2b	80	med.	av.			1-10YR 4.5/1; E-7.5YR 6/3; C-dark gray
479	12678	49	Ju:2c	100	fine	met.	?	RB E	I,E,R-7.5YR 6.5/4; C-dark gray
480	11316	24	Ju:3	80	crs.	av.	E		1-5YR 6/3; gray exterior over pink rind. (crudely made piece)
481	12138	44	Ju:3	?	crs.	av.+	E??		I,R-5YR 6/4; E-10YR 7/2; C-2.5Y 5/0 (sloppy construction)
482	11549	32	Ju:4a	95	fine	hard			I,R-5YR 6/4; E-7.5YR 6.5/4; C-light gray (very characteristic temper—heavily tempered but with fine carbonate powder)
483	12704	49	Ju:4a	95	fine	hard			1-10YR 6/4; E-10YR 5/1 to 5/2; C-light gray; R-5YR 6/4 (see 482)
484	11440	36	Ju:4a	100	(see 438)				
485	12469	53	Ju:4a	90	med.	av.	E??		1,Rim,R-5YR 7/5; E-5YR 6/3; C-2.5Y 5/0
486	11753	39	Ju:4a	?	(see 418)				
487	11592	38	Ju:4b	95	crs.	av.			(see 407)
488	11637	38	Ju:4b	90	med.	av.			1,E-5YR 5/2 or 5YR 4/1; drab, smoggy, sooty gray. C-dark gray
489	11213	24	Ju:5	100	med.	av.	E		1-5YR 6/5; E-10YR 7.5/3; C-gray; R-5YR 7/6 ("GGP")
490	11465	38	Ju:6	90	(see 400, though interior not slipped and is				7.5YR 6.5/4—light brown)



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos. 451-459, Jars; 460-490, Jugs
 (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate IX

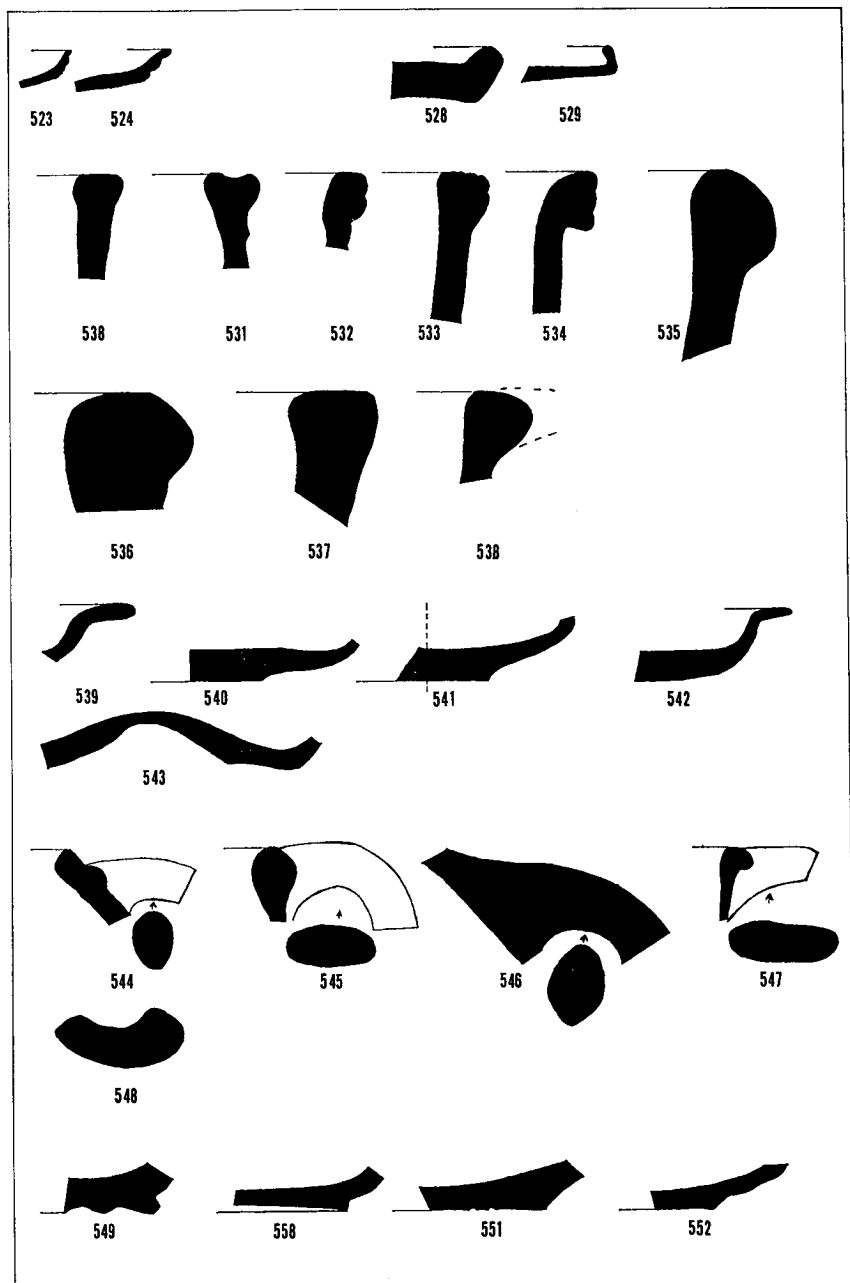
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
491	11780	41	Ju:7	45	(see 410, "GGP")				
492	11591	38	Ju:7	40	med. av.				I,E-10YR 5/2; 2.5Y 5/0 is the color of the core
493	11560	32	Ju:8	40	med. av.				I,E-red; C-gray; extremely thin rinds. (Careless handle attach.)
494	11537	31	Ju:9	40	(see 482)				
495	12071	47	Ju:10	30	fine av.				I-7.5YR 7/2; E-7.5YR 7/4; C-gray; reddish yellow thin ext. rind
496	12364	47	Ju:10	?	fine hard			ribbing	I,E-7.5YR 7.5/4; 5YR 7/4 core
497	12592	53	Ju:10	?	(see 503—interior even redder)				and not ribbed on this sherd)
498	11782	41	Ju:11	?	med. av.				I-10YR 7/1; E-7.5YR 6/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-dark gray. These vessels are small-mouthed although exact dia. incalculable
499	11362	31	Ju:11	45	(see 410)		"GGP"		
500	11922	45	Ju:11	45	med. av.				I-medium gray; E-10YR 7/2; Ext. R-7.5YR 7/2; C-2.5Y 5/0
501	?	?	?		(see 500)				
502	12002	44	Ju:11	?	fine hard				I,E,thick R-7.5YR 6/4; light gray thin core
503	12472	53	Ju:12	?	med. av.		I,E		I-10YR 7/2.5; E-10YR 7/1.5; C-2.5Y 5/0; thin reddish-brown rinds
504	12272	47	Sb:1a	150	(see 396)				
505	10755	24	Sb:1a	?	fine av.				I,E-gray; C-darker gray (very fragmentary sherd)
506	11515	38	Sb:1a	140	fine av.		I,E ?		I,E-10YR 6/1; R-5YR 5/3; C-gray
507	12357	51	Sb:1a	150	fine av.				I-7.5YR 7/4; E-5YR 7/4; C-10YR 7/2
508	12085	47	Sb:1a	210	fine hard		I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 5/6; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 6/0 (lustrous, cont. burnish)
509	12210	47	Sb:1b	170?	fine av.		I	RB I	I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4 Ext. a lighter red and unburnished
510	12146	44	Sb:1b	?	med. av.				10YR 8/3 throughout
511	12160	44	Sb:1b	150	fine av.				I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0
512	12392	47	Sb:1b	150?	med. hard			RB I	I-orange-red to 7.5YR 7/4; Rim-orange-red; E-5YR 6.5/6
513	12582	53	Sb:1b	150	med. hard			RB	Very dark gray. Original color or altered?
514	12558	47	Sb:1b	180	med. av.			RB I,E	I,E-5YR 6/6; R,C-7.5YR 7/5 and ranging to gray
515	11825	43	Sb:1b	150?	fine hard		I,E		I,E-10YR 7/3; thin pink rind; gray core
516	12318	48	Sb:2	130	(see 521)				
517	12273	47	Sb:2	150	(see 521)				
518	12590	53	Sb:2	170				RB I	I,E-7.5YR 6.5/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; C-2.5Y 6/0
519	11386	31	Sb:2?	220	(see 94)				
520	12061	45	Sb:3	200	fine av.		I,E	RB I,E	I,E-red; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Highly polished, continuous RB)
521	11543	32	Sb:4a	280	fine met.		I,E	RB I,E	I,E-5YR 5/6; C-gray. (CRB done in black I and E)
522	12139	44	Sb:4a	180.	fine met.			RB I,E,I-r	I,E-10YR 8/3.5; R,C-7.5YR 7/4



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
491-503, Jugs; 504-522, Shallow Bowls and Plates
(2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate X

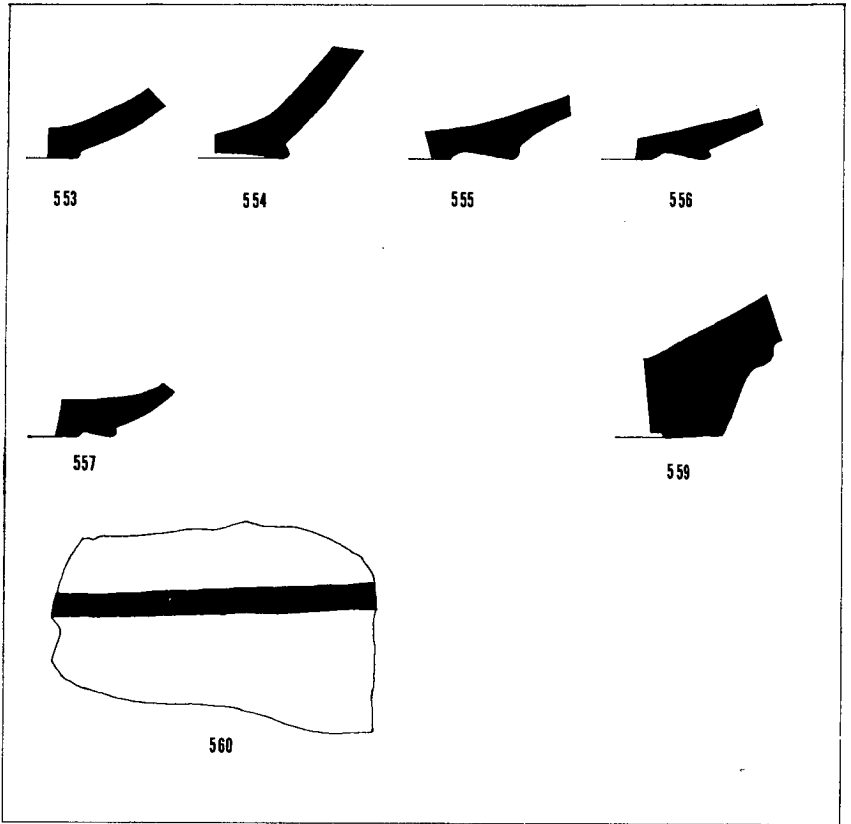
Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
523	12482	52	Sb:4b	?	fine	met.	I,E ?	RIB I,E	I-10YR 8/3; E-becomes gray but is this primary color or altered?
524	12585	53	Sh:4b	?	fine	met.		RIB I,E	I-orange-red; E-orange-red; C-7.5YR 7/4
528	12656	55	Sb:5	?	crs.	av.			I,E-dark red to gray; R-10YR 6/4; C-2.5Y 4/0
529	12207	47	Sb:4	220	fine	met.	I,E	RIB I,E	I,E-5YR 6/6; C-7.5YR 7/4 (Slip partial on ext. extends 3 cms. beyond the rim)
530	11755	39	K:1a	?	med.	av.		RIB 1	(see 306)
531	12552	47	K:1a	?	typ.	av.			I-7.5YR 7/4; R-7.5YR 7/4; E-red; C-2.5Y 5/0
532	11311	24	K:1b	?	(see 388)				
533	11512	38	K:1b	320+	med.	av.			I-7.5YR 7/4; E-5YR 7/4; R-5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 5/0
534	11594	38	K:2	320?	(see 531)				
535	11918	45	K:3	460	typ.	av.	I,E		I,E-10YR 8/2; R-7.5YR 8/6; C-dark gray
536	11778	41	K:3	440+	typ.	av.	I,E		I,E-10YR 6/3; R-7.5YR 8/6; C-dark gray
537	12654	55	K:4	300+	typ.	soft			I,E,R-10YR 8/3; C-2.5Y 5/0
538	11747	43	K:5	400?	med.	av.			I,E-reddish brown; R-thick, 5YR 6/6; C-2.5Y 5/0
539	12125	44	lamp		med.	av.			I,E,O-5YR 6/4; C-gray
540	12529	47	lamp		med.	av.			I,E,O-light brown; C-gray
541	11395	31	lamp		med.	av.			Yellowish red throughout
542	12013	40	lamp		med.	av.			5YR 6/4
543	11732	40	lamp		med.	av.			I,E,O-gray. Gray throughout
544	11788	44	handle		typ.	av.			I,E-5YR 6/4; Handle I,E,C-5YR 7/4; C-YR 5/2
545	11661	38	handle		typ.	av.			I,E-5YR 3/3; C-gray streaked with black
546	12665	55	handle		crs.	hard			I,E-5YR 5/3; C-not quite as reddish. Ware like number 332
547	12338	40	handle		typ.	av.			I,E-7.5YR 7/4 to 6/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-pink to gray
548	12717	55	handle		typ.	soft	E Wash ?		I,E-10YR 7/3; R-5YR 7/6; C-2.5Y 4/0 (ware and surface treatment typical of many of our handles. Shape also quite common)
549	11559	32	base	70	fine	E-hard			I,E,R-10YR 7.5/3; C-gray. (Interior softer than exterior)
550	12494	53	base		fine	hard	I only	Burnish	I-5YR 5.5/6; E-7.5YR 7/5; C-gray
551	11731	40	base	70	med.	hard	I only	Burnish	I-brick red; E,R-5YR 4/5
552	12486	53	base	70	med.	hard	I only	Burnish	I-5YR 5.5/6; E,R-7.5YR 7/5; C-gray



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon

Nos. 523-529, Shallow Bowls and Plates; 530-538, Kraters; 539-543, Lamps; 544-548, Handles; 549-552, Bases (2/5 of original size)

PLATE XI



Iron II Pottery from Area B at Heshbon
 Nos. 553-559, Bases; 560, Body Sherd (2/5 of original size)

Description of the Pottery of Plate XI

Number	Excavator's Registration Number	Locus Number	Type	Diameter	Temper	Hardness	Slip	Burnish	Color and Comments
553	12601	53	base	40	typ.	hard	I only	Cont. RB	I-5YR 5.5/6; E-10YR 7/3
554	11461	38	base		med.	av.	?	?	I-E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/4
555	12530	47	base	70	med.	hard	I only	Burnish	I-5YR 5.5/6; E,R-7.5YR 7/5
556	12567	47	base	60	typ.	hard	I only	?	I-5YR 4/6; E-10YR 6/2; ER-10YR 7/4; C-light gray
557	11790	41	base	40	typ.	av.			E-7.5YR 7/4; R-5YR 7/6; C-5YR 4/1
559	12157	47	base		typ.	av.			I-dark gray; R-light reddish brown; E-5YR 7/4
560	12471	53	body		med.	av.	E only	Cont.	E-dark red; I-7.5YR 7/4; Black painted band. Horizontal burnish strokes

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

כ	=	' = y	ו	=	ס = s	ך	=	ר = r
ב	=	ד = d	ח	=	ש	ש	=	ס = s
ג	=	ה = h	ט	=	צ	ט	=	ס = s
ד	=	ו = w	י	=	כ	צ	=	ט = t
ה	=	ז = z	כ	=	ל	כ	=	ט = t
ו	=	ח = h	ל	=	מ	כ	=	ט = t
ז	=	ט = t	מ	=	נ	כ	=	ט = t
ח	=		נ	=		כ	=	ט = t
ט	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
י	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
כ	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
ל	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
מ	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
נ	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
ס	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
ש	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
צ	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
כ	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
ך	=			=		כ	=	ט = t
ק	=			=		כ	=	ט = t

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

- = a	וּ, וֹ (vocal shewa) = e	וּ = o	וּ = o
וּ = ā	וּ, וֹ = ē	וּ = o	וּ = o
וּ = a	וּ = i	וּ = o	וּ = o
וּ = e	וּ = i	וּ = o	וּ = o
וּ = ē	וּ = o	וּ = o	וּ = o

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

<p>AAS Annales archéol. de Syrie</p> <p>AASOR Annual, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</p> <p>ADAJ Annual, Dep. of Ant. of Jordan</p> <p>AER American Ecclesiastical Review</p> <p>Afo Archiv für Orientforschung</p> <p>AfP Archiv für Papyrusforschung</p> <p>AJA Amer. Journal of Archaeology</p> <p>AJSL Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Literature</p> <p>ALBO Analecta Lovan. Bibl. et Orient.</p> <p>ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts, J. B. Pritchard, ed., 2d ed., 1955</p> <p>ANF The Ante-Nicene Fathers</p> <p>AO Acta Orientalia</p> <p>ARG Archiv für Reformationsgesch.</p> <p>ARW Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</p> <p>ASAE Annales, Serv. des Ant. de l'Ég.</p> <p>ASB Acta Sanctorum (ed. Bolland)</p> <p>AThR Anglican Theological Review</p> <p>AUSS Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies</p> <p>BA Biblical Archaeologist</p> <p>BASOR Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</p> <p>Bib Biblica</p> <p>BIES Bulletin, Israel Expl. Soc.</p> <p>BIFAO Bulletin, Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Or.</p> <p>BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis</p>	<p>BJPES Bulletin, Jewish Pal. Expl. Soc.</p> <p>BJRL Bulletin, John Rylands Library</p> <p>BMB Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</p> <p>BQR Baptist Quarterly Review</p> <p>BR Biblical Research (Chicago)</p> <p>BRG Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum</p> <p>BS Bibliotheca Sacra</p> <p>BSHPF Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français</p> <p>BT Bible Translator</p> <p>BZ Biblische Zeitschrift</p> <p>CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly</p> <p>CC Christian Century</p> <p>CdE Chronique d'Égypte</p> <p>CH Church History</p> <p>CIL Corpus Inscript. Latinarum</p> <p>CIS Corpus Inscript. Semiticarum</p> <p>CJTh Canadian Journal of Theology</p> <p>CSEL Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.</p> <p>CT Christianity Today</p> <p>ER Ecumenical Review</p> <p>ETHL Ephemer. Theol. Lovanienses</p> <p>ET Expository Times</p> <p>HJ Hibbert Journal</p> <p>HThR Harvard Theological Review</p> <p>HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal	<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique
<i>IG</i>	Inscriptiones Graecae	<i>RE</i>	Review and Expositor
<i>Int</i>	Interpretation	<i>RdE</i>	Revue d'Égyptologie
<i>JACH</i>	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum	<i>RHE</i>	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
<i>JAOS</i>	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.	<i>RHPR</i>	Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.
<i>JBL</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature	<i>RHR</i>	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
<i>JBR</i>	Journal of Bible and Religion	<i>RL</i>	Religion in Life
<i>JCS</i>	Journal of Cuneiform Studies	<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Arch.	<i>RQ</i>	Revue de Qumrân
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies	<i>RSR</i>	Revue des Sciences Religieuses
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	<i>RSV</i>	Revised Standard Version
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review	<i>SJTh</i>	Scottish Journal of Theology
<i>JR</i>	Journal of Religion	<i>STh</i>	Studia Theologica
<i>JSS</i>	Journal of Semitic Studies	<i>ThEH</i>	Theologische Existenz heute
<i>JThS</i>	Journal of Theol. Studies	<i>ThQ</i>	Theologische Quartalschrift
<i>KJV</i>	King James Version	<i>ThT</i>	Theology Today
<i>LQ</i>	Lutheran Quarterly	<i>ThLZ</i>	Theologische Literaturzeitung
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica	<i>ThR</i>	Theologische Rundschau
<i>MPG</i>	Migne, Patrologia Graeca	<i>Trad</i>	Traditio
<i>MPL</i>	Migne, Patrologia Latina	<i>ThS</i>	Theological Studies
<i>MQR</i>	Mennonite Quarterly Review	<i>ThZ</i>	Theologische Zeitschrift
<i>NKZ</i>	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift	<i>VC</i>	Verbum Caro
<i>NPNF</i>	Nicene and Post-Nic. Fathers	<i>VD</i>	Verbum Domini
<i>NRTh</i>	Nouvelle Revue Théologique	<i>VCh</i>	Vigiliae Christianae
<i>NT</i>	Novum Testamentum	<i>VT</i>	Vetus Testamentum
<i>NTA</i>	New Testament Abstracts	<i>WThJ</i>	Westminster Theol. Journal
<i>NTS</i>	New Testament Studies	<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes
<i>Num</i>	Numen	<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
<i>OCh</i>	Oriens Christianus	<i>ZAS</i>	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung	<i>ZAW</i>	Zeitsch. für die allttes. Wiss.
<i>Or</i>	Orientalia	<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft
<i>OTS</i>	Oudtestamentische Studien	<i>ZDPV</i>	Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.
<i>PEQ</i>	Palestine Exploration Quarterly	<i>ZKG</i>	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
<i>PJB</i>	Palästina-Jahrbuch	<i>ZHTh</i>	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
<i>PRE</i>	Realencyklopädie für protes- tantische Theologie und Kirche	<i>ZKTh</i>	Zeitsch. für Kath. Theologie
<i>QDAP</i>	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.	<i>ZNW</i>	Zeitsch. für die neutest. Wiss.
<i>RA</i>	Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.	<i>ZDTh</i>	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
<i>RAC</i>	Rivista di Archaeologia Cristiana	<i>ZThK</i>	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche