

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES

VOLUME VI

JULY 1968

NUMBER 2

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
SEMINARY STUDIES

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

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ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in January and July of each year. The annual subscription rate is \$4.00. 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 Journal is indexed in the
Index to Religious Periodical Literature.

A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF 2 KINGS 17:1

EDMUND A. PARKER

Wabag, New Guinea

The more one studies the Bible the more one is forced to agree with W. F. Albright that "biblical historical data are accurate to an extent far surpassing the ideas of any modern critical students, who have consistently tended to err on the side of hypercriticism."¹ In the field of Biblical chronology the tendency towards a hypercritical approach has been all too evident. Many find mistakes in certain chronological statements merely because they cannot understand them. E. R. Thiele in his work on the chronology of the Divided Kingdoms has done much to show the intrinsic accuracy of Biblical synchronisms and also of the historical data concerned.² In fact, it can be said that he has solved in general the problems connected with the chronology of the Hebrew kings, leaving only a few texts that need further elucidation.

S. H. Horn has attempted to shed light on some of these obscure texts in a recent article in this journal³ in which he makes the following statement:

One text of my former Group II, 2 Ki 17:1, remains unsolved as far as the chronological data it contains are concerned. . . . However, the figure given in 2 Ki 17:1, stating that Hoshea became king in Ahaz' 12th year, does not agree with the chronological scheme proposed here, and I have no better solution at the present time than to suggest that the figure 12 is a scribal error for three or four.⁴

¹ W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (rev. ed.; Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 229.

² Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (rev. ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965); see also his articles in *AUSS*, I (1963), 121-138, and II (1964), 120-136.

³ Siegfried H. Horn, "The Chronology of King Hezekiah's Reign," *AUSS*, II (1964), 40-52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 52.

The present writer contends that Horn has virtually solved the problem of the questionable text in his work, although he was not aware of it.

The reader should consult Horn's article, along with the diagram presented there, to refresh his memory on his work with regard to the chronology of this difficult period. The important point for this short note on 2 Ki 17:1 is that King Ahaz had both a *short* and a *long* chronology: the short one of a length of sixteen years covering the years of his reign after his father's death, whereas the long one of twenty years included his co-regency with his father.⁵

2 Ki 17:1, Horn's remaining problem text, is rendered in the KJV in the following way: "In the twelfth year of Ahaz king of Judah began Hoshea the son of Elah to reign in Samaria over Israel nine years." But this is not the only rendering that can be given to our text, as a brief look at the Masoretic text will show:

בשנת שתים עשרה לאחז מלך יהודה מלך הושע בן-אלה בשמרן על-ישראל
:חשע שנים

The writer contends that from a grammatical point of view the text could be rendered: "In the twelfth year of Ahaz, king of Judah, Hoshea, the son of Elah, *had reigned* in Samaria over Israel nine years."

This proposed translation can easily be defended from a grammatical point of view. It should be remembered that the so-called Hebrew perfect tense has a wide range of meanings. In his *Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, Davidson says, "The use of the perfect form covers all *perfect tenses* of other languages, such as perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect, as well as the narrative aorist."⁶ In short, the Hebrew "tenses" with their wide range of meanings must be rendered in such a way that passages in which they occur make sense

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 5; see also Horn's chart.

⁶ A. B. Davidson, *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar* (25th ed.; Edinburgh, 1962), p. 81.

in their context, and are historically as well as contextually defensible.

If we accept the rendering proposed here what conclusion do we then reach? Looking again at Horn's chart we find that Hoshea's reign terminated either in the 12th or 13th year of Ahaz. If Hoshea's ninth year of reign was fully completed (*i.e.*, he ruled the whole ninth year through), then we would have to say that his ninth year corresponded with the 13th of Ahaz. However, if Hoshea came to his end as king somewhere during the first six months of his ninth year, this event could have fallen within the 12th year of Ahaz, according to his *long* chronology. This also would line up with a 723 B.C. date for the fall of Samaria as required by other historical and chronological data which Thiele has discussed at length.⁷

Some Objections Answered

1. *Similar texts are never translated in this way.* The law of uniformity is often pressed to the place where there is no room for the genuine exception. Generally, the synchronisms in the Book of Kings follow a uniform pattern, for which several examples will be given. In each one of them the word הָלַךְ has the meaning "began to reign."

"In the seventh year of Jehu Jehoash began to reign; and forty years reigned he in Jerusalem" (2 Ki 12:1 [Hebrew v. 2] KJV).

"In the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of Ahaziah king of Judah Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned seventeen years" (2 Ki 13:1, KJV).

"In the second year of Joash son of Jehoahaz king of Israel reigned Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah. He was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem" (2 Ki 14:1, 2, KJV).⁸

All versions have followed this general pattern of translation with regard to the synchronisms presented in our text

⁷ See Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, pp. 141-154.

⁸ See further Thiele, *op. cit.*, Appendix A, pp. 203, 204.

under discussion, 2 Ki 17:1. However, with regard to this text the general pattern of translation does not agree with the facts as presented in Horn's article. The suggestion made by the present writer is grammatically defensible. All we need to do further is to determine if it is both historically and contextually correct.

It is well to remember that the kingdom of Israel came to an end at about the time when this synchronism, as translated according to this writer's understanding of the text, went into effect—namely in 723 B.C. (see Objection 2). Historically the occasion was unique, no longer would there be two divisions of the Hebrews, and for this reason, along with those presented above, it is postulated that 2 Ki 17:1 was used as a chronological tie point, for the history of both Israel and Judah.

2. *The 9th year of Hoshea corresponds to the 13th of Ahaz.* A passing reference has already been made to this problem in the discussion above. Our answer to this problem hinges on the question as to whether Samaria was overthrown in 723 or in 723/22 B.C. Since there is evidence that Samaria's conquest took place before Sargon's accession to the throne, which occurred in January or February, 722 B.C.,⁹ the earlier date for the end of Hoshea's reign gains in weight. Even if Samaria's fall did not take place until Sargon was on the throne, the possibility remains that Hoshea's reign was effectively terminated earlier. 2 Ki 17:4 seems to indicate that because of his rebellion against Assyria Hoshea was imprisoned before the fall of Samaria. Yet it remains unknown whether his reign effectively came to an end a few days, weeks or even months before Samaria was captured.

3. *The solution is based on the long chronology of Ahaz.* The answer to this objection is found in Thiele's and Horn's demonstration of the existence of several co-regencies among the

⁹ Sargon's accession to the throne took place Tebet 22, 722, according to the Babylonian Chronicle. R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York, 1926), p. 210.

kings of Judah and Israel.¹⁰ No other explanation can provide a harmony between the Biblical chronological data concerning the Hebrew kings and the well-established Assyrian chronology of this period. The fact that this system of chronology works is the proof for its accuracy.

¹⁰ See the works quoted in footnotes 2 and 3. Further, see Appendix B in Thiele, *op. cit.*, p. 205. Also, it should be noted that Horn sees a coregency for Hezekiah from 729/28-716/15 (*AUSS*, II [1964], chart).

TRUE OR FALSE ?
GENUINE AND FALSE CYLINDER SEALS AT
ANDREWS UNIVERSITY *

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In 1964 Andrews University received through Siegfried H. Horn five cylinder seals from a family in whose possession they had been for many years. Two of these cylinder seals are genuine, the others are not. What makes it possible to recognize some as genuine, others as forgeries? Sometimes it is very difficult indeed to distinguish a modern forgery from ancient cylinder seals. Especially carefully done recent work is hard to detect because our eye does not readily pick up those features which are distinctive of our own time. In imitations of ancient cylinders produced several decades ago, however, it is easier to recognize the features characteristic of the modern style which prevailed in those years. Rather than enter here into a general discussion of cylinder seal

* Thanks are herewith extended to F. B. Adams, Jr., Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library for permission to reproduce here photographs of Nos. 207 and 323 in the Library's collection; to R. D. Barnett, Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum and to Edmond Sollberger for the enlarged photograph of the cylinder 89137; to Faraj Basmachi, Director of the Iraq Museum for permission to have an impression made of the cylinder found at *Tell el-Wilayah* and published by Tariq A. Madhlum; to Helene J. Kantor for having made available a photograph of the unfinished cylinder published by H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (Chicago, 1955), No. 611 (hereafter cited as *Diyala*); and to Siegfried H. Horn for placing the cylinders of Andrews University at the writer's disposition for lengthy study and for encouraging her to write this article.

forgeries, which have been the subject of several studies,¹ I propose to analyse the two genuine cylinders of Andrews University in great detail. Such an analysis should bring out the criteria of the genuine cylinders and make the difference between them and the forgeries quite obvious.

Andrews University Cylinder Seal, No. 1. The first cylinder (Pls. I: 1, II: 1, V: 1) shows a seated, bearded god extending his hand in welcome to three approaching deities. The fact that gods are represented is indicated by the figures' headgear, the horned miter of divinity. As a matter of fact, our first problem is posed by the nature of the miter worn by the approaching gods. It is marked by oblique parallel lines which seem to indicate hair. Rather than speak of a miter and assume that a horned cap was placed on the head of the figure, we should imagine that the horns were attached to a band or diadem which would leave the hair on the crown of the head visible. This impression is strengthened by the way in which the hair hangs down in the back, seemingly continuous from the top of the head. The first and third gods have a beard indicated by several parallel lines whereas the deity in the middle has only one such line, which does not unequivocally indicate a beard. However, it seems likely that the omission of further lines was due to the careless work of the seal cutter, who also failed to show clearly the long hair hanging down the neck and back of the third god.

All three figures extend their cupped hands as if expecting to receive something in them. This posture is typical of minor

¹ *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I, Edith Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1948), 158-163 (hereafter cited as *CANES*, I); Briggs Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, I (Oxford, 1966), 213-222 (hereafter cited as *Ashmolean Museum*); Eva Strommenger, "Rollsiegelfälschungen," *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, I (1961), 196-200; R. M. Boehmer, "Fälschungen—Repliken—Originale, ein Beitrag zur mesopotamischen Glyptik des dritten Jahrtausends," *ibid.*, pp. 201-210.

gods standing before a deity of grain ² on cylinder seals of the time of the Dynasty of Akkad (*ca.* 2334-2154 B.C.³). Subject and date of the cylinder can thus be determined from this characteristic iconographic feature although the seated figure is not clearly defined as a grain-god because he lacks the plants usually sprouting from the grain-god's shoulders as in Pl. II: A, a cylinder seal in the Pierpont Morgan Library.⁴ Only a short vertical line above the god's upper arm might be a cursory indication of such plants. All that can be said with certainty is that he is a major god in comparison with those who approach him because he sits while they stand, he has a multi-tiered robe which looks richer than their skirts with vertical pleats, and his hair is gathered in a chignon separated into an upper and a lower part by a band which circles the head, as seen in monuments of this and the foregoing period.⁵ Doubtless the chignon was considered a more elaborate coiffure than hair loosely hanging in the back, which is more characteristic of goddesses than of gods in representations of the Akkad period.⁶ In fact, it seems quite possible that loosely hanging hair differentiates goddesses from human figures in cylinder seals of the Akkad age. Women are shown

² This feature was noted in *CANES*, I, 26, and by Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad Zeit* (Berlin, 1965), p. 96 (hereafter cited as Boehmer, *Glyptik*).

³ The dates here cited are taken from J. A. Brinkman, "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period," Appendix to A. L. Oppenheim, *Mesopotamia, Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1965), pp. 335 ff.

⁴ For other examples of male (that is bearded) grain-gods, see Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 532, 535, 538, 547 (our Pl. III: C).

⁵ See Strommenger and Max Hirmer, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, 1964), Fig. 115, fragment of a diorite stele of Sargon of Akkad, and Pl. XV, helmet of "Prince Meskalamdug" from Ur.

⁶ None of the female figures with the hairdress described in the next paragraph wears the horned miter of divinity, although it must be admitted that a similar hairdress is also occasionally worn by superhuman creatures such as the bearded snake-god of Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 587. For the bird-man with this hairdress, see below, note 10.

with their hair tied up in the back, the ends of hair apparently combed over some device which created a narrow chignon with horizontal top.⁷ In the profile renderings of the cylinder seals this chignon often looks like a point sticking up above the band encircling the entire coiffure, as for example in *CANES*, I, 245.

Similarly male figures who do not have their hair cut to neck-length but have let it grow long (perhaps a prerogative of the highest social group, to judge by the seal of the scribe Kalki, Pl. III: B) never wear it loose but only in the elaborate chignon⁸ described above as the hairdress of the seated god in our cylinder, No. 1. The rare occurrences in cylinders of

⁷ This description is based on the stone wig in the British Museum inscribed with the dedication of an official of Shulgi, a king of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2094-2047 B.C.) (see D. J. Wiseman, "The Goddess Lama at Ur," *Iraq*, XXII [1960], Pl. XXII: b). Wiseman translated the words of the dedication describing the wig as "head-dress of femininity" (*ibid.*, p. 168). The fact that the back of the wig had to serve as a tablet for the inscription, however, may have resulted in a rendering which altered the actual appearance of the ends of hair in the back.

At any rate, this "head-dress of femininity" differs from the chignons of male figures in representations of the Akkad period. A statement to the contrary by Agnes Spycket, "La coiffure féminine en Mésopotamie des origines à la 1re Dynastie de Babylone," *RA*, XLVIII (1954), 169, 170, fig. 61, was based on the atypical cylinder from Ur discussed in our note 8.

⁸ The curious cylinder seal from Ur, Leonard Woolley, *Ur Excavations II: The Royal Cemetery* (Oxford, 1934), Pl. 206, No. 192 (U. 9721), shows in exceptional manner an enthroned male and a female figure in a banquet scene with an attendant, all with the same type of chignon as in the cylinder of Kalki, our Pl. III: B. To the right is a figure with a cap of unusual shape. Unusual too are the faces of the figures, the fact that the female figure seems to pour a libation and the material from which the seal was made: hematite. Yet it was found in Grave 681 according to the publication (Text volume p. 350) and had a cap of copper which would confirm the authenticity of this cylinder which I would have otherwise tended to doubt. At any rate, the representation of an attendant with the same hairdress as the enthroned male person is unusual and therefore does not suffice to disprove the suggestion made in the text that the chignon for men was a sign of very elevated social position.

mature Akkad style of male gods with hair hanging loosely over their shoulders depict gods of war and their opponents,⁹ or gods of vegetation as in our No. 1 and on the seals of Pls. II: A and III: C. It was probably meant to suggest that the gods so represented possessed primitive force close to nature. The fact that the bull-man and nude bearded hero in scenes of contest with lions, bulls, and other powerful animals wear their hair loose confirms this interpretation as does the occasional occurrence of a long-haired bird-man.¹⁰ Under these circumstances it is interesting to note that the attendants who open the gates for the ascending sun-god often also have long loose hair.¹¹ Their connection with the figures here discussed remains to be discovered.

Not only do hairdress and costume indicate the high rank of the seated god in our cylinder as against the figures approaching him, but the composition of the scene determines the seated figure as the major person. The arms of the standing or walking gods point toward the seated figure whose greater mass impressively occupies far more space than the standing gods. Moreover, attention is drawn to the seated god's bent arm, by the fact that its lines are echoed in more rounded form by the large crescent moon above. Whatever the meaning of the symbol, in the present context it seems to have been associated with the seated god.

Beyond the facts here noted from an examination of the scene, nothing can be said about its subject because the

⁹ Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 346 (for the attacking god), and Abb. 302 (*Diyala*, No. 703) and Abb. 352 for the victim.

¹⁰ Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 502. Most frequently, however, that figure has the hair tied up in a loop like the hairdress described above for women (which is also occasionally worn by male figures), e.g., *ibid.*, Abb. 493, 495, 503, 512, 519. Very rarely the bird-man has the hairdress most frequent for human male figures as seen in elaborate execution in the cylinder of Kalki, our Pl. III: B, and more commonly ending in only one curl above the neck (e.g., *Ashmolean Museum*, No. 367b).

¹¹ Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 419-423, 428.

literary compositions involving gods of vegetation,¹² which are all later than the Akkad period, do not describe worship and supplication of a major god by a group of minor deities.

The engraving of the cylinder is crude and careless but it is not incompetent. Some forms seem to have been ground off mechanically, apparently by holding the cylinder against a revolving object with a cutting edge. Smooth forms which are obviously ground off in such a manner are the parallel arms of the standing gods or the horizontal lines of the seated god's stool. These forms are all horizontal while the short vertical bars of the stool were carved with a graver less smoothly and in a shallower manner (See Pl. V: 1). Obviously it was easy to grind a short line if the cylinder was held vertically against a horizontal cutting edge, but to make a vertical line the seal must have been held parallel to the cutting edge, a procedure which would have produced a longer line than was needed for the vertical bar of the stool.

Such use of a mechanical grinding or cutting device to produce smooth lines of uniform width in the design, seems to have been introduced into Mesopotamian glyptic art in several periods when certain motifs had become so standardized that a mere indication of figures and objects sufficed to evoke the entire scene. Examples are cylinders of the Early Akkad period showing the theme of a hero in the center of a group of beasts of prey and horned animals.¹³ Even the so-called Brocade style of the First Early Dynastic period was probably largely produced by such means.¹⁴ Hence we

¹² "Dumuzi and Enkimdu: the Dispute between the Shepherd-God and the Farmer-God," text translated by S. N. Kramer in *ANET*, pp. 41, 42, reconstructed from three tablets dated in the beginning of the second millennium B.C.

¹³ E.g., *CANES*, I, Nos. 132, 135, 136; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 45.

¹⁴ This can be rather clearly seen in *Diyala*, No. 257, where the cut shapes overlap each other. See also *Diyala*, Nos. 363, 873, for good examples demonstrating a technique of probably mechanical grinding of lines and shapes.

are probably justified in suggesting a relatively late date in the Akkad period for our seal No. 1, although some cylinders showing a related use of a cutting device for scenes involving gods with flounced robes have been found in *Tell Asmar* in levels dated Early Akkad, like *Diyala* 577 and 582.

The major forms of the gods' figures may also have been produced by some mechanical device such as a drill with a revolving point, but subsequent work with a graver has eliminated all traces of tool marks. Even on an unfinished cylinder seal from *Tell Asmar*, Pl. III: C, I cannot determine the tools employed in the preliminary blocking—or rather hollowing—out of the figures.

The faces of the figures in No. 1 are indicated by thin lines, cursorily drawn: a large hook for the nose which also determines the space for the eye socket, a line or two for the eyelids and brow, parallel lines or lines meeting at an angle for the prominently projecting lips. It is interesting to see how varied are the lines and forms indicating the faces of figures in cylinders of the Akkad period, as a comparison of the faces in No. 1 and Pls. II: A and III: B illustrates. This variation suggested that the characteristics of Akkadian style reside in the general proportions of the human face but that the details of the stylization were worked out individually by each seal cutter.

The last feature to be engraved in No. 1 was probably the figures' feet, beginning at the left and ending with the seated god whose feet had to be severely shortened in order to retain the necessary interval between his feet. This shows how important such intervals, which assured the clarity and rhythm of the composition, seemed to the engraver.

Andrews University Cylinder Seal, No. 2. The second cylinder of Andrews University, Pls. I: 2, II: 2, and V: 2, considerably smaller than the first, bears the inscription of an official of Gudea, Ensi of the southern city-state of Lagash, who ruled shortly after the Akkad period and before the Third Dynasty of Ur, that is, between *ca.* 2154 and 2112 B.C.

The inscription reads:

Gù-dé-a	Ur-ba-[ú]	Gudea, ensi of Lagash
en ₅ -si	dub-sar	Ur-Bau the scribe
ŠIR.BUR.KI (= Lagaš) ¹⁵	ir-zu	(is) your servant

This cylinder, which can be dated in the time of Gudea, is a welcome addition to the small number of cylinders inscribed for Gudea himself,¹⁶ or his son,¹⁷ or his officials.¹⁸ All these cylinders so far known show a worshiper led by minor deities toward a major one. The scene of our No. 2, showing a different motif, two heroes overpowering a water buffalo, therefore adds a new criterion for dating in Gudea's time this specific version of a contest with a powerful animal. It is important to note that the composition includes only three figures: two figures flanking the victim, instead of the two pairs of fighting figures common on cylinders of the Akkad age, such as Pl. III: D. In the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur the scheme of three figures dominates the renderings of contest scenes; the

¹⁵ I owe the reading of the inscription to Erica Reiner who noted that the normal writing of Lagash is ŠIR.BUR.LA.KI.

¹⁶ A combined drawing of several impressions of Gudea's cylinder seal on tablets from Tello was reproduced in Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), p. 143, text fig. 37, from L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux . . . Musée de Louvre*, I (Paris, 1920), 12, Pl. 108; photographs of partial impressions are seen *op. cit.*, Pl. 10: 8, 10.

¹⁷ I assume that the person who calls himself Lugal-š[ag-g]a, scribe, son of Gudea on the cylinder seal from Tello reproduced by André Parrot, *Glyptique mésopotamienne: fouilles de Lagash (Tello) et de Larsa (Senkereh)* (1931-1933) (Paris, 1954), Pl. VIII: 131 (transcription and translation by Maurice Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 80, s.v. 131), was the son of the ruler of Lagash since the style of that fine cylinder closely corresponds to that of CANES, I, No. 274, the cylinder of an official of Gudea. It seems, however, as if the inscription on the cylinder from Tello was either secondary or very badly planned because the last two signs appear outside the frame for the inscription. I wonder whether this could have been a second seal of Gudea which was re-used by one of his sons, for it seems to me that the original inscription might have been intended to fill two upper and one lower case, consisting of three lines as in the impressions of the seal bearing Gudea's inscription (see above, note 16).

¹⁸ CANES, I, 274, and L. de Clercq, *Collection de Clercq*, I, *Cylindres orientaux* (Paris, 1888), Pl. IX, 84.

arrangement of the figures in the present cylinder therefore suggests that the origin of the preference for this tripartite compositional scheme should be sought in the time of Gudea.¹⁹

The posture of the hero at the right, holding the animal up by a hind foot, grasping its tail and placing his foot on the animal's neck in an effort to break it—at the same time suggesting his victory over the powerful creature—as well as the posture of the hero at the left who is about to tear the animal apart by the hindlegs are both derived from cylinders of the Akkad period like Pl. III: D. A new posture, however, is the one showing the second hero placing his foot on the animal's underside near its sexual organ. New, too, is the arc formed by the outward bent arms of the two heroes which converge on the upward pointing leg of their victim, and the general effect of a joint attack which results from this concentration of poses seen earlier in two separate pairs of fighters and now concentrated on one victim. It is quite possible that this new tripartite scheme owed its origin to the esthetic predilection of some outstanding artists of the period.²⁰ It is also conceivable, however, that the expressive

¹⁹ It is perhaps significant that the dated occurrence of a tripartite compositional scheme of a contest motif comes from the time of Šuturul, the last king of the Akkad Dynasty (*Diyala* 701 = Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 762a, 762b). There is no parallel known from that period, however, for the scheme of two heroes with a victim as in our No. 2.

²⁰ One of the noblest designs on cylinder seals, found on the seal of a priest, perhaps from Lagash and probably of Gudea's time, *CANES*, I, No. 267, shows a tripartite composition in which a lion-headed eagle grasps two ibexes. While the motif goes back to Early Dynastic times (e.g., Parrot, *Tello* (Paris, 1948), Pl. VII(a), VIII(a)), it was rendered in an inherently dramatic way by the artist of this cylinder seal. The composition of the fallen ibexes and the lion-headed eagle soaring above them, together with the delicately modeled bodies of the horned animals, contrasting with the spread wings of the bird, produce this effect. It is possible that the same artist created the original version of the tripartite contest found in No. 2 from which I would assume the latter to have been copied (I do not think that both cylinders were made by the same engraver, because our cylinder seems to have less detail in the head of the horned animal).

scheme of the attack of two heroes on a bull was meant to illustrate a mythological event such as the contest of Gilgamesh and Enkidu with the Bull of Heaven.²¹

Unfortunately, No. 2 is made of soft serpentine and much of the engraving is worn away and the remains are difficult to discern. Nevertheless, one becomes aware of the contrast between the slender and graceful forms of the human figures and the massive shape of the buffalo. The effect is that of a beast so powerful that one hero alone could not have conquered it; only the concerted effort of both heroes could have resulted in victory. Both the subtle change in the ancient theme of contest with animals and the compositional devices by which it was illustrated are an innovation in the glyptic art of the Post Akkad period.

Both cylinders share a slender form with slightly incurving sides and expertly drilled perforation which is slightly widened to a narrow, bevelled ledge about $\frac{1}{2}$ mm wide at the lower end of the Akkadian cylinder, No. 1, and about 1 mm wide at the lower end of No. 2. A few cylinders of the Akkad period show the same feature as No. 1²² which is probably connected with the way the seal was mounted. In view of the fact that the few extant capped cylinders of the period have not been reproduced with the caps removed, one does not know whether or not this feature was present.

The cylinders were polished but not to a very high gloss, merely to be agreeable to sight and touch. Perhaps the most obvious difference between them and the forgeries, Pl. I: 3

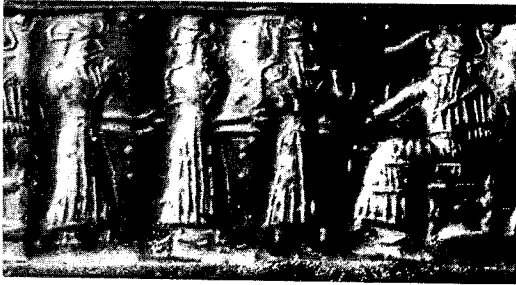
²¹ See the account of this event in E. A. Speiser's translation in *ANET*, p. 85.

²² Examples from the cylinder seals in the Pierpont Morgan Library in which I have noted this feature are: *CANES*, I, Nos. 198, 202, 207, 250. Two of these cylinders show representations of the water-god, one of a grain-god and one of a banquet scene. These subjects may have been accidentally engraved on cylinders with the slight ledge and again it may have been done purposefully. One will have to watch for this feature in other collections before commenting on it.

and 4 lies in the dull and harsh²³ stones employed for the latter by the modern seal cutters. No. 3 is made of gypseous alabaster grooved at both ends (Pl. IV: E-2) to imitate the core of the Persian Gulf shell frequently employed for Mesopotamian cylinder seals of the third millennium B.C. In the better worked cylinder seals made of such shell the ends show the section through the core which produced a pleasing coil pattern of various shades of light brown (Pl. IV: E-1). In contrast to such patterns, the alabaster of No. 3 is an undifferentiated dull greyish white. No. 4 is even less carefully shaped; only No. 5 (Pl. V: 5) has a nice regular form and a narrow well-drilled perforation. The soft red stone from which that cylinder was carved, however, is unparalleled among the genuine ancient cylinders of Mesopotamia, a fact which indicates the spuriousness of the piece.

Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 3-5. That all three cylinders, Nos. 3-5 are forgeries is quite obvious from the bungled inscriptions. These suggest that the prototypes for the seals were examples of the Isin Larsa and Old Babylonian periods (20th to 17th centuries B.C.) in which inscriptions of two or three lines are common. A scene with an enthroned king like that of the Old Babylonian cylinder in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Pl. IV: F, was probably copied for No. 3 although the enthroned figure was placed in the middle of the scene by leaving out the suppliant goddess at the left. The large fan held by the short-kilted attendant and the flower before him are completely foreign to the repertory of the genuine cylinder seals of that period. The presence of such incongruous stylistic elements, introduced into a work of art by persons not sufficiently familiar with the style of the age

²³ I am using here the terminology employed by Isabella Drew, Research Associate in the Arthur M. Sackler Laboratory of Columbia University, with whom I have discussed the technical problems concerning these cylinders. The approach of this scholar whose training was in chemistry and mineralogy, has elicited attention to features which might have otherwise gone unnoticed. Her observations have been gratefully incorporated in this article.



1



2



3



4



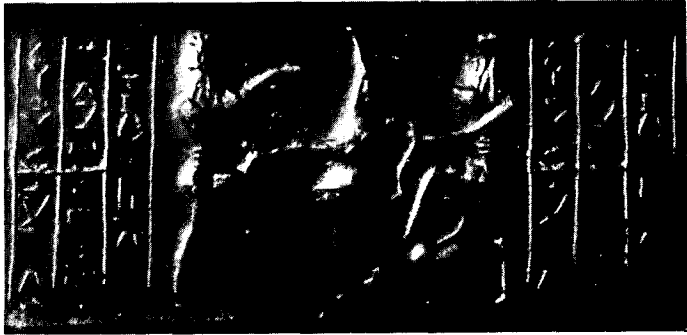
5

Impressions of Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 1-5. Size: 1:1.

PLATE II



I



2



A

I and 2. Impressions of Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 1 and 2.
Size: *ca.* 1: 1½

A. Impression of Cylinder Seal no. 207 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.
Size: *ca.* 1: 1½. Published: *CANES*, I, No. 207.

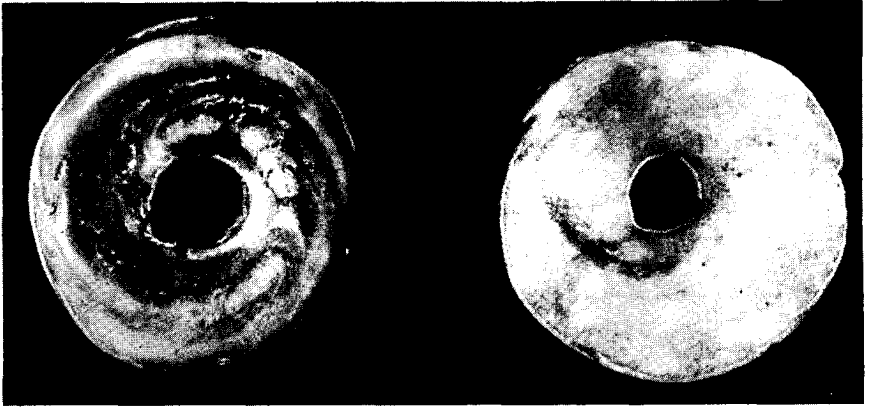


B. Impression of Cylinder Seal of Kalki, No. 89137 in the British Museum. Published: Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pl. XXIV: c; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 717, etc.

C. Impression of Unfinished Cylinder Seal from *Tell Asmar*, No. As. 32: 598, in the Iraq Museum. Published: Frankfort, *Diyala*, No. 611; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 547.

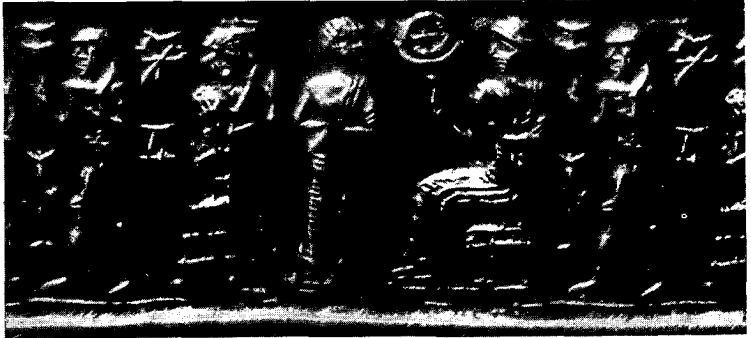
D. Impression of Cylinder Seal from *Tell el-Wilayah*, in the Iraq Museum. Published: T. A. Madhlum, *Sumer*, XVI (1960), Pl. 5: 3; Boehmer, *Glyptik*, Abb. 201.

PLATE IV



E-1

E-2



F

E-1. End of Cylinder Seal No. 156 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

E-2. End of Andrews University Cylinder Seal No. 3.

F. Impression of Cylinder Seal No. 323 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Size: *ca.* 1: 1½. Published: *CANES*, 1, No. 323.



1



2



3



5

Photographs of Andrews University Cylinder Seals Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5. Size: *ca.* 1: 2½.

which they are trying to imitate, often facilitates recognition of forgeries of works of all periods. Other examples in our seals are the assyrianizing garments and hairdress of the figures in No. 4 which has an inscription of Babylonian type. In No. 5 the scheme of two figures, one seated and one standing, and their hairdress vaguely resemble Kassite cylinder seals of the 15th to 13th centuries²⁴ but the pattern of the garments and the figure of a bow-legged dwarf are derived from Old Babylonian examples.

Instead of pursuing further the entertaining game of discovering in detail where the forger or forgers found the different elements of their designs, let us see what we can learn from these and other engraved stones cut in modern times which will give us new insights into the achievements of the ancient artist. The latter had the advantage of a long apprenticeship²⁵ during which he learned to use the traditional tools, the bow-drill and gravers, first of copper, later

²⁴ Kassite cylinders like that of de Clercq, *op. cit.*, 257, 258, come to mind although it is possible that this resemblance is accidental and the scheme of the two figures is merely an abbreviation made by the forger of more extensive Old Babylonian scenes.

²⁵ J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus . . .* (Leipzig, 1890), No. 325 is a text recording an agreement for apprenticeship for a period of five years of a slave. This slave belonging to Itti-Marduk-balātu was entrusted to Hašdaj who himself was a slave of Cambyses, crown prince at that time. Obviously, Hašdaj was a master seal cutter. I owe the following translation of this text to the generosity of A. L. Oppenheim:

Itti-Marduk-balātu, son of Nabû-aḥḥē-iddin of the family Egibi gave his slave Guzu-ina-Bēl-ašbat to Hašdaj, the *purkullu*, a slave of Cambyses, the crown prince, for five years, to (learn) the craft of the *purkullu*. x x x (the copy has *ardāni šá x* which is senseless in the context). He will teach him the entire craft of the *purkullu*. Itti-Marduk-balātu will clothe Guza-Bēl-ašbat with one (? correct senseless DI in line 9 into 1-it) *mušiptu*-garment. If Hašdaj does not teach him, he pays 20 minas of silver. After he has taught him for five years (restored from TuM 2-3 214: 8 f.) [his (the apprentice) wages will be . . .] (witnesses).

of bronze,²⁶ employed with an abrasive, like fine quartz sand, probably used with oil or water as a binder.²⁷ The modern forger lacks that training with efficient tools and we observe his resulting lack of control of his craft in the varying height of the figures and the incoherent composition caused by the way in which the single figures seem to project into the field instead of being contained within their own clear outlines, as in the genuine cylinders, Nos. 1 and 2. In No. 4 the figures are so deeply hollowed out of the cylinder and consequently stand out so highly that they crowd the field whereas in Nos. 3 and 5 the engraving is in part so shallow that there are no clear boundaries between figure and background. It is in comparing the spurious with the genuine cylinders that one appreciates the technical and artistic superiority of the ancient craftsman.

The ancient seal cutters had to reduce a scene to the minute size of a cylinder. In order to succeed, lines and shapes had to express much with very limited means. An example is the rendering of the seated figure, a personage of major importance in relation to the standing figures of the scene. In order to stress the solidity and dignity of this posture, the design of the body always includes a horizontal accent even if it is found only in the edge of the flounces of the figure's robe as in No. 1, where the outline of the body itself is somewhat rounded as is usual in cylinders of the Akkad period. One becomes aware of this in contrast to the seated figure of No. 3 (see Pl. V: 3) in which the forger was merely concerned with copying a seated personage, not with its meaning. For this reason his own figure, which lacks a horizontal accent, seems to slip down from the precariously narrow stool.

²⁶ Frankfort describing the working capital of a seal cutter listed: "some finished seals, some undecorated beads, a copper chisel, *two pointed instruments* of copper, and a whetstone pierced for suspension from the girdle" (the italics are mine), *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 16 (1933), p. 47.

²⁷ This suggestion was made by Isabella Drew.

Moreover, the meaning of the entire scene, worship of an enthroned personage, is impaired by the forger's rendering of the two standing figures in almost naturalistic proportions, a treatment which places the head of the worshiper higher than that of the enthroned figure and that of the attendant on the same level. Comparison with the Old Babylonian cylinder, Pl. IV: F shows how subtly the head of the enthroned king is made to appear higher and larger than that of the surrounding figures. It is the round cap with its upturned brim which produces that effect, appearing to be more voluminous, more solid and therefore more impressive than the horned miter of the goddess.

Another feature which distinguishes scenes of genuine cylinders from the forgeries, Pl. I: 3-5, is the self-contained form of the figures. The unfinished cylinder, Pl. III: C, shows how these forms were hollowed out as coherent solid shapes to which the feet were added with sufficient distance from each other to form a visually satisfactory support. That this spread stance was a device to make the figures seem to stand solidly on the ground, can be seen in the short-kilted figure of Pl. IV: F, whose legs and feet describe with the ground line a tall but solidly based triangle. By contrast, the feet of the short-kilted figure in No. 3 are rather close together and the figure seems to sway backwards somewhat uncertainly while the worshiper with a kid seems to step forward in a posture which lacks the dignified calm of ancient Near Eastern persons, a calm which was perhaps expressive of their ideal of human behavior.

The large figures with lively movements which fill the field in an overall manner in No. 3, the uneven depth and scratchy engraving all resemble a spurious cylinder seal in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, recorded in 1952 by Buchanan together with several others of related style.²⁸ The fact that the forger felt free to add an attendant with a fan in No. 3

²⁸ *Ashmolean Museum*, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1108, 1109.

and to use only one pair of figures, bull-man and lion, in the Ashmolean cylinder just mentioned—using only half of the scene usually found in representations of the Akkad period—suggests that these seals were cut by a Near Eastern forger rather than by one working in Europe who would probably have kept more closely to illustrated prototypes. The same is probably true of No. 5, in which we have noted stylistic relations with No. 3. Proof that these stylistic criteria have led us to correct conclusions and that Nos. 3 and 5 were made by the same hand (despite the better workmanship of the smaller seal) can be found in the hook-like design below the feet of the sacrificial animal in No. 3. The same design, which is a misunderstood version of the ball-staff of Old Babylonian cylinders, is also found in some other examples of the Ashmolean group²⁹ of which one³⁰ has the shallow engraving of No. 5 as well as a very similar little figure of a bow-legged dwarf.

By today's standards of taste, with a preference by the public for clear, abstract designs, a cylinder like No. 3 could have been neither made nor bought; the same is true of No. 4, probably also of Near Eastern provenience for the same reasons given for No. 3. The naturalistic proportions of the figures in No. 3 are also more likely to reflect conventions generally observed several decades ago than in the last two decades. One would therefore assume these forgeries to have been made at the end of the last century or at the beginning of the present one.

²⁹ *Ashmolean Museum*, 1109.

³⁰ B. Buchanan kindly informed me that he recorded in 1952 twenty-five of the seals classified as doubtful or fakes which he had found in a drawer, unregistered, together with a number that were good. Nos. 1084, 1095 and 1096 belong to that "1952" group, but doubtless reached the Ashmolean Museum much earlier. Perhaps the fact that *Ashmolean Museum*, 1097 (which has the hook-like design of our group), was registered in 1909, gives us a better indication for the date of our group of forgeries.

The detailed discussion of these forged seals was presented for two reasons. First, that every object purporting to belong to the world of the ancient Near East adds something to the picture of the period in which it was made. Forgeries distort that picture and have to be rejected with a full statement of the reasons for such rejection. Second, by detailing the features which justify declaring Nos. 3-5 to be forgeries we hope to have given articulate expression to the evident superiority of the two small—and in the case of No. 1 even mediocre—works of ancient art.

Cylinder Seals at Andrews University

- No. 1. Hard black serpentine. Size: 33×20.2 (19) mm.³¹
 Impression of the cylinder seal, 1: 1 Plate I: 1
 Impression of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1: $1\frac{1}{2}$ Plate II: 1
 Photograph of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1: $2\frac{1}{2}$ Plate V: 1
- No. 2. Black serpentine. Size: 28×14.7 (14) mm.
 Impression of the cylinder seal, 1: 1 Plate I: 2
 Impression of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1: $1\frac{1}{2}$ Plate II: 2
 Photograph of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1: $2\frac{1}{2}$ Plate V: 2
- No. 3. White alabaster. Size: 38×21.5 mm.
 Impression of the cylinder seal, 1: 1 Plate I: 3
 Photograph of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1: $2\frac{1}{2}$ Plate V: 3
 End of the cylinder, *ca.* 1: $2\frac{1}{2}$ Plate IV: E-2
- No. 4. Black serpentine. Size: 34.4×16 mm.
 Impression of the cylinder seal, 1: 1 Plate I: 4
- No. 5. Red steatite. Size: 29.2×12.8 mm.
 Impression of the cylinder seal, 1: 1 Plate I: 5
 Photograph of the cylinder seal, *ca.* 1: $2\frac{1}{2}$ Plate V: 5

³¹ The size is given in the following sequence: height and diameter, with a different diameter of the middle presented in parenthesis for Cylinders 1 and 2.

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE SABBATH IN COPTIC SOURCES

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The Sabbath in Coptic sources has been treated on two previous occasions in *AUSS*. In the inaugural issue, Wilson B. Bishai presented an article entitled "Sabbath Observance from Coptic Sources," in which he concluded:

It seems possible that Sabbath observance among the Copts in Egypt and Ethiopia may have passed through three stages: 1) Only the seventh-day Sabbath observed—from apostolic times until the Council of Nicea; 2) Sunday and the seventh-day Sabbath both observed—from the Council of Nicea until perhaps a century or two later; and 3) only Sunday designated as a day of public worship—a practice still observed today.¹

This article deals primarily with two statutes in the Sahidic version of what is commonly known as the *Egyptian Church Order*—one indicating that slaves (Bishai translates "servants [of the Lord]") should work five days but have leisure on the Sabbath and the Lord's day for church attendance, and the other calling for baptismal candidates to assemble on the Sabbath.² In addition to these, Bishai also quotes from an interpolation to the first passage as found in the Ethiopic version. This interpolation, which declares that *both* the seventh day of the week and the first day were "named sabbaths" (apparently the first documentary evidence we have of Sunday being called a "sabbath"), he sees as an attempt to justify rest on *two* days—on a newly introduced Christian Sunday in addition to the older Sabbath ("prior to the fourth century, Christians in Egypt and Ethiopia may

¹ Wilson B. Bishai, "Sabbath Observance from Coptic Sources," *AUSS*, I (1963), 31.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

have observed only the seventh-day").³ In short, Bishai sees divergence between northern and southern Christians with respect to the Sabbath:

Justin Martyr and Tertullian, theologians characteristic of Hellenistic-Roman Christianity, urged strongly against the seventh-day Sabbath and in favor of Sunday. But the non-Hellenistic southern churches of Egypt and Ethiopia apparently followed a different course and observed the seventh-day Sabbath continuously during the second and third centuries.⁴

The second treatment of the Sabbath in Coptic sources in *AUSS* is Robert A. Kraft's "Some Notes on Sabbath Observance in Early Christianity," in which he has marshaled abundant evidence from the early sources to show that there was, in fact, no such dichotomy in early Sabbath-Sunday practice between northern and southern groups of Christians as Bishai had proposed.⁵ Rather, "from its very beginnings, 'Coptic Christianity' observed both Sabbath and Sunday, because such was the practice taught in its adopted traditions!"⁶ Kraft has called attention, for example, to the fact that the Coptic reference to Sabbath-and-Sunday rest for slaves is paralleled in *Greek* in *Apostolic Constitutions* viii. 33.⁷

Kraft's treatment is mainly concerned, however, with the "northern sources" from the Greek and Syrian East, rather than the "northern sources" from the West. Inasmuch as the *Egyptian Church Order* is identified as a version (or versions) of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus of Rome, it becomes a matter of interest to investigate whether its allusions to the Sabbath may have stemmed from Hippolytus. Kraft has observed that "there is no guarantee that the dual observance [of Sabbath and Sunday] was part of the original form of the *Ap. Trad.*, but the burden of proof would seem to rest on the

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵ Robert A. Kraft, "Some Notes on Sabbath Observance in Early Christianity," *AUSS*, III (1965), 18-33.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

person who *denies* this; in any event, the dual observance was already in the Greek form of the tradition, as we have seen.”⁸ Willy Rordorf cites from the Ethiopic text of the *Egyptian Church Order* as evidence for Hippolytus, as well as calling attention to the polemical remark against Sabbath fasting in Hippolytus’ *Commentary on Daniel*.⁹ Hippolytus’ favorable attitude toward the Sabbath, as manifest in this latter reference,¹⁰ might well lead us to suspect that indications of Sabbath observance in the *Egyptian Church Order* are there because they were present in the original Greek text of Hippolytus.¹¹

In exploring the evidence relating to this question, we will

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25, n. 23.

⁹ Willy Rordorf, *Der Sonntag* (Zürich, 1962), pp. 144, 147. He mentions an item from the Ethiopic text regarding special instructions for the eucharist on the Sabbath and Sunday. In addition to our own treatment of this item below, cf. also the opinions of Burton Scott Easton, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* (Cambridge, Engl., 1934; Archon Books reprint, 1962), p. 58, and Gregory Dix, *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome*, I (London, 1937), 43, n., both of whom look upon the item as an interpolation. Dix’s reason for doing so seems inadequate, however: “Saturday was not a liturgical day at Rome in the third century, but it has been so in the Ethiopic Church as far back as we can trace.” Is not this taking for granted the very thing which is to be proved or disproved by the evidence?

The reference to the Sabbath fast is in Hippolytus, *Comm. on Dan.*, iv. 20.3, and refers to certain persons who give heed to “doctrines of devils” and “often appoint fasting on the Sabbath and the Lord’s day, which Christ did not appoint, and thus dishonor the Gospel of Christ.” For Greek text and French translation, see Maurice Lefèvre, *Hippolyte, Commentaire sur Daniel* (Paris, 1947), pp. 300-303.

¹⁰ The Sabbath fast was a negative factor in relationship to Sabbath observance; hence opposition to it would be favorable to the Sabbath. See my article “Some Notes on the Sabbath Fast in Early Christianity,” *AUSS*, III (1965), 167-174.

¹¹ Hippolytus wrote in Greek, and *may possibly* have spent his youth in the East. Greek fragments and portions of a Latin translation of the *Apostolic Tradition* are extant. See Easton, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32, and also n. 12, below. Cf. also standard patrologies such as those of J. Quasten and O. Bardenhewer. Useful information on Hippolytus is also given in E. J. Goodspeed, *A History of Early Christian Literature*, rev. and enl. by Robert M. Grant (Chicago, 1966).

place certain statements from different texts of the *Egyptian Church Order* in parallel columns. For this purpose we will use G. Horner's English translation of the Sahidic, Arabic, and Ethiopic texts, which texts are removed from the original Greek in that particular order (Sahidic translated directly from Greek, Arabic translated from Sahidic, and Ethiopic translated from Arabic, though the latter two are not necessarily based on the particular Sahidic and Arabic texts represented here in translation).¹² The reference given by Bishai to slaves' rest on two days we omit; but his reference to the assembling of baptismal candidates on the Sabbath we include, inasmuch as he has given insufficient context for a clear picture of what was involved.

Sahidic, 45, 46

Arabic, 33, 34

Ethiopic, 34, 35

Let them who will be baptised fast on the preparation (paraskeuē) of the sabbath (sabbaton). And (de) on the sabbath (sabbaton), when they who will be baptised have assembled in one place by the direction (gnōmē) of the bishop, let them all be commanded to pray and bend their knees. And when he has laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise (exorgize) all alien spirits to flee away from them, and not to return to them henceforward. . . . And let them spend all the

And they who wish to be baptised shall fast on Friday (jumah), and the bishop shall assemble those who are to be baptised on the day of the sabbath in one place, and shall command them all to pray and prostrate themselves. And having laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise every alien spirit, that they may flee away from them and never return to them henceforth . . . and let them keep watch all their night, and let them read to them and admonish

And those who desire to be baptised shall fast on Friday, and the bishop shall assemble all those who shall be baptised on Saturday into one place, and shall command all of them (to make) prayer and prostration; and when he has laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise the unclean spirit that he may flee away from them and not enter into them again. . . . and they shall read to them the Scriptures, and exhort them. . . . [35] At the time of cock-crow they shall

¹² G. Horner, ed. and trans., *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (Oxford, 1915). For information on these and other translations, see the "Introduction" and "Description of the Manuscripts," pp. vii-xxxix. Cf. also Easton, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32; and Dix, *op. cit.*, pp. lii-lxvi.

night in vigil, reading to them and instructing (kathēge) them.... [46] At the hour, then (de), when the cock will crow, let them first pray over the water.... And ye shall first baptise the little ones....¹³

them.... [34] At the time of cock-crow, let him pray first over the water ... and they shall begin by baptising the little children first....¹⁴

first pray over the water.... And they shall baptise the little children first.... And on the sabbath and on the first day of the week if it be possible the bishop himself with his own hand shall deliver to all the people while the deacons break the bread. ...¹⁵

Sahidic, 31 (cf. 64)

Arabic, 21 (cf. 52)

Ethiopic, 22 (cf. 53)

The bishop shall be ordained (kheirodonei) according to the word which we said before. . . . When he has been named (onōmaze) and they are pleased with him, the whole people (laos) shall assemble themselves together, and the presbyters with the deacons on the Lord's day (kyriakē)....¹⁶

The bishop shall be ordained, as we have already said.... When they have made mention of him and are satisfied with him all the people shall assemble together, and the presbyters and the deacons, on Sunday. ...¹⁷

The bishop shall be ordained as we have already spoken; one who has been chosen by all the people together, with the presbyters and deacons on the day of the sabbath....¹⁸

In the first set of quotations above, the three texts agree with respect to Friday as a day of fasting for the baptismal candidates and with respect to the Sabbath as a day for assembling them. There would seem to be no reason to doubt that this statement of procedure stems from Hippolytus. However, the Ethiopic text has omitted the reference to the night vigil, which was evidently a *Saturday night* vigil. The actual rite of baptism, it would seem, took place on Sunday

¹³ Horner, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 316.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 253.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 151-157.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 306 (cf. p. 340).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 244, 245 (cf. p. 273).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 138 (cf. p. 197).

morning (not on the Sabbath, as Bishai thought).¹⁹ Nevertheless, a respect is shown for *both* days—a respect perhaps not far different from that manifest in the eastern sources of the time.²⁰

Again, with regard to the first set of quotations, the Ethiopic text contains at the end of its Chapter 35 an interesting addition with special instructions regarding the celebration of the eucharist “on the sabbath and on the first day of the week.” Is this an interpolation in the Ethiopic, or does it represent original material which was lost in the Sahidic and Arabic? The tertiary nature of the Ethiopic text would speak in favor of the former alternative, as would also the fact that the other two texts agree. In addition, there *may* be a relationship between this statement in the Ethiopic text and the peculiar emphasis of the same text in the earlier-mentioned reference to both the Sabbath and the first day of the week as “sabbaths.”²¹ And still further support for our conclusion may present itself as we proceed to analyze the second set of quotations above.

In that second set of quotations, which refers to the ordination of bishops, the Ethiopic text again stands alone in its reading of “sabbath” (in both Statutes 22 and 53) in contrast to the reading “Lord’s day” or “Sunday” of the Sahidic and Arabic. In this case, however, we have two other sources as independent checks: the Latin version of Hippolytus’ *Apostolic Tradition*, 2, and the Greek of *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 4. Both of these agree with the Sahidic and Arabic as against the Ethiopic.²² In view of the Ethiopic interpolation which

¹⁹ See Bishai, *op. cit.*, p. 27. He refers to “the performance of this ritual on the Sabbath.”

²⁰ Cf., *e.g.*, the sources called to attention by Kraft, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

²¹ See above, p. 150, and the excerpts quoted by Bishai, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 29.

²² Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 33, translating from the Latin: “Let the bishop be ordained after he has been chosen by all the people. When he has been named and shall please all, let him, with the presbytery and such bishops as may be present, assemble with the people on a Sunday.”

speaks of both Sabbath and Sunday as "sabbaths," there is, of course, the possibility that the term "sabbath" as used here in the Ethiopic *might* mean Sunday. But if not, the Ethiopic represents a variation from all the other sources, and quite definitely depicts a practice different from that described by Hippolytus.

The foregoing analysis of Sabbath-Sunday statements in the *Egyptian Church Order* suggests that there is a minimal amount of evidence for a dual observance of some sort which should very likely be traced to Hippolytus. This small amount of evidence, together with Hippolytus' polemical remark concerning the Sabbath fast, is, however, most interesting, for it opens up to us the possibility that there was in third-century Rome a greater respect for the Sabbath than has been commonly thought. It has long been known, of course, that Rome is the place which gives us the earliest (second-century) clear evidence for Christian Sunday observance as well as anti-Sabbath attitude.²³

The foregoing analysis would also suggest that Bishai may not have been entirely wrong in seeing some sort of dichotomy in the Sabbath-Sunday practices of early Christianity, while at the same time it provides one further evidence in substantiation of Kraft's conclusion that there was no such dichotomy between Bishai's northern and southern groups. Indeed, the place where the dichotomy existed was within the southern groups themselves!

But why the peculiar emphasis of the Ethiopic text, which distinguishes it from both the Sahidic and Arabic (as well as from the Greek and Latin sources where these are

ANF, VII, 481 (*Ap. Const.* viii.4): "...let the people assemble, with the presbytery and bishops that are present, on the Lord's day. ...". The words in question as given in the Greek text are ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ (*MPG*, I, col. 1072), but they also appear in a Latin translation as *in die Dominica* (*MPG*, I, col. 1071).

²³ In Justin Martyr, *Apology*, I, ch. 67; and numerous references to the Sabbath in *Dialogue with Trypho*, including ch. 23.

available)? Any attempt to answer this question will lead only to conjecture. But it may not be amiss to call attention to Bishai's solution, which, if limited to the community or communities using the Ethiopic text rather than generalized for Coptic Christianity, is not without merit as one possible answer:

Perhaps the justification for observing Sunday as produced by the Ethiopic version of the *Statutes of the Apostles* does not appeal to either Jews or Christians today, yet it must have sounded reasonable to the Early Christians of the southern group of churches during the fourth century of our era. Nevertheless, the question is: Why did the editor of the Ethiopic version resort to such a justification? [Bishai has just quoted at length from the interpolation which claims that both the Sabbath and the first day of the week were named "sabbaths."] The only logical answer to this question is to suppose some sort of complaint on the part of people regarding working only on five days and resting on two. This in turn leads us to think that prior to the fourth century, Christians in Egypt and Ethiopia [this should definitely be more limited] may have observed only the seventh-day, and that for some reason the Coptic [rather, "Ethiopic" or "some Ethiopic"?] bishops more recently had introduced the observance of Sunday. . . .²⁴

²⁴ Bishai, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

THE HISTORY OF HESHBON FROM LITERARY SOURCES *

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Heshbon (modern *Hesbân*) is located in Transjordan, about 20 miles east of the Jordan where it enters the Dead Sea. The remains of the old city are covered now by two hills, 2,930 and 2,954 feet above sea level respectively. ¹ According to the latest available statistics (from 1961), the village of *Hesbân* has 718 inhabitants. ²

Heshbon in OT Times

Heshbon appears for the first time in the Biblical record as the capital city of Sihon, the Amorite king defeated by Moses. ³ However, the region in which Heshbon was located is mentioned much earlier in the Bible. In Gn 14:5, Chedorlaomer and his confederates appear as smiting successively the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, ⁴ the Zuzim in Ham, ⁵ and the Emim in Shaveh Kiriathaim (*i.e.*, the plain of Kiriathaim). Kiriathaim has been identified with *el-Qereiyât*, about five miles northwest of *Dhibân*. ⁶ It appears together with Heshbon in Num 32:37 among the cities rebuilt by the

* This article is a condensation of a B.D. thesis covering the same subject, deposited in the James White Library of Andrews University.

¹ "Heshbon," *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, eds. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, II (London, 1901), col. 2044.

² Awni Dajani, director of the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Letter to the author, December 12, 1966.

³ Num 21:21 ff.

⁴ Siegfried H. Horn *et al.*, *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Dictionary* (Washington, D. C., 1960), p. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

tribe of Reuben. ⁷ The Emim, who in an earlier time had lived in that region, belonged to the people known in the OT by the general name of אֱמִיִּים. At the time of the Exodus, the Moabites, who had occupied part of their territory, called them אֱמִיִּים, ⁸ while the Ammonites called them אֲמֹנִיִּים. ⁹

In the fortieth year after the Exodus, ¹⁰ Israel was about to cross the River Arnon. At that time the land north of the Arnon was ruled by Sihon, king of the Amorites, whose capital city was Heshbon. ¹¹ Num 21:26-30 indicates that Sihon had only recently expelled the Moabites from Heshbon and driven them to the south of the Arnon River. It is not known how long the region had belonged to Moab before Sihon conquered it, but it is evident that the Moabites had been well established there because even after the defeat of Sihon by Moses it is said, (a) that the plain on the eastern side of the Jordan River, across from Jericho, was called "plains of Moab"; ¹² (b) that Balak's and Balaam's intervention took place in Sihon's former territory; ¹³ (c) that "the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab" ¹⁴ in the plains of Moab, across from Jericho; and (d) that Moses died and was buried "in the land of Moab." ¹⁵

Sihon was the first king in Transjordan defeated by Moses. ¹⁶ His territory was given to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, ¹⁷ but the city of Heshbon was allotted to Reuben. ¹⁸ However, it seems that the borders between the territories of Reuben

⁷ Cf. also Jos 13:15-19.

⁸ Dt 2:10, 11.

⁹ Dt 2:20, 21.

¹⁰ Cf. Num 20:23-29; 33:38.

¹¹ Num 21:26.

¹² Num 22:1; 31:12; 33:48; 36:13.

¹³ Num 22-24.

¹⁴ Num 25:1.

¹⁵ Dt 34:5, 6.

¹⁶ Num 21:21-26, 34; Dt 1:3, 4; 2:24; 3:2, 6; 29:7; Jos 9:10; 12:2, 5; 13:10, 21, 27; Neh 9:22; etc.

¹⁷ Num 32; Jos 13:15-28.

¹⁸ Jos 13:15, 17.

and Gad were not well defined.¹⁹ Reuben's territory is said to have reached as far south as the Arnon, and from the desert and the Ammonite border in the east, to the Jordan River and the Dead Sea in the west.²⁰

Num 32:37 states that "the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh... and gave other names unto the cities which they builded." But against this statement is that of Num 32:34-36 which says that among the cities built by "the children of Gad" were Ataroth and Dibon, which were located in the southern half of the territory otherwise attributed to Reuben,²¹ and according to Jos 21:38, 39 Heshbon itself is said to have belonged to Gad.²²

¹⁹ Jos 13:26.

²⁰ F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1938), II, 69.

²¹ Even Mesha, king of Moab, in the "Moabite Stone," claims that the "men of Gad had long dwelt in the land of Ataroth" (line 10).

²² Cf. 1 Chr 6:81. F. de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1865), I, 287, mistakenly contends that the name Gad, in Jos 21:38, 39, applies only to Ramoth of Gilead and Mahanaim. The fact that Heshbon appears in Num 32:37 and Jos 13:17 in the territory of Reuben, and then in Jos 21:39 in the territory of Gad, has been variously explained by commentators: C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch state simply that the Reubenites "relinquished" or "ceded" Heshbon to the Gadites (*The Pentateuch*, III, 238; *Joshua, Judges, Ruth*, p. 140). A. G. Butzer, commenting on Num 32:34-38, remarks that the "towns ascribed to Reuben seem to form a group inside the Gadite territory" (*The Interpreters Bible*, II, 293). J. R. Sizoo considers that the assigning of Heshbon to Gad in Jos 21:39 "reflects the fact that Reuben, like Simeon, early lost separate tribal identity and began to be absorbed into Gad" (*ibid.*, p. 654). G. B. Gray makes the obvious observation that "there is little to control the biblical data on these matters" (*The International Critical Commentary on Numbers*, p. 433). He also points out that the situation of Heshbon is reversed in the case of Dibon, which appears under Gad in Num 32:34 and under Reuben in Jos 13:17. He sees in Num 32, following the documentary theory, sources J, E and P, but admits that "a strict analysis of the chapter as between JE and P cannot be satisfactorily carried through" (*ibid.*, p. 426). Jos 13:15-38 is attributed to P (*ibid.*, p. 433). O. Eissfeldt coincides with Gray in attributing Num 32 to J, E and P. He sees the P source in Jos 13:15-33 and also in Jos 21 (*The Old Testament* [Oxford, 1965], pp. 189, 200, 201, 251). R. H. Pfeiffer goes a little farther when he states that Jos 13:15-33 "has really no place in Joshua." It belongs before Num 34:13-15 "together with the parallel JE account in ch. 32, containing

Later on, the territory of Gad was further expanded to the north and to the south.²³

During the early period of the judges, Eglon, king of Moab, allied with the Ammonites and the Amalekites, "sent and smote Israel, and possessed the city of palm trees."²⁴ If he was in possession of Jericho on the west bank, it is safe to assume that Heshbon and its surrounding country were also occupied by him. When Ehud killed Eglon, the residence of the Moabite king seems to have been "not far across the Jordan from Gilgal." The result of Eglon's victory over the Moabites must have been the reoccupation of Heshbon and the surrounding country. Otherwise Jephthah's statement, made at a later time, that "Israel dwelt in Heshbon and her towns . . . three hundred years"²⁵ would not be very meaningful.

Then the situation changed. The Ammonites occupied this area. The judge Jephthah, called by the distressed Israelites, tried to negotiate a peaceful settlement with "the king of the children of Ammon"²⁶ about the territory which had been taken from Israel. Since (a) Chemosh, the national god

P interpolations" (*Introduction to the Old Testament* [New York, 1941], p. 308). Then he adds that Jos 21:1-43 is really an appendix to source P written by a Levite of the 3rd century B.C. as a protest "against the ancient practice (officially sanctioned by P in Num. 18:20 f., 24) depriving priests and Levites of territorial possessions. He assigned on paper thirteen cities to the priests and thirty-five to the Levites . . . as a fitting supplement to P's provision for asylum cities in Josh. 20" (*ibid.*, pp. 308, 309). J. Simons believes that the lists of cities in Num 32:34-38 "point to a stage, in which the respective territories of these tribes were not sharply marked off from each other . . . though Gad is credited preponderantly with northern and Reuben exclusively with southern places" (*The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [Leiden, 1959], p. 132). Later the division became sharper. "In this case Nu. xxxii 34-38 would reflect a situation in Transjordan somewhat similar to that suggested by Judg. i for the other side of the river" (*ibid.*, p. 133).

²³ 1 Chr 5:11, 16.

²⁴ Jugs 3:13.

²⁵ Jugs 11:26.

²⁶ Jugs 11:13 ff.

of the Moabites, is mentioned as "thy god,"²⁷ (*i.e.*, the god of the king of the Ammonites), and (b) the disputed territory extended, according to the Ammonite king, "from Arnon even unto Jabbok, and unto Jordan,"²⁸ it can be assumed that the Ammonites and Moabites were united, or that the latter were subjects of the former at this time.²⁹

In the war that followed, the Ammonites were defeated. Although the places mentioned in Jugs 11:33 cannot be located with certainty, it is probable that Heshbon was liberated. Minnith, mentioned here, is thought to have been in the neighborhood of Heshbon,³⁰ and "the plain of the vineyards" (or, Abel-keramin) has been identified with two possible sites, both lying close to modern 'Ammân.³¹

During the time of the United Kingdom, Saul fought successful wars against the Moabites and the Ammonites.³² But during his reign the border between Moab and Israel seems to have been rather ill defined, and it is thought that Heshbon lay in the disputed territory.³³ Also David "smote Moab" and subdued it. It seems that he pushed the southern border of Israel just as far as the Arnon, as can be concluded from a report dealing with the census which says that the census takers started their work at that river and from there proceeded to the north.³⁴ It is of interest to note that the Arnon is mentioned in our text as "the river of Gad." In Canticles, said to come from Solomon, "the fishpools of Heshbon, by the gate of Bath-rabbim" (7:4) are mentioned. Heshbon appears here as a city with some splendor. It was located in the last district in the list of twelve provinces that "pro-

²⁷ Jugs 11:24.

²⁸ Jugs 11:13.

²⁹ Jugs 11:15; cf. v. 13, and also v. 33.

³⁰ G. M. Landes in *The Interpreter's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 393.

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 5.

³² 1 Sa 14:47.

³³ Emil Kraeling, *Rand McNally Bible Atlas* (Chicago, 1956), p. 237.

³⁴ 2 Sa 8:2, 11, 12; 1 Chr 18:2; 2 Sa 24:5 (cf. Jos 13:16); Abel *op. cit.*, II, 77; Simons, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 117, n. 78.

vided victuals for the king and his household" during Solomon's reign.³⁵

After the breakup of the united kingdom Heshbon belonged to the northern kingdom of Israel. How it later reverted to Moab is unknown, but it is certain that it belonged to Moab from the latter part of the 8th century, at least, until the reign of Ashurbanipal.³⁶

Isaiah's prophecy against Moab in chapters 15 and 16 was delivered undoubtedly during the early period of the Moabite domination of this region. Together with Heshbon,³⁷ other important cities north of the Arnon are attributed to Moab: Dibon, Medeba, Elealeh, etc. Heshbon appears here as an agricultural center which had formerly been rather prosperous. Mention is made of its "fields," "summer fruits," and "harvest." Sibmah, from which a fine wine came, was connected with it.³⁸

When Nebuchadnezzar campaigned in Palestine for the first time (605 B.C.), the Moabites apparently paid him tribute, and they continued to be friendly to him for several years. They appear sometimes between 602 and 598 B.C., together with the Chaldeans, Syrians and Ammonites, harassing Jehoiakim, who was in rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar.³⁹ It seems certain that the Moabites were pro-Babylonian at that time. But the situation was going to change, as can be learned from Jeremiah's prophecy against Moab (Jer 48), which can tentatively be dated between 605 and 594. Here a number of Moabite cities are listed that were going to fall under the scourge of the Babylonians. Of the 21 places named that can be identified with reasonable certainty, all but four

³⁵ 1 Ki 4:7-19.

³⁶ Assyrian royal inscriptions and Jer 48 testify to the fact that in the second half of the 7th century Moab still possessed the region north of the Arnon (A. H. Van Zyl, *The Moabites* [Leiden, 1960], p. 154).

³⁷ Is 15:4; 16:8, 9.

³⁸ E. D. Grohman, *The Interpreter's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 342, 343.

³⁹ 2 Ki 24:1, 2.

were found north of the Arnon. Heshbon occupies a prominent place in this prophecy.⁴⁰

But in Jer 49:3 Heshbon appears as an Ammonite city. This prophecy was written probably shortly after Jer 48, indicating that Heshbon had changed hands. How and when this happened remains uncertain. Eze 25:9, 10, which can probably be dated *ca.* 588 B.C., refers to an invasion of Moab by "men of the east" with the Ammonites.⁴¹ This invasion may have been the beginning of Ammonite control of Heshbon.

From this time on, the information about Heshbon and the surrounding country becomes very fragmentary and is for some periods non-existent. The only Biblical mention of Heshbon after Jeremiah's time is found in Neh 9:22, where only a historical allusion to its conquest under Moses is made.

*Esbu*⁴² in Hellenistic and Maccabean Times

After 301 B.C. Syria and Palestine were firmly in the hands of the Ptolemies. During this period the establishment of Greek colonies found a favorable soil east of the Jordan. The Zenon papyri⁴³ of the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246) give a prominent place to the Tobiads, particularly to one Tobiah who appears as an autonomous ruler of his land, which

⁴⁰ Jer 48:2, 34, 45.

⁴¹ Simons, *op. cit.*, p. 454. Cf. Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 123.

⁴² The name of the city of Heshbon was variously spelled from Hellenistic times through the Byzantine period. To avoid confusion, only one spelling will be used in this paper for this period: *Esbu*. Different MSS of the LXX, dating from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, contain at least ten variant spellings. See A. Brooke and N. McLean, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek* (London, 1906-1935); H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 148-154. The Vulgate presents the spelling *Esebon*, although different Vulgate MSS provide at least 18 variant spellings from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. See *Biblia Sacra, Iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, A. Gasquet, ed. (Rome, 1926-1953), 10 vols. *Esbu* is one of the spellings given by Eusebius, as transliterated by Jerome in his Latin translation of the *Onomastikon*.

⁴³ B. Mazar, "The Tobiads," *IEJ*, VII (1957), 139 (P. Zenon 59003, 59005, 59075, 59076.)

in another document is called ἐν τῇ Τουβίου, ⁴⁴ that is, the land of Tobiah. A contract was written in 259 B.C. in Βίρτα τῆς Ἀμμωνίτιδος, ⁴⁵ "Birta of the Ammonitis." This is undoubtedly the Τύρος (Aram. *Bîrthâ*), the stronghold of the Tobiads, mentioned by Josephus. ⁴⁶ He says that in the second century B.C. this Tyre of the Tobiads was located "between Arabia and Judea, beyond Jordan, not far from the country of Heshbon." ⁴⁷ Here Esbus appears to be the center of a district, but a little later Josephus lists it among the cities of the Moabitis. ⁴⁸ Since Esbus is the first city mentioned as part of the Moabitis, it is possible that it was the capital. Sometimes its name was applied to the whole district. The Moabitis and the Gabalitis (or Gamalitis), both districts lying south of the Ammonitis, were areas of dispute between the Ptolemies and the Nabateans. ⁴⁹

I Macc 5:25, 26, 36 indicates that Transjordan had a strong Jewish population in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. This may have been the chief reason why the Maccabees extended their territory in that direction. First Peraea was annexed by Jonathan *ca.* 147 B.C. ⁵⁰ Later, John Hyrcanus captured the cities of Madeba and Samaga (129 B.C.). ⁵¹ It is surprising that Esbus is not mentioned in this connection, but it must have become a possession of John Hyrcanus at that time, because it is listed among the cities of Moab that were in Jewish hands during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76/75 B.C.), although its name does not appear among the cities captured by Jannaeus. ⁵²

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 140 (P. Lond. Inv. 2358).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, (P. Zenon 59003).

⁴⁶ Flavius Josephus, *Ant.*, xii 4.11.

⁴⁷ Ἐσσεβωνίτις. He also uses Ἐσσεβωνίτις (*Wars*, ii.18.1; iii.3.3) and Ἐσσεβών (*Ant.*, xii.15.4).

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii. 15.4.

⁴⁹ Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966), p. 41.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵¹ Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii.9.1.

⁵² *Ibid.*, xiii.15.5. See also Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

Esbus in Roman and Byzantine Times

Nothing is known of the status of Esbus during the time between the reign of Aristobulus II (67-63 B.C.) and the accession of Herod the Great (37 B.C.). It may have been in the hands of the Nabateans during this period. However, it certainly belonged to Herod, because Josephus mentions it among several fortresses and fortified cities which Herod built to strengthen his kingdom. The text says that Ἐσεβών was "built in Perea."⁵³ It is not clear what the exact meaning of "built" is in this context. It may simply mean that Herod fortified the city.⁵⁴ He is said to have populated it with veterans, probably to protect his border with the Nabateans, and to have made it part of Peraea, although it seems to have enjoyed a semi-autonomous status, due to its military importance.⁵⁵

After Herod's death, his son Antipas (4 B.C.-A.D. 39) with the title of tetrarch ruled over Galilee and Peraea. But Esbus apparently did not belong to his territory since Ἐσεβών appears later on, according to Josephus, to the east of Peraea, together with Arabia, Philadelphia and Gerasa.⁵⁶ It was a district, distinct from Peraea and also from Arabia, although it may have been subject to the Arabians (Nabateans).⁵⁷

At the beginning of the Jewish war (A.D. 66) the Jews sacked Esbus.⁵⁸ Perhaps more than the city of Esbus is meant here, because the name appears as Ἐσεβών which

⁵³ Josephus, *Ant.*, xv.8.5.

⁵⁴ Emil Schürer thinks that Herod *rebuilt* "Esbon in Perea." *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (New York, [n. d.]), First Div. vol. I, pp. 436, 437. The key word in the Greek is συνέκτισεν, clearly derived from κτίζω, which can mean: "to build houses and cities," "to found a city," "to build up a country."

⁵⁵ See Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 99; cf. also p. 94.

⁵⁶ Josephus, *Wars*, iii.3.3. On "the south it is bounded by the land of Moab, on the east by Arabia, Heshbonitis, Philadelphia, and Gerasa." Cf. *Ant.*, xv.8.5, where under Herod the Great, Esbus is part of Peraea.

⁵⁷ Schürer, *op. cit.*, Second Div., vol. I, pp. 129, 130.

⁵⁸ Josephus, *Wars*, ii.18.1.

gives the impression that the district of Esbus is referred to.

In A.D. 105 the legate of Syria, under orders from the Emperor Trajan, occupied Nabataea, and a year later the Nabatean kingdom became a Roman province named "Arabia," which was administered by a praetorian legate.⁵⁹ The capital was Petra, and the *Legio III Cyrenaica* was stationed as garrison at Bozrah.⁶⁰ In Ptolemy's *Geography*,⁶¹ which reflects the political conditions of ca. 130-ca. 160, Ἐσβοῦς appears as part of Arabia Petraea, of which the exact location is described as being $68 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3}$ degrees longitude and 31 degrees latitude. It can be assumed that Esbus formed part of the Roman province Arabia Petraea from its creation in A.D. 106.

Around 129-130,⁶² in preparation for the visit of the Emperor Hadrian, a road was built to connect Esbus with Livias, Jericho and Jerusalem. Milestones 5-7 from Esbus have been found.⁶³ The first two have several inscriptions each, mentioning several Roman emperors. The inscriptions on Milestone 5 have been dated to the years 219, 307 and 364-375(?). Those of Milestone 6 have been dated to the years 162, 236 and 288. On the inscribed milestones the name of the city appears in the Greek phrase ἀπὸ Ἐσβοῦντος four times, and in the Latin *Esb[unte]* once. The fact that the miles were counted from Esbus is evidence of the relative importance of that city at that time.

According to Avi-Yonah, Elagabalus (218-222) raised the cities of Characmoba (*Kerak*) and Esbus to a municipal status.⁶⁴ Bronze coins from Esbus, probably all from this

⁵⁹ Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 165.

⁶⁰ Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 165 (Abel gives as his sources Dio Cassius, lxxviii.14; and Ammian, xiv. 8.13). Certain coins of Trajan bear the inscription *Arabia adquisita* (Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 165).

⁶¹ Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia* (Amsterdam, 1966), v. 17.

⁶² Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 184.

⁶³ Peter Thomsen, "Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina," *ZDPV*, XL (1917), 67, 68.

⁶⁴ Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

period, indicate that the city was then called *Aurelia Ebsus*. The name appears in Greek on the reverse of six coins in the British Museum collection in the following forms: (1) AV... (left); °VC (right); (2) AVPE (left) ... (right); (3) AV (above) [E]CBOV[C] ... (below); (4) [AV] (above) ECB°VC (below); (5) AV (above)... (below); (6) AVPECB (left) OVS (right).⁶⁵ It is a fact that "we learn of the existence of these cities almost exclusively from the coins struck by them in the exercise of their municipal rights."⁶⁶

At the time of the Council of Nicea (325), Ebsus appears for the first time as an episcopal seat. It belonged to the province of Arabia and its superior was the metropolitan of Bozrah.⁶⁷ The bishop of Ebsus, *Gennadius*, is mentioned twice in the acts of the Council of Nicea. His full name and title are given first as *Gennadius Jabrodorum Ybutensis Provinciae Arabiae*,⁶⁸ and then as *Gennadius Bunnorum*⁶⁹ *Arabiae*.

Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 275-ca. 340), in his *Onomastikon* mentions Ἑσσεβῶν... καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Ἑσβοῦς, as ἐπίσμος πόλις τῆς Ἀραβίας.⁷⁰ He locates it 20 miles from the Jordan in the mountains in front of Jericho.⁷¹ In locating several towns or villages in that area he gives their distances in

⁶⁵ G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922), pp. xxxiii, 29, 30; Plate; V, 1-3. Some of the coins have been dated to the reign of Caracalla (211-217) by Heidet, "Hésebon," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. G. Vigouroux, III (Paris, 1903), col. 663. Also I. Benzinger, "Ebsus," *Pauyls Real-Encyclopädia der classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, XI (Stuttgart, 1907), col. 612. This dating, however, is not generally accepted today. Besides Ebsus, the following cities of Arabia minted their own money: Edrei, Bozrah, Philippopolis, Canatha, Dion, Gerasa, Philadelphia and Madeba (Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 187).

⁶⁶ Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

⁶⁷ Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (London, 1907), p. 16.

⁶⁸ J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum. Nova et Amplissima Collectio* (Graz, 1960-1961), II, col. 694.

⁶⁹ Marginal reading: *Esbundon* (*ibid.*, II, col. 699).

⁷⁰ Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 84:1-6. Jerome translates this phrase: "urbs insignis Arabiae" (85:1-6).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 84:1-6; cf. also 12:20-24; 16:24-26.

Roman miles from Esbus. This suggests that Esbus was the capital of a provincial district at that time. The towns mentioned, on the other hand, help to determine the geographical limits of the district of Esbus.⁷²

Among the bishops who attended the Council of Ephesus (431) was Ζῶσος Ἐσβοῦντος.⁷³ Apparently the same bishop is mentioned in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451) as Ζωσίτου πόλεως Ἐσβουντων.⁷⁴ It would seem that the bishop of Esbus was subject to the patriarchate of Antioch, for the *Notitia Antiochena* (about 570) mentions *Essmos* (Esbos) as an episcopal seat, suffragan of Bozrah, under Antioch, in *Bitira Arabiae*.⁷⁵

During the excavations conducted at *Râs es-Siâghah* in 1933, a stone capital was found at the east end of the north aisle of the basilica. The capital is decorated with crosses, one of which has letters attached to the extremities of its arms. When read in the correct sequence, the letters spell ECBOY.⁷⁶ According to Abel, the basilica at *Râs es-Siâghah* was built in the fifth century, then destroyed in the last quarter of the sixth century, probably by an earthquake, and rebuilt by 597. It was used during the seventh century and perhaps "not entirely abandoned before the eighth."⁷⁷ Undoubtedly the capital was part of the rebuilt basilica. "It is not improbable that the people of Esbus presented this capital to the sanctuary of Moses on Mount Nebo,"⁷⁸ perhaps toward the end of the sixth century.

⁷² Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁷³ Marginal note: Εἰσβοῦντος. The Latin Version is *Zosys* (margin, *Zosius*) *Isbuntis* (Mansi, *op. cit.*, IV, cols. 1269 [Greek], 1270 [Latin]).

⁷⁴ In Latin, *Zosio civitatis Esbuntorum* (with variant spellings in different MSS) (Mansi, *op. cit.*, cols. 167 [Latin], 168 [Greek]).

⁷⁵ *MPL*, CCI, col. 1067. See also R. de Vaux, "Chronique," *RB*, XLVII (1938), p. 254.

⁷⁶ Sylvester Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo* (Jerusalem, 1941), I, 265; II, Plate 42, 2.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 45, 46.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 266.

*Esbu from the Arab Conquest to the end of the
Eighteenth Century*

A mosaic and some papal letters are the only witnesses to Esbu coming from the early period of Arab domination of Palestine.

In 1934, Mufaḍḍi Ibn el-Ḥaddâdin, while carrying out excavations at *Ma'in* (8 km. southwest of Madeba) to lay the foundations for his house, came across a mosaic. In 1937, while trying to remodel one of the rooms of his house, he uncovered some further fragments of it. From October 14-22 of the same year, Savignac and de Vaux of the "École Archéologique Française" uncovered the extant parts of the mosaic under the house and in the court-yard.⁷⁹

The mosaic, according to de Vaux, comes from the last quarter of the sixth century or the first half of the seventh, more probably from the end of this period.⁸⁰ It had belonged to the floor of a church of which almost all traces have disappeared.⁸¹ The central part of the mosaic was surrounded by a 70 cm. wide mosaic border. It contained representations of various buildings, separated by trees. Originally there must have been 24 such buildings. They were evidently churches, each one accompanied by a name. Unfortunately, only about half of them have survived. These are: ΝΗΚΩΠΟΛΕΙΣ. [. . .] ΠΟΛΕΙΣ. ΑΣΚΑΛΟΝ, ΜΑΗΟΥΜΑΣ. [ΓΑ]ΖΑ, ΩΔ-[ΡΟΑ], [ΧΕΡΑΧΜΟ]ΥΒΑ, ΑΡΕΩΠΟΛΕΙΣ, ΓΑΔΟΡΟΝ, ΕΙ(ΒΟΥΣ), ΒΕΛΕΜΟΥΝΙΜ.⁸²

A modern wall, built right through the mosaic, has left only the two first letters of the name Ἐσβουῶς, and no traces of the representation of its church building.

In 649 Pope Martin I convened the Lateran Synod that

⁷⁹ De Vaux, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 228.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 241.

rejected Monotheletism.⁸³ Shortly thereafter, he wrote letters to several bishops regarding this problem. One of these addressed to John, bishop of Philadelphia (in the Province of Arabia), includes the synodal Acts and the Encyclica and also the assurance of the support of Theodore of Ebus, Anthony of Bacatha, and others, to whom he had also written.⁸⁴ From the letters to Theodore of Ebus and Anthony of Bacatha it is known "that the two bishops had been on the side of the heresy, but had sent to the Pope an orthodox declaration of faith, and thereby had obtained his confirmation."⁸⁵ This correspondence of Martin I shows that Ebus was an important bishopric in the middle of the 7th century. This conclusion is supported by the mosaic of *Ma'in*. However, nothing is known of the city itself.

After this correspondence, the name Ebus disappears from the literary sources, reappearing only centuries later in its Arabic form *Hesbân*.

During the Abbasid period, 'Abū-Dja'far Muhammad at-Ṭabarī' (839-923) mentions *Gabal Hesbân*, known by him to be located near the city of the same name (*Hesbân*).⁸⁶ But his mention of Heshbon refers to Israelite history.⁸⁷ However, if Tabarī's statement means that a town by the name *Hesbân* existed in his time, it is possible that the *Gabal Hesbân* refers to the *tell* of old Heshbon-Ebus. It may have been destroyed in the war which was waged in that area *ca.* 790. When *Hesbân* appears again in a clear historical context, in 1184, it is merely a village.⁸⁸

⁸³ K. von Hefele, *A History of the Councils of the Church from the Original Documents*, V (Edinburgh, 1896), 97, 98, 109-114.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 117.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Information received from Fritz Steppat, Director of the Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, by letter of January 2, 1967, from Beirut; and from Andrew Bowling, of Haigazian College, Beirut, by letter of March, 1967. Steppat gives the names as *Gabal Husbân* and refers to Tabarī's work (ed. de Goeje), I, 509. Bowling makes reference to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.

⁸⁷ Steppat, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁸ Behâ Ed-Dîn, *The Life of Saladin* (London, 1897), p. 97.

This mention appears in relation with Saladin's attempts to take the fortress of Kerak in 1184. Ed-Dîn, contemporary and biographer of Saladin, writes about this:

As the Franks had halted at el-Wâleh, he took up a position opposite to them, close to a village called Hesbân, but afterwards marched on to a place called M'âin (*sic.*); the Franks remained in their position at el-Wâleh until the 26th of Jomada I (September 4, 1184), when they moved their camp nearer to el-Kerak.⁸⁹

This, then, is the first clear, known reference to *Hesbân* as an inhabited place after the letters of Pope Martin I (649) to John of Philadelphia and Theodore of Esbus. From all available evidences it seems that the Crusaders never occupied *Hesbân*.⁹⁰

Some time before 1321 Sanuto, a nobleman from Venice, wrote the book *Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them to Recover the Holy Land*. Although he evidently never visited Palestine and was clearly dependent on information provided by others, he produced a map of Palestine, in which Heshbon appears.⁹¹ But the map, as Conder says, "is a rude sketch, quite out of scale and very incorrect."⁹²

The Jewish scholar ha-Parchi, from Provence, who visited Egypt and Palestine in 1314 and the following years, placed *Hesbân* two days' journey southeast of Bethshan, east of the Jordan, north of 'Ar'abah and the Arnon, and south of the Jabbok.⁹³

In the Arabic geographical literature originating from before the time of the Mamelukes (1250-1516/17) *Hesbân* is not mentioned. It seems that it was of little importance, while 'Ammân was considered the main city of the *Belqâ*. Later,

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Heidet, *op. cit.*, col. 663; S. Salaville, "Hesebon," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1910), VII, p. 298.

⁹¹ Marino Sanuto, *Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them Recover the Holy Land* (London, 1896), pp. 2, 3.

⁹² Conder's "Note on the Maps," *ibid.*, p. ix.

⁹³ According to Heidet, *op. cit.*, col. 658.

however, *Ḥesbân* appears to have gained in importance.⁹⁴ Abu el-Feda (died 1331)⁹⁵ in his *Tabula Syriae* writes:

And the Belka, one of the districts of the Sherat, is fertile. The capital of the Belka is Husban. This is a little town. Husban has a valley of trees, and gardens and planted fields; and this valley is joined to the Ghor of Zoar. The Belka is a [day's] journey from Jericho.⁹⁶

Other Arabic writers who mention *Ḥesbân* as an existing town are Dimišqī (died 1327), Ibn Fadl Allāh al-ʿUmari (1301-1348), Qalqašandī and Halil az-Zāhiri.⁹⁷

In Eubel's *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, there appear two men, in the 15th century, Albertinus de Tridento and Georgius Vink, called bishops of *Esben* (*Hesebon*).⁹⁸ However, it seems that these men resided in Trent, Italy, and merely carried an archaic title.⁹⁹

Ḥesbân in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Several western travelers and explorers visited *Ḥesbân* during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and recorded what they saw. The most important ones were Ulrich Seetzen (1806),¹⁰⁰ John Silk Buckingham (1816),¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Steppat, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁵ Titus Tobler, *Bibliographia Geographica Palaestinae* (Leipzig, 1867), p. 34.

⁹⁶ As quoted by Selah Merrill, *East of the Jordan* (London, 1881), p. 238. He quotes from Köhler's edition (Leipzig, 1786).

⁹⁷ Steppat, *loc. cit.*, and Bowling, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ C. Eubel et al., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (Regensburg, 1913-1952), II, 151.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Ulrich Jasper Seetzen, *Ulrich Jasper Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten* (Berlin, 1854-1859), I, 406, 407.

¹⁰¹ J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine Through the Countries of Bashan and Gilead, East of the River Jordan: Including a Visit to the Countries of Geraza and Gamala* (London, 1821). The information is taken from John McClintock and James Strong, "Heshbon," *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*, IV (New York, 1894), 220.

Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles (1816-1817),¹⁰² Edward Robinson (1838),¹⁰³ J. L. Porter (1854, 1857),¹⁰⁴ H. B. Tristram (1864),¹⁰⁵ F. de Saulcy (1863),¹⁰⁶ Claude Conder (1881),¹⁰⁷ William Thomson (before 1885),¹⁰⁸ George Post (1886),¹⁰⁹ Paul-M. Sejourné (1892),¹¹⁰ and Alois Musil (beginning of the 20th century).¹¹¹

John Garstang, who visited *Hesbân* before 1931, refers to the *tell* as follows:

This is a large mound. . . partly under cultivation, so that without excavation it is not possible to determine the outline of the city, nor to affirm that it was walled. None the less, the traces of occupation of M[iddle] B[ronze] A[ge] and L[ate] B[ronze] A[ge] are plentiful all over its slopes, and the superficial potsherds bear a marked resemblance to the local types of Jericho, which is just visible from its summit. . . In the vicinity are other, smaller Bronze Age sites, doubtless its dependencies.¹¹²

Nelson Glueck visited *Hesbân* in connection with his surface exploration of Eastern Palestine. He writes:

¹⁰² Ch. L. Irby and J. Mangles, *Travels*, p. 472, as quoted by McClintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹⁰³ Edward Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai and Arabia Petraea* (Boston, 1841), II, 278, 279.

¹⁰⁴ J. L. Porter, *A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* (London, 1858), p. 298, as referred to by McClintock and Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹⁰⁵ H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel; A Journal of Travels in Palestine* (London, 1865), pp. 539, 540.

¹⁰⁶ F. de Saulcy, *Voyage en Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1865), I, 279-288.

¹⁰⁷ C. Conder, "Lieutenant Conder's Report No. IX. Heshbon and its Cromlechs," *Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund*, XIV (1882), 8, and Conder, *Heth and Moab* (London, 1892), p. 142.

¹⁰⁸ William Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (New York, 1885), pp. 660, 661.

¹⁰⁹ George Post, "Narrative of a Scientific Expedition in the Transjordanian Region in the Spring of 1886," *Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund*, XX (1888), 190.

¹¹⁰ Paul-M. Sejourné, "Chronique," *RB*, II (1893), 136, 137.

¹¹¹ Alois Musil, *Arabia Petraea: I Moab* (Wien, 1907), p. 388, referred to in S. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo* (Jerusalem, 1949), p. 226.

¹¹² John Garstang, *The Foundations of Bible History; Joshua, Judges* (London, 1931), p. 384.

The top of the hill is covered primarily with Roman ruins, over and next to which some later Arabic ruins are visible. Although the site was carefully examined for pottery remains indicative of the early history of Ḥeshbôn, only one sherd was found belonging to E[arly] I[ron] I. A few nondescript sherds were picked up which may have been Nabatean and Roman, and a number of pieces of sigillata ware were found. There were large quantities of mediaeval Arabic glazed and painted sherds. We remained only long enough to scour the slopes and tops of the hills for sherds.¹¹³

Thirty years after Glueck's visit, Bernhard W. Anderson visited *Hesbân* and reports:

... At Hesban, which is only a short distance south of William Reed's sounding at Tell el-'Al, we were in for a big surprise. Nelson Glueck reported finding only one Iron Age sherd on the tell, but our surface finds, analyzed by the School's Director Paul Lapp, disclosed no less than nine items from Iron I, including a figurine head....¹¹⁴

Glueck's findings and conclusions are thus weakened by Anderson's more recent findings.

It is hoped that the planned excavations of *Hesbân* will provide an answer not only with regard to the Iron-Age occupation of ancient Heshbon, but also will shed light on the much debated question of human settlement in Eastern Palestine between 1800-1300 B.C.

It is surprising that in not one of the descriptions of *Hesbân* coming from the 19th and early 20th centuries reference is made to the modern village of *Hesbân*. It seems that it had disappeared during the Middle Ages, and that the present settlement is of recent origin.

Based on the descriptions made by the above-mentioned travelers and explorers, the following composite picture of the ruins of *Hesbân* can be obtained.

The ruins are found mainly on two hills of which the

¹¹³ Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I," *AASOR*, XIV (1933-1934), 6. Plate 27:26 shows a piece of "fine rouletted Nabatean" ware from *Hesbân*; Plate 26b has a fragment of sigillata ware found at *Hesbân*, attributed to the Nabatean period; and Plate 28 contains another piece of rouletted sigillata.

¹¹⁴ B. W. Anderson, "Newsletter No. 3, 1963-64," *American Schools of Oriental Research* (Jerusalem, Jordan, January 4, 1964), pp. 1, 2.

summits lie about 200 feet above the surrounding plain. These hills stretch from the northeast to the southwest for about 1800 feet. The perimeter of the old city may thus have been about one mile. The two hills are flanked by wadies on the northwest and the southeast. The *tells* are partly under cultivation, making it impossible without excavations to determine the exact outline and size of the city. Some portions of walls have been reported as still standing. The *tells* contain piles of columns, capitals, broken entablatures, old walls, massive foundations, and debris. Among the ruins several structures can be distinguished.

The northeastern hill is about 250 meters long and 100 meters wide. Its summit is flat. In the center stands a rectangular enclosure 40 meters long by 30 meters wide, oriented north to south. It is built of large rows of masonry and is apparently of Arabic origin. The remains of a building thought by some travelers to have been a temple are inside the enclosure. Part of a fine stone pavement in a good state of preservation is visible there. Three or four column bases of cubical shape rise from the pavement. They belong to the Hellenistic-Roman period. Broken columns lie on the ground. This structure is approached by a stairway from the north, where some steps, partially covered by dirt, can be seen. At the southwestern end of this hill, near its foot, lie the foundations of a building, 15 meters long by 8 meters wide, oriented from east to west. The walls are "almost entire." The building exhibits massive arches, sculptured cornices, columns, all strangely mixed. The rest of the northeastern hill is covered by heaps of debris. It has numerous bottle-shaped cisterns and subterranean vaulted chambers, especially on the southwestern side.

The southwestern hill is about 250 meters long by 50 meters wide. Its summit is about 8 meters lower than that of the northeastern hill. It also has several cisterns. The extant ruins are located here mainly in its northeastern part. At the center of its flattened summit are the remains of a building 20 meters

long by 15 meters wide, oriented from east to west. About 50 meters to the west of this structure the remains of a square tower are visible. At the southwestern end is a quarry, and piles of debris (which also abound in the northeastern, higher part of this hill). Ascending from the valley to the northwestern corner of the southwestern hill a steep path leads through a sort of cutting, or "gate," 8 to 10 feet high and 3 to 4 yards wide.

The northern side of the valley contains several rock-cut tombs. In this same area, a few hundred yards to the east of the tombs (and to the northeast of the first hill), there are several cisterns or rock-cut silos, and a small enclosure made of great stones. The neighboring slopes are full of caves.

On the south-southeast side of the northeastern hill, and a few hundred yards from it, there is a large reservoir in the bottom of the valley. It is 30 meters long and 20 meters wide, similar in size to the "Pools of Solomon" near Bethlehem. It is encased by stones of good masonry. There are also remains of watercourses in the vicinity.

It is reported that pottery from the Middle Bronze Age, the Late Bronze Age, Early Iron I, Nabatean, Roman, and Mediaeval Arabic times has been picked up from the surface. Some coins have also been found among the ruins.

WERE THE ALBIGENSES AND WALDENSES FORERUNNERS OF THE REFORMATION?

DANIEL WALTHER

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Do not think, brethren, that heresies can be produced by a few small souls. Only great men have created heresies.

St. Augustine ¹

When a religious movement comes into existence it tends to consider itself as an autochthonous phenomenon. Obviously, every reform movement has elements of newness and originality.

Martin Luther was not, at first, concerned about spiritual ancestors: "We have come to this point without guide and without a Bohemian doctor."² Likewise, in Geneva, Théodore de Bèze stated that Calvin came "when God had appointed the time."³ Calvin himself, when asked by Charles V how a Reformation came about, remarked that man cannot bring about a Reformation. When a church is spiritually dead it must be resurrected, and only God has the means to bring this about. The Reformers did not need to seek their origins, since, as was stated by St. Ignatius when he spoke of the orthodox Christians of his time, they have their being rooted in the Gospel.⁴ Similarly, Beausobre wrote that there was no

¹ "Non enim putatis, fratres, quia potuerunt fieri haereses per aliquas parvas animas. Non fecerunt haereses, nisi magni homines." *Enn. in Psalm* (Ps 124: 5), *MPL*, XXXVII, col. 1652.

² Félix Kuhn, *Luther, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1883-1884), I, 393.

³ Théodore de Bèze, *Histoire des églises réformées au royaume de France* (Paris, 1883-1889), I, 1, 247. The authorship is in doubt. It was attributed to de Bèze by de Thou and Croix de Maine. In the ed. of 1889 (Baum, Cunitz and Reuss) the arguments for and against de Bèze's authorship were examined, *Hist. eccl.*, III, XXI-XLIII. A more recent appraisal is by Paul-F. Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze* (Genève, 1949), pp. 340-345.

⁴ Alfred Rébelliau, *Bossuet, historien du protestantisme. Étude sur*

need to seek for spiritual ancestors to the Reformation.⁵

After the newness subsides, a time of critical examination leads to the conviction that there were other movements which, before their time, had attempted church reforms.⁶ There are several approaches to such an analysis. On one hand is the notion of the invisible church, which had to go underground until it gloriously reappeared in the 16th century. Another concept is that of the unbroken continuity of "truth" which, through an unmistakable link, goes back to the inception of Christianity.⁷

The relationship between Medieval sects and the Reformation is not of mere academic interest. The seeking for ancestors became a live issue and was ardently debated by historians. It became an object of numerous debates, especially in Huguenot synods.

Church history moved into the debate. Luther himself was portrayed as a church historian.⁸ While Schäfer and Jürgens

l'histoire des variations et sur la controverse au dix-septième siècle (Paris, 1909), p. 532. The quotation is from J. Lenfant, *Préservatif contre la réunion avec le siège de Rome, ou apologie de notre séparation d'avec ce siège, contre le livre de Mlle de Beaurmont* (Amsterdam, 1723), I, 7. Another essay by Lenfant, *Le dernier siècle ou la fin du monde vers l'an 2000, d'après la prophétie des pontifs romains de saint Malachie* (Bordeaux, n.d.).

⁵ Isaac de Beausobre, *Histoire critique du Manichéisme* (Amsterdam, 1734-1739), pp. 37 ff.

⁶ Jean Carbonnier, "De l'idée que le protestantisme s'est faite de ses rapports avec le Catharisme, ou des adoptions d'ancêtres en histoire," *BSHPF*, CI (1955), 72-87.

⁷ J. Basnage, *Histoire de la religion des églises réformées . . . pour servir de réponse à l'histoire des variations des églises protestantes par M. Bossuet* (Rotterdam, 1721), I, 15 ff. Basnage stated that Albigenses and Waldenses were considered by Protestants as forerunners and as having relayed the truth to them. P. Bayle, *Critique générale de l'histoire du Calvinisme de M. de Maimbourg* (Villefranche, 1682), p. XI.; *Nouvelles lettres de M. Bayle, où, en justifiant quelques endroits de la "Critique" qui ont semblé contenir des contradictions . . .* (Amsterdam, 1715).

⁸ Ernst J. Schäfer, *Luther als Kirchenhistoriker* (Gütersloh, 1807); K. Jürgens, *Luther von seiner Geburt bis zum Ablassstreit* (Leipzig, 1846-1847).

history and dogma far too little to be able to evaluate it critically.⁹ Moreover, Luther was, like his contemporaries, much influenced by legends and local rumors.

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such as Harnack, were not so sure; Luther knew church use of the past, especially at the Leipzig debate (1519), others, described Luther as a church historian who had made adroit

Among the various heterodox sects that opposed Rome in the 13th century the most important were the Albigenses and Waldenses in southwest France, mostly in the area later called Languedoc.¹⁰

The Albigensian Cathari are very much in vogue today. In the last 25 years an impressive amount of documents has been found and numerous essays are being published.¹¹ The Albigenses also have a strong popular appeal. At a rapid pace, documents continue to appear which hopefully should shed new light on the enigma of Catharism.¹² Once again the question of a relationship between Albigenses and Prot-

⁹ Ad. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Freiburg i. B., 1894-1897), III, 734. Harnack admitted that Luther knew much church history but not more than his age. L. von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1875), II, 60. Luther regretted not to have read history more: "Wie leid ist es mir itzt dass ich nicht mehr Poeten und Historien gelesen habe. Habe dafür müssen lesen des Teufels Dreck, die Philosophos." *Luther's Werke* (Erlangen), XXII, 191 ff. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 10, n; pp. 24-69.

¹⁰ The term Languedoc was first used ca. 1285 when the parliament of Toulouse was the "Parlement de langue de oc." Cf. Dom C. Devic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1872-1893), IX, 33; X, 29. On the geographical term, see L. de Lacger, "L'Albigeois pendant la crise de l'Albigéisme," *RHE*, XXIX (1933), 272-315, 849-904; E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire du Languedoc* (Paris, 1962), p. 29.

¹¹ D. Walther, "A Survey of Recent Research on the Albigensian Cathari," *CH*, XXXIV (1965), 146-177. To the works listed should now be added, E. Delaruelle, "Les Avatars du Catharisme du XIVe au XXe siècle," *Archeologia*, 1967, pp. 34-41.

¹² M. De La Vallette, *Parallèle de l'hérésie des Albigeois et de celles du Calvinisme, dans lequel on fait voir que Louis le Grand n'a rien fait qui n'eust esté pratiqué par St. Louis* (Paris, 1686).

estants is reappraised.¹³ Essays of sagacious erudition endeavor to clarify the difficult riddle which is far from solved. More information is needed on the following topics: (1) The origins of Catharism. Henri-Charles Puech of the College of France has clearly summed up the question in "Catharisme médiéval et Bogomilisme."¹⁴ (2) Religion. The question is not merely whether the Cathari were dualists but to what degree. One of the best essays on the problem has been produced by Söderberg.¹⁵ (3) The political situation. "Occitania," part of which was later called Languedoc, was at the time independent of the Capetian kings of France, who undertook to appropriate it by the sword of Simon de Montfort.¹⁶ (4) Albigensianism's coincidence with courtly love. This is a subject which has not been sufficiently elucidated as to the relationship of the troubadours and Catharism. A French specialist has again examined this problem.¹⁷

In order to establish a link between medieval sects and the Reformation, some experts have used the geographic method. A specific area where medieval heresies flourished may have had a predisposition to heretical behavior. Protestantism made impressive gains indeed in Toulouse, a stronghold of Albigensianism. In 1562 at least 20,000 Protestants were reported in that city where, already in 1532, Jean de Cahors was burned alive and, *in extremis*, remembered the

¹³ The most recent essay is by Chr. Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1966).

¹⁴ Henri-Ch. Puech, "Catharisme médiéval et Bogomilisme," *Accademia nazionale dei lincei: XII convegno* (Roma, 1957), pp. 56-84.

¹⁵ Hans Söderberg, *La religion des Cathares. Étude sur le gnosticisme de la basse antiquité et du moyen-âge* (Uppsala, 1949).

¹⁶ Jacques Madaule, *Le drame albigeois et le destin français* (Paris, 1961).

¹⁷ René Nelli, *L'érotique des troubadours* (Toulouse, 1963), pp. 221-246. Also R. H. Gere, *The Troubadours, Heresy and the Albigensian Crusade* (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation No. 15628; New York, 1956). A microfilmed copy of this thesis is in the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.

Albigenses. ¹⁸ Jean Carbonnier used *Le manifeste des Camisards* (1703) to find the "true reasons why the people of the Cévennes have taken up arms." ¹⁹ He argued that those who lived in the Cévennes were said to have held to the same religion for several centuries before the Reformation. There had been numerous Waldenses and Albigenses in that area, and the Reformation message prospered there without much difficulty. It was not a new religion that came there in the 16th century; "their aim was merely to maintain the old one which was theirs for a long time."

Then there is the social aspect of the movement. The Albigensian country was largely "Occitania" with "heretical" centers like Toulouse, Albi, Pamiers, Carcassonne, Béziers, Razès, Foix, Lavaur, etc. The people of this area were largely weavers. ²⁰ Weaving was the heretics' industry *par excellence*. The workshops were laboratories of heterodox propaganda, "opera textoria." It was said that "heresy was the daughter of wool." Recently the social aspects of the Albigenses have been examined again. Social conditions among the *Perfecti* and the believers (*Credentes*) were studied by E. Delaruelle, Jean Duvernoy, and Chr. Thouzellier. ²¹ There is still much uncertainty as to an Albigensian social *milieu*. ²² Whether

¹⁸ Eug. and E. Haag, *La France protestante, ou les vies de protestants français* (Paris, 1846-1859), IV, 61-62. On Calvinism in Carcassonne, see Nelli, *Spiritualité de l'hérésie* (Paris, 1953).

¹⁹ *Les raisons véritables des habitants des Sévennes sur leur prise d'armes* (MS Court 35, Public University Library in Geneva), Gaston Tournier, ed., *Au pays des Camisards* (Paris, 1931), p. 269; Carbonnier, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

²⁰ Le Roy Ladurie, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

²¹ Delaruelle, "Le Catharisme en Languedoc vers 1200. Une enquête." *Annales du Midi*, LXXII (Toulouse, 1960), 149-167. Thouzellier, "La pauvreté, arme contre l'Albigéisme, en 1206," *RHR*, LXVI (1957), 79-92; Jean Duvernoy, "Les Albigeois dans la vie sociale et économique de leur temps," *Annales de l'Institut d'études occitanes* (Toulouse, 1964), pp. 64-72.

²² A comprehensive summary of the social and economic aspects is in Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1961), pp. 157-170, 519-523. See also Grundmann, *Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1963), pp. 22-34; Gottfried

there was an Albigensian community or merely an esoteric underground has not been established.

The question why Languedoc was such a fertile ground for heterodox movements is often asked. It was argued that Languedoc had not, like some other areas of France, undergone monastic reforms, and thus a spiritual vacuum where alien ideas penetrated easily could result. Also, the clergy did not properly ply its ministry. The preachers were considered as "mute dogs who do not even know how to bark," by Innocent III, who wanted action, especially an "opus evangelistae."²³ The Pope wrote that some preachers did not even dare to assume the office of preaching. Since the neo-Manichaean heresy of the 13th century had a large popular following in southwest France as well as among the nobility, it should not be too surprising that Protestantism should be successful in the same area, according to a law of permanence in dissident behavior.

Another argument was that the Albigenses had not been completely extinguished in spite of the Albigensian Crusade, the destruction of Béziers, and the massacre at Montségur in 1244. The remnants of Catharism went into hiding. The flame of "truth" was kept alive in secrecy. In 1494, "multitudes" of Albigenses were reported in the Vivarais, Auvergne, and Burgundy, according to the anonymous author of the *Toulousaines*;²⁴ but by and large, the Albigenses were no

Koch, *Frauenfrage und Ketzertum im Mittelalter. Die Frauenfrage im Rahmen des Katharismus und des Waldensertums* (Berlin, 1962).

²³ Innocent III wanted the preachers to close the mouths of ignorant people; see his "Regestorum Lib.," VII, 1204, in *MPL*, CCXV, col. 359. Preachers did not "dare assume the office of preaching" (17 Nov. 1206), *MPL*, CCXV, col. 1024. Cf. also A. C. Shannon, *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century* (Villanova, Pa., 1949). Concerning the illiteracy of Albigenses and Waldenses, referred to as *rusticani*, *idiotae*, etc., see Bernard of Clairvaux, "Sermo LXV," *MPL*, CLXXXIII, col. 1093; "Sermo LXVI," *ibid.*, col. 1094; Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

²⁴ *Les Toulousaines ou lettres historiques et apologetiques. En faveur de la religion réformée, et de divers protestans condamnés dans ces derniers tems par le Parlement de Toulouse ou dans le Haut Languedoc*

longer a threat to the orthodoxy of the Catholic Church. Most of the leaders and ruling protectors had disappeared after the massacre at Montségur. True, there was a remnant of Albigenses in Pamiers according to a recently published text, the *Registre d'inquisition*.²⁵

Theologically, the debate over the relationship between Albigenses and Protestants was of some interest. Catholic historians often made light of the Protestant obsession to seek theological ancestors and to go "as far as Ethiopia" in order to do so.²⁶ Protestants tended to see in the Albigensian episode one aspect of a continuing true church. Obviously Albigensian doctrines were basically unacceptable. Catholics were not displeased that Protestants would consider the "depraved" neo-Manichaean dualists of the 13th century as their spiritual ancestors.

As soon as Luther's "immundus ille" appeared, the *Catalogus haereticorum omnium* by Bernhard of Luxemburg linked Luther with dualistic heresies and also with the Waldenses.²⁷ Similarly, Baronius accused Protestants of following and adopting medieval heresies.²⁸ In the 16th century there (Edimbourg, 1763), pp. 87, 88. The orthodox priests were urged to teach the Lord's prayer and the salutation to the Virgin, but prohibited "to grant Paradise too cheaply; they were reproached that they opened heaven for too little money," *ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁵ *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier, 1318-1325*, J. Duvernoy, ed. (Toulouse, 1965-66). Cf. a review on this in *CH*, XXXV (1966), 466, 467. Fragments of this document, "Cod. Lat. Vatic. 4030," were known to I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters* (New York, 1960), II, 97 ff. The latest publication on Fournier's trials is by Duvernoy, *Inquisition à Pamiers* (Toulouse, 1966).

²⁶ Louis Maimbourg, *Traité de la vraie église de Jésus-Christ pour ramener les enfans égarés à leur mère* (Paris, 1671), p. 207. One Protestant who saw in the church of Ethiopia a forerunner of Protestantism was Pierre Dumoulin, *Nouveauté du papisme, opposée à l'antiquité du vrai christianisme* (Sedan, 1627), I, 23, 29.

²⁷ Arno Borst, *Die Katharer*, "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," XII (Stuttgart, 1953), 27-34. The *catalogus* by Bernhard was published in Cologne in 1522: "Lutherus . . . quasi omnes errores Waldensium renovat," Borst, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²⁸ Jakob Gretser (died 1625) in a translation of the *Hystoria Albigensis* by Petrus Vallium Sarnaii stated in the preface that "the

appeared several translations of orthodox defenders of the faith who dealt with medieval heresies. Their methods were recommended as an effective means with which Lutherans and Calvinists might be checked. The Jesuit Gretser, referring to Protestants as the new heretics in line with the Albigenses, suggested that they could be fought by publishing significant antiheretical writings of the Middle Ages.²⁹

The Catholic idea that methods used in the 13th century could serve as a standard in the Reformation era also had political overtones. For example, in 1569, Catherine de Medici told the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Correr that she once read a manuscript chronicle at Carcassonne in which the doctrines of the Albigenses were discussed—that they wanted neither priests nor monks, images, masses, nor churches, and, wrote the ambassador, while reading this text Catherine had the Huguenots in mind. Pius V also wanted the measures against the Albigenses during the Crusade used against the Huguenots of France. He wrote to Catherine de Medici in 1569: "It is only by the total extermination of the Huguenots that the King of France can restore the ancient faith of the noble kingdom of France."³⁰ St. Bartholomew's night was not far off.

Albigensian heretics are not different from our modern 'deformed.'" In reprint, see Pierre de Vaux Cernay, *Histoire albig.*, P. Guébin and H. Maisonneuve, eds. (Paris, 1951). See also Borst, *op. cit.*, p. 29, n. 30; Gretser, "De Waldensibus" in *Opera Omnia* (Regensburg, 1738), p. 4.

²⁹ Caesar Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Paris, 1887). "Videant nostri temporis novatores quibus praecursionibus gloriari possint, et quos se suorum dogmatum habere patriarchos exultent. . . ." *PRE*, XVIII, 382.

³⁰ V. H. Monod, "La Saint Barthélemy. Version du duc d'Anjou," *BSHPF*, LVIII (1909), 484, 505. Carbonnier, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84, n., cites a letter by Clement XI concerning the Protestant heretics, "cette engeance des anciens Albigeois. . ." But this encyclical is probably a forgery; see Frank Puaux, "Le Pape Clément IX et les Camisards," *BSHPF*, XLIV (1895), 580, quoted by Carbonnier, *op. cit.*, p. 83, n. Innocent III suggested the same method (extermination) against the Albigenses, P. Belperron, *La croisade contre les Albigeois et l'union du Languedoc à la France* (Paris, 1942), p. 113,

Protestant historians reacted vigorously. The harsh fate of the Albigenses was often recounted, especially the horrors of the Crusade;³¹ and their teachings were not overlooked.³² The Huguenot historians Crespin and Perrin were especially interested in the theological problem.³³ Their arguments concerning dualism usually were the following: (1) There were neo-Manichaeic dualists in the Middle Ages, but they were not to be identified with the Albigenses or the Waldenses. (2) The lay power of the Albigenses was from God without any connection with a humanly instituted hierarchy. (3) The accusation of dualism was mostly a calumny of their foes. One fervent apologist, Jurieu, indignantly refuted the charge of Bossuet that the Albigenses were infected with Manichaeic

n. "Exterminare" is here defined as 'expelling beyond borders' (Belperron) or 'banishment' (Pius V).

³¹ These horrors are impressively described by Jean Chassanion de Monistrol en Vellai, *Histoire des Albigeois, touchant leur doctrine et religion, contre les faux bruits qui ont esté semés d'eux, et les écrits dont on les a à tort diffamés: et la cruelle et lôgue guerre qui leur a esté faite. . . . Le tout recueilli fidèlement de deux vieux exemplaires écrits (sic) à la main, l'un au langage du Languedoc, l'autre en vieil François. Réduite en quatre volumes* (Genève, 1595), pp. 29, 70-73 (a short portion of this work is in the James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Mich.).

³² "Les réformés cherchent à tout prix à rallier à leur cause les hérétiques du moyen âge et les considèrent comme avant-coureurs de la réforme," says Jean Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France, auxquels on a joint des mandemens roiaux. . .* (La Haye, 1710), I, 123; II, 284.

³³ Jean-Paul Perrin, *Histoire des chrétiens albigeois* (Genève, 1618): "Quant aux croyances vaudoises aussi bien qu'albigeoises sont purs de ce manichéisme que les moines chroniqueurs leur ont si odieusement attribué . . . et n'ont fait . . . les uns comme les autres, que proclamer par avance les principes réformateurs du protestantisme d'à présent," in Rébelliau, *op. cit.*, p. 236. Mornay (Philippe de) dit Du Plessis-Mornay, *Le mystère d'iniquité, c.à.d. l'histoire de la papauté . . . où sont aussi défendus les droits des empereurs. . .* (Saumur, 1611), pp. 318-321, 732. There are several editions, differing slightly, of Crespin's work: Jean Crespin, (1) *Actes des martyrs déduits en sept livres. . .* (Genève, 1565); (2) *Histoire des martyrs persécutés et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'évangile. . .* par Crespin et S. Goulart (1597); (3) *Histoire des martyrs persecutez et mis à mort pour la vérité de l'évangile depuis le tems des apostres jusques à présent* (1619).

heresy, and labeled it a "black and enormous calumny."³⁴

Philip Duplessis-Mornay, sometimes referred to as the "Huguenot Pope," saw in the Albigenses the opponents of a wicked Papal institution, and he too was anxious to exempt the Albigenses from the charge of Manichaeism. According to him, the Albigenses were in the lineage of the early church and the true remnant. A similar view was held by Perrin, who detected no vestige of Manichaeism.

When the Albigenses of the 13th century were correctly branded as dualists, their opponents spoke of two types of dualism: the mitigated and the radical. Albigensian Cathari believed in two principles, as explained for example by one of their bishops, Jean de Lugio in the *Liber de duobus principiis* (ca. 1254). The mitigated dualists (Monarchians) believed that Satan (evil) was first created good by the good God but was corrupted by freedom of choice and became a demon. The radical dualists, on the other hand, considered Satan as being always evil. Satan was wicked from the beginning. For the mitigated, there was only one principle: a good God. For the radical, there were two principles: good and evil.³⁵

But whether mitigated or radical, the Albigensian Cathari were dualists in filiation with the Bogomils, the Paulicians of Thrace, and the Manichaeans of the third century; some trace them back to the Gnostics of the second century. To these Cathari, our material, sensuous world was not created by God. Evil has but a borrowed existence. The world is an illusion, and matter (including the human body) is despicable. These teachings were, of course, abhorrent to Protestants as well as Catholics.

³⁴ Pierre Jurieu, *Lettre (sic) pastorales adressées aux fidèles de France qui gémissent sous la captivité de Babylon (sic) où sont dissipées les illusions de M. de Meaux* (Rotterdam, 1686), III, 217 ff.

³⁵ On dualism in general and in its later developments, U. Bianchi, *Il dualismo saggio et etnologico* (Roma, 1958); Söderberg, *op. cit.*; Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of Christian Dualism* (Cambridge, Engl., 1947); M. Cazeaux-Varagnac, "Exposé sur la doctrine des Cathares," *Revue de synthèse*, LXIV (1948), 9-14; Nelli, *Le phénomène cathare* (Toulouse, 1964), pp. 17-64.

What appealed to Protestants was the Albigensian effort to recreate the purity of the early church, to do without a visible hierarchy; they denied purgatory, the crucifix, prayers for the dead, invocation of the saints, and transubstantiation.³⁶ Protestants appreciated that Albigenses used the Scriptures: the Albigenses did not use the Old Testament. They used but a few books of the New Testament, especially the Gospel of John. Their rites were generally well known owing to the Provençal Ritual of Lyons (published in 1886) and a Latin Ritual (published in 1939 by A. Dondaine). Public service practically did not exist. Their rites consisted in simple ceremonies: the Lord's prayer (*traditio orationis sanctae*), and spiritual baptism, the *Consolamentum* (*praedicatio ordinantis*: imparting of the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands). The rites were extremely simple, reminiscent of customs in the Early Church.³⁷

The rejection of transubstantiation was considered particularly significant and in harmony with Protestant views. On the other hand, the Albigensian concept of the divinity of Christ was considered incompatible with Christian doctrine. Moreover, neo-Manichaean Catharism has been presented as a resurgence of Arianism by Y. M. J. Congar. While Congar's approach is not new, it seemed necessary to insist that these heretics were especially marked by their "Arianism." Accused of denying the eternal divinity of the Son of God, they were

³⁶ Nelli, *ibid.*, p. 148. According to Nygren one difference of concept between the medieval and Reformed doctrine of grace was that the former regarded grace as essentially a means for man's meritorious ascent to God; J. S. Whalen, *The Protestant Tradition* (Cambridge, Engl., 1955), p. 65.

³⁷ One of the most significant discoveries of recent times on Catharist documents was made by Antoine Dondaine. He discovered a Latin MS containing the basic teaching of absolute (radical) dualism practiced by the Albigenses. Its author was Jean de Lugio of Bergamo, vicar of a Catharist Bishop; the text was written *ca.* 1254. It is the *Liber de duobus principiis*, (Roma, 1939); on Albigensian rites, cf. *ibid.*, p. 34. Nelli, *Ecritures cathares* (Paris, 1959) contains Catharist sources translated into French such as the *Liber de duobus principiis* and the *Interrogatio Ioannis*, a Bogomil eschatological text.

thus linked with the early Christian heresy. Neither were the Waldenses free from such an accusation. The Waldensian historian Jean Léger refers to both Albigenses and Waldenses and mentions the calumny of making them "arriens" (*sic*).³⁸ Albigenses were said to have come in contact with the Arian Goths in Languedoc.³⁹

II.

The question of an Albigenian ancestry was not as important to Lutherans as it was to French Protestants. The arguments for continuity and spiritual ancestry were discussed in several national French synods. In 1572 at the synod of Nîmes, with a strong representation from Languedoc, it was decided to write a history on the Albigenses, authored by Comerard.⁴⁰ At the synod of Montauban in 1594, the idea of apostolic continuity was again debated. An important step was taken at the national synod of La Rochelle in 1607, where the pastor of Nyons (Dauphiné), Jean-Paul Perrin, was commissioned to write a history of the Albigenses. The synod called for documents to be submitted to Perrin. It was also stated that such a history should not merely describe the persecution of the Albigenses; their teachings and rites were to be carefully examined as well. Other Protestant synods also were interested in the historical relationship of

³⁸ Jean Léger, *Histoire générale des églises évangeliques des vallées de Piémont ou Vaudois* (Leyden, 1669), pp. 126, 128. Neo-Manichaeism has been referred to as a resurgent Arianism by Y. M. J. Congar, "Arriana haeresis comme désignation du Néo-manichéisme au XIIe siècle," *Revue des sciences philosoph. et théolog.*, XLIII (1959), 449-461. The idea was not new; it was discussed by R. Manselli, *Bulletino dell'istituto storico per il medio evo*, LXVII (1955), 233-246; and by von Döllinger, *op. cit.*, I, 91. On the Arian issue and the Albigenses, cf. Thouzellier, "Controverses vaudoises," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen-Age*, XXXV (1961), 153, n. 37.

³⁹ Le Nain de Tillemont (Sébastien), *Vie de Saint Louis, roi de France* (Paris, 1847-1851), I, 52-55; Rébelliau, *op. cit.*, 481, n. 1.

⁴⁰ Aymon *op. cit.*, I, 123; Carbonnier, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

the "Church of the Wilderness" and the Protestant churches, such as Saint Maixent in 1609 and Privas in 1619.⁴¹

In dealing with spiritual ancestors, the synods took their task seriously. A commission was appointed to examine carefully the documents, and financial assistance was to be granted to Perrin. His manuscript was ready in 1612 and was finally published in Geneva in 1618.⁴² Perrin's book did much to strengthen the idea of connections between Catharism and Protestantism. Other attempts at understanding and interpretation were made. The most famous work, much cherished by the Huguenots, was the celebrated *History of Martyrs* by Crespin. Crespin's idea was that the Albigenses and the Waldenses were the recipients and the guardians of apostolic teaching and practice. That particular thought in Crespin is attributed to Perrin. Thus the conviction that the Albigenses were spiritually related was still more firmly rooted in the minds of French Protestants. In fact, the two medieval movements were compared to the two branches and the two lamps (Rev 11: 4).⁴³

One area of disagreement was the difference between Albigenses and Waldenses: "Albigenses and Waldenses have never been distinct." Yet they were part of the "Church of the Wilderness," a favorite expression. One of the most determined as well as prolific defenders of the Albigenses was the pastor of the Huguenot church in London, Peter Allix (died 1717), in *Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Church of the Albigenses* (London, 1692). For him there was no difference between the Albigenses and Waldenses. Both were rooted in the primitive apostolic

⁴¹ Aymon, *op. cit.*, I, 313, 361, 404; II, 87; Carbonnier, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79. Other synods were held at Tonneins in 1614 and Vitré Charenton in 1623. At Montauban in 1594, the concept of apostolic succession was debated.

⁴² Perrin, *op. cit.* This work was followed by his *Histoire des Vaudois* (Genève, 1618). On Perrin, cf. the article by H. Böhmer in *PRE*, XX, 799-840.

⁴³ Crespin, *op. cit.*, I, 56.

church and, like Basnage, Allix tended to believe what was favorable to the Albigenses and reject the unfavorable aspects.⁴⁴ On the other hand, De Beausobre argued that the Albigenses were not forerunners of Protestantism; they attempted reforms of their own and cannot be considered as patterns of the 16th-century Reformation.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus (died 1575), considered the most learned Lutheran scholar, examined thoroughly in his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis* those preceding witnesses who opposed the errors of the papacy.⁴⁵ Flacius was the first scholar to investigate the Waldenses in a scholarly way. He considered the Cathari as belonging to the Church of God, but he well realized the difficulties in analyzing them. He considered the Waldenses as the witnesses from whom the Albigenses proceeded. Thus the Cathari belonged to the genuine lineage of witnesses.

Waldenses and Albigenses were discussed not only in religious circles. The rationalistic author of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, Pierre Bayle, stated "that never before were the Waldenses discussed as much as today." Bayle

⁴⁴ Peter Allix, in defending Albigenses and Waldenses, does not necessarily identify them with the Reformation: "I know well that the strength of our defense does not depend on the justifying of these churches. Let the Albigenses be Manichaeans, as the Bishop is pleased to call them; the grounds of the Reformation remain just and firm." Allix, *The Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses* (London, 1692), Preface. Basnage, *op. cit.* I, 102. Allix, while not denying the charge of dualism, sees a connection in the perpetual succession and a conformity of 'symbols' with Protestants; cf. also Rébelliau, *op. cit.*, pp. 531, 532.

⁴⁵ *Catalogus testium veritatis qui ante nostram aetatem pontifici romano atque papismi erroribus reclamarunt* (Lugdunum, 1597), I, 533, 537. This is a later edition of the work which had appeared under the title: *Catalogus testium veritatis qui ante nostram aetatem piorumque virorum de corrupto ecclesiae statu poemata* (Basel, 1556). Flacius listed about 400 witnesses who, since apostolic times, tried to react against the evil ways of the church before Luther. On Flacius, cf. the article by Kawerau in *PRE*, VI, 82-92; Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit* (Erlangen, 1859-1861; reprinted in Hildesheim, 1964).

referred to a work where De La Vallette compared the Albigenses with Calvinism.⁴⁶

It has been established that Albigenses and Waldenses lived at the same time but were far from agreeing on doctrine. In fact, can Albigenses and Waldenses be assimilated? Though both movements have often been put in a common category they disagreed on doctrine. They existed roughly in the same area, but it was mere co-existence. They were not only far apart in doctrine, but they also frequently debated their views. The Waldenses were, theologically, the sharpest opponents of the Albigenses. They had a common enemy, the papacy, whom both considered the Antichrist. In recent years the two movements were examined by A. Dondaine and also by Chr. Thouzellier.⁴⁷ It is true that in the 13th century many documents refer to the Albigenses and Waldenses together, such as the 258-volume manuscript in the Doat collection.⁴⁸

In 1661 a collection of Waldensian tracts belonging to Archbishop James Ussher was acquired by the University of Dublin. This collection was described in 1920 by Mario Espositio, who listed all the documents as being Waldensian.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Bayle, *op. cit.*; De La Vallette, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴⁷ Dondaine, "Aux origines du Valdéisme. Une profession de foi de Valdès," *Archiv. Frat. Praedicator.*, XVI (1946), 191-235. Thouzellier, "Controverses vaudoises-cathares à la fin du XIIe siècle (d'après le livre II du 'Liber Antihæresis' MS Madrid 1114 et les sections correspondantes du MS BN lat. 13446), *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge*, XXVII (1950), 137-227. Koch, "Neue Quellen und Forschungen über die Anfänge der Waldenser," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXXII (1958), 141-149. The best listing is in A. A. Hugon and G. Gonnet, *Bibliografie valdese* (Torre Pellice, 1953); it lists 3500 items and is being revised.

⁴⁸ The *Fonds Doat* contains copies by professional scribes who, by order of Jean de Doat, appointed by Louis XIV's minister Colbert in 1669, copied the documents then in existence; the collection is in the MS division of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (it is neither indexed nor classified).

⁴⁹ Dondaine, "Durand de Huesca et la polémique anticathare," *Arch. Frat. Praedicator.*, XXIX (1959), 228-276. J. Ussher, *Gravissimae*

In 1960 one of these documents was identified as an Albigensian text, because of an expression in the Lord's Prayer.⁵⁰ In documents that have recently been published, the opposition between the Albigenses and the Waldenses is brought into sharper focus. Around 1300 the Cathari were attracted doctrinally by a group of Poor Men of Lyons (Waldenses). The founder and leader of the "Catholic Poor," Durand of Huesca, was a former Waldensian converted to Catholicism. The mission of these "Catholic Poor" was to lead the Waldenses into Catholicism. In 1964 a document directed against the neo-Manichaeans was published; it is one of the rare sources giving an insight into the Albigensian teachings by an opponent who refuted them in debate, and with the use of Bible texts.⁵¹

III.

One significant debate on Protestantism's forerunners took place in the 17th century when French Protestantism was not faring well; the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was about to occur. One of the most eloquent voices to enter the debate on Protestantism was that of the bishop of Meaux, J. B. Bossuet (died 1704). In his *Histoire des variations des*

quaestiones de ecclesiarum christianarum . . . successione et statu (Paris, 1613), pp. 225, 310; Rébelliau, *op. cit.*, 237, n. 1.

⁵⁰ Mario Esposito, "Sur quelques manuscrits de l'ancienne littérature religieuse des Vaudois du Piémont," *RHE*, XLVI (1951), 131-143. The distinction of the Albigensian document was in "Un recueil cathare: Le MS A.6.10," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXVIII (1960), 815-834. The text was identified by the expression in the Lord's Prayer: "panem nostrum supersubstantialem." Moneta already stated that this expression was used by the Cathari, not the Waldenses. See Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses . . .* (Roma, 1743), p. 78.

⁵¹ Thouzéllier, *Une somme anticathare* (Louvain, 1964). Debates between Albigenses and Waldenses are also in "Un traité cathare inédit d'après le 'Liber contra Manicheos'," *Bibl. de la RHE*, Fasc. 37 (1961). Debates in Pamiers and Montreal were described in Chas-sanion, *Histoire des Albigeois* (Genève, 1595), pp. 70-73. Later debates are in Duvernoy, *Inquisition à Pamiers* (Toulouse, 1966), *passim*.

églises protestantes (Paris, 1688),⁵² Bossuet challenged and denied that there was any relationship between medieval sects and Protestants. Bossuet nevertheless made an important contribution; he differentiated clearly between Albigenses and Waldenses: the Albigenses were of foreign (Eastern) origin; the Waldenses came into being only in the 12th century on French soil and could not be accused of non-Christian concepts. Protestant apologists answered both these arguments in detail. By the time Bossuet's essay appeared, it had become a favorite Protestant argument that Protestantism had not broken out miraculously but pre-existed in several medieval heterodox movements. What disturbed Protestant defenders particularly was that Bossuet seemed to deny any relationship between the Protestants and the medieval attempts at reform. Especially Basnage was irked by Bossuet's essay (Book XI) which refutes the "obvious relationship and the ancient and pure forerunners."⁵³

One basic argument which can be seen in all reform movements is that they saw in the church of Rome an apostate church that followed tradition rather than Scripture. They refused to consider that priestly intercession was necessary. The Albigenses denied the legitimacy of the Church of Rome, and saw in the Pope the Man of Sin.⁵⁴

The Roman Church fought the heretics in various ways. The Church forbade the use of the Gospels, a use which had

⁵² The best account on Bossuet is by Rébelliau, *op. cit.*

⁵³ Basnage, *op. cit.*, I, 15, ff.; Allix, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁵⁴ The "number of the Beast" was used by one side and the other. Ph. Du Plessis-Mornay, *Le mystère d'iniquité* (Saumur, 1611). Mornay applies the number 666 to the pope; so does Elie Benoist, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant et après sa publication, à l'occasion de la diversité des religions . . .* (Delft, 1693-1695), II, 231; this also contains a bibliography of other essays on the topic. In the articles of the national synod of Gap, 1603, it is stated: "Le pape est proprement l'antechrist et le fils de perdition . . . la bête vêtue d'écarlate que le Seigneur déconfira"; Rébelliau, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 3. On 666, cf. *infra*, p. 201.

been specifically prohibited by certain councils⁵⁵ because such use of the Gospels might lead to a critique of the Church and the rejection of the sacraments, the intercession of the saints and purgatory. Another charge laid against the heretics was that in espousing poverty they opposed the hierarchy of the Church because of its wealth, and also because of Church ordination, which seemed incompatible with the ideal of poverty so common in many lands. The Albigensian heretics set up a counter church made up of "good men" (*bonshommes*): the perfect ones (*perfecti*) and the believers (*credentes*). The Albigenses had their own esoteric organization over which the Roman Church, of course, had no control. Another criticism was that lay preaching and the ideal of poverty were somehow linked to dualism.⁵⁶ The Church laid its greatest stress on fighting this last point: dualism was the core of heresy. However, the charge of dualism was not always laid against the Albigenses in the beginning. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux did not accuse the Albigenses of being Manichaeans. In the 12th century the main concern of the Albigenses seemed to be about apostolic succession and ordination, the rejection of the Old Testament, and extreme simplicity of worship. Later on, the charge of dualistic

⁵⁵ The council of Toulouse, 1229, forbade the reading of the Old and New Testaments. Only a psalter, breviary or a book of hours was permitted: Mansi, *Conciliorum Sacrorum* (Reprint; Graz, 1961), XIV, col. 197. On the Bible, cf. Hans Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel* (Augsburg, 1939). That Bible passages were used in "Occitanie" is attested by the *Evangelium Colbertinum*, H. J. Vogels, ed., *Bonner biblische Beiträge* (Bonn, 1953). Still indispensable is S. Berger, "Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises," *Romania*, XVIII (1889), 353-422.

⁵⁶ These views of the Albigensian Cathari are found in a document edited by J. N. Garvin and J. A. Corbett in the *Summa contra haereticos*, ascribed to *Praepositinus of Cremona*, "Medieval Studies," XV (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1958). The *summa*, dated ca. the end of the 13th century, examined the Albigensian views in comparison to orthodox concepts (ch. I-IX, XIV; the Pasagini are discussed in ch. V-XIII; XV-XX). On this document, see a review by Borst, *ZKG*, 4. Folge, LXX (1959), 166-169.

heresy became increasingly insistent.⁵⁷ As far as Protestants are concerned, they did not consider the Albigenses as their forerunners because they were dualists, but because of their anti-clericalism. There is also a positive common denominator: the urge to follow Scripture, to live and believe according to the Gospel.

Crespin and Perrin attempted to describe and defend the Albigensian doctrine. They denied neo-Manichaean dualism. They sometimes used unconvincing arguments, mostly that the charge of Manichaean heresy was a calumnious forgery. Other Protestant historians dwelt on positive aspects such as the evangelical emphasis, the attempt to revive the practices of the Early Church, and the rejection of non-biblical Roman Catholic practices. Charles Schmidt was not impressed by Protestant historians such as Basnage, Mosheim, and Schroeck, who insisted that the charge of dualism was a mere calumny.⁵⁸

The Waldenses, on the other hand, easily found a connection of ideas with the Reformers. At the synod of Laus (Val Cluson) in 1526, 140 Waldensian "barbes" were in attendance.⁵⁹ They decided to send two from their midst to Switzerland and Germany to examine the new evangelical teachings. They also sent two "barbes," Daniel de Valence and Jean de Molines, to Bohemia to meet the *Unitas Fratrum*. There were several reasons why a contact was deemed necessary at this time. One was to examine the teachings of the Reformers. Then there was also much concern about Waldensian care-

⁵⁷ For a discussion on Bernard of Clairvaux' appraisal of heretical practices, notably the Cathari, cf. Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 ff. Bernard's statements are in "Sermo 65," *MPL*, CLXXXIII, col. 1090. Cf. also opinions on Catharist views in Eckbert von Schönau, Evervin von Steinfeld, etc. See Grundmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

⁵⁸ The best monograph on the Albigenses in the last century was by Ch. G. A. Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois* (Paris, 1849). The statements on Protestant opinions are in vol. II, pp. 286, 287.

⁵⁹ Gonnet, "Le premier synode de Chanforan de 1532," *BSHPF*, IC (1953), 201-221.

lessness, for many attended mass and confessed to priests. Finally, there was a yearning to come out of the underground and preach the Gospel in the open with the other Reformed churches.

In 1530 two "barbes," Georges Morel (Maurel) and Pierre Masson, went to Berne, Basel, and Strassburg. They were particularly well received by Oecolampadius of Basel, to whom they submitted a long Latin document containing a comprehensive statement of the Waldensian beliefs and practices.⁶⁰ Oecolampadius answered their questions at length and gave them a letter of recommendation to Martin Bucer in Strassburg. Bucer also received them well and answered their questions fully.

A significant and important result of this contact with the Reformers was a decision to call a conference inviting some of the leading reformed ministers to the Waldensian valleys. The synod was held at Chanforan in the Valley of Angrogna in September, 1532. Two French leaders, Farel and Saunier, came. There is some doubt about Olivétan's attending the meeting at that time.⁶¹ Herminjard and Meyland believe that Olivétan was at that first meeting. Delarue and Gonnet reject the idea. Olivétan later on was in the valleys for the purpose of preparing a French translation of the Scriptures. At the synod of Chanforan a short "Confession of Faith"

⁶⁰ The account of the voyage and the letter to Oecolampadius is in J. H. Todd, *The Books of the Vaudois. The Waldensian Manuscripts* (London, 1865), pp. 8-21: Latin text submitted to Oecolampadius. Barbe Morel's document to Oecolampadius and his answer are also in *Zwei historische Untersuchungen*, in A. W. Dieckhoff, *Die Waldenser im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1851), pp. 363-369.

⁶¹ The account of the synod is best in Gonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-221. On Olivétan's presence at the first synod, see A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondence des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* (Genève, 1866-1897), II, 425, 448-455. He states that Olivétan was at the first Chanforan synod, a view shared by H. Meylan, "Louis Olivier dit Olivétan," *Silhouettes du XVIIe siècle* (Lausanne, 1943), pp. 53-65. But this is rejected by Delarue, "Olivétan et Pierre de Vingle à Genève," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, VIII (1946), 105-118.

was drawn up. Olivétan came to the valleys to supervise the Bible translation finished in February, 1535. This Bible was printed in Neuchâtel by Pierre de Vingle and was a gift to the French evangelical churches.⁶²

IV.

To sum up: The controversy over the spiritual and historical ancestry of the Reformation was particularly live in the later 16th century. If Protestants and Catholics clashed over religious and political issues in fratricidal wars (the Wars of Religion in France and the Thirty Years' War in Germany, not to mention other civil wars), they also clashed in theological debates. The controversy over theological filiation proved particularly exasperating. The polemics over the "adoption" of spiritual forerunners continued into the next century. Cardinal Richelieu also took part in the debate, not only because Protestantism continued to be a major political problem, but also because he aimed at bringing the Protestants of France back into the Catholic Church.⁶³ Between 1642 and 1660 there was a slackening in the polemics on both sides. But the debate was sharply revived by the bishop of Meaux, J. B. Bossuet, whose participation is best described by Alfred Rébelliau, *Bossuet historien du protestantisme*. The dualistic

⁶² A few months after Chanforan Daniel de Valence and Jean de Molines returned from Bohemia with a message from the *Unitas Fratrum*, in June, 1533. That year another synod was held in Chanforan. Olivétan was in the Valleys in the spring of 1533 and stayed at least until 1535 to work on the Bible translation; the preface of that translation is dated: "Des Alpes, ce 12 février 1535." From there Olivétan went to Neuchâtel to supervise the printing of the Bible translation; Gonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219.

⁶³ Armand du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, *Les Principaux poincts de la foi de l'église catholique défendus contre l'écrit adressé au roi par les quatre ministres de Charenton* (Poitiers, 1617); and especially, Richelieu, *Traité qui contient la méthode la plus facile et la plus assurée pour convertir ceux qui se sont séparés de l'église* (Paris, 1651).

teachings of the Albigenses were an embarrassment to some.⁶⁴ Protestants either rejected the idea as a monstrous calumny or they admitted grudgingly that there were some elements of dualism. Between Waldenses and Protestants there was no major theological impediment. Fundamentally, religious ancestry is not based on confessional identity.

One basic issue of the controversy was a differing understanding of the nature of the church. For the Protestant the true church is not determined by age nor identified by its hierarchy, but by the rules of faith and whether they be founded on Scripture. The Catholic argument based on antiquity was sometimes dismissed by Protestants as a kind of "fetishism."

Catholic apologists sometimes asked this question: "Where was your church before the Reformation? Show us a people who before Calvin and Luther had the same beliefs as you. . . . Let us see the uninterrupted link which binds you to the Church of the first centuries and through her to the apostles and to Jesus Christ. This conjunction should exist. But it is impossible for you to point to such a link. You are introducing a new movement; you have a beginning. It is possible to assign to your movement a precise date; and this simple fact condemns you."⁶⁵ A similar objection was made by certain Church Fathers against the heretics. In a sense, the

⁶⁴ Nicetas, Bogomil "Bishop" of the radical branch of dualists in Constantinople, attended the Albigensian Council at St. Félix-de-Caraman in 1167 where the leaders were of the mitigated type. Eventually they adopted the radical type. In 1946 Dondaine published the "Notitia" containing the proceedings of that council: "Les Actes du concile albigeois de St.-Félix de Caraman," *Studi e Testi*, CXXXV (1946), 324-355. Doubts are expressed about the genuineness of the "Notitia" by Y. Dossat, "Remarques sur un prétendu évêque cathare du Val d'Aran en 1167," *Bullet. philolog. et hist.*, (Paris, 1957), 339-347. See also Thouzellier, *Un traité cathare inédit* (Louvain, 1961), p. 20.

⁶⁵ Dumoulin, *op. cit.*, I, 28, 29; Rébelliau, *op. cit.*, p. 345; Jean-Baptiste Dantecourt, *Remarques sur le livre d'un protestant, intitulé Considérations sur les lettres circulaires de l'assemblée du clergé de France, de l'année 1682 . . .* (Paris, 1683).

Catholic objection was true. The idea of the “newness” in the Reformation is best expressed in the Genevan Calvinistic motto: *Post tenebras lux*. Luther, while admitting some analogy with Huss, maintained his independence in doctrine. Sometimes Protestants used the weak retort: “Where was your church before the time of the apostles?” A better approach was that while Catholicism was obviously older it had also changed considerably along the centuries. If Catholicism had not deviated from the pristine position, “Protestants would still be part of it.”⁶⁶ Instead, Catholicism was now the Babylon of Revelation and true Christians were urged to “come out of her.”

One argument linking Protestants to medieval forerunners was that of the invisible church. It was often used not only in debate or in publications, but it was discussed at national synods, such as Gap in 1603. The true church does not put its trust in visible institutions. The Protestant concept of authority and infallibility resides in the lawful convening of the faithful, as in a synod. Only God is infallible. He may convey truth through His Spirit in leading to a true understanding of Scripture. Catholics argued that a relative constancy in their church was the mark of their genius in contrast to Protestants, who were subdivided the moment they came into existence. And while Protestants reproached Catholics for being in error on many points, the Catholics pointed to still more errors among Protestants; as many as 1400 were listed in the *Theomachia calvinistica*.⁶⁷ It was true that some Protestants had an excessive admiration for such leaders as Luther and Calvin. They came very near to canonizing them, or at least they considered their catechisms as well as their persons as divinely inspired.⁶⁸ On the other

⁶⁶ Aubert de Versé, *L'avocat des protestants* (Paris, 1686), p. 32.

⁶⁷ François Feuarent, *Theomachia calvinistica sedecim libris profligata, quibus mille et quadringenti hujus sectae novissimae errores diligentur . . . refelluntur* (Paris, 1604).

⁶⁸ “On a comme canonisé parmi nous sa liturgie et son catéchisme.” This veneration appears expressed in various synods. By contrast the

hand, some admitted that their leaders often erred: "Would it not be the greatest of all miracles," wrote Basnage, "if they had never erred?"

Another conviction held by medieval groups and Protestants was to identify the Pope as the Antichrist. The charge was hurled back and forth. For example, the Protestant Du Plessis Mornay applied to the Pope the number of the Beast of Revelation, 666. The Catholic Florimond De Raemond retorted that the number 666 could be found in the name of Du Plessis Mornay rather than in that of Paul V. Such a debate seemed to some an indication that the controversy had lost momentum, replacing essential concepts with peripheral nonessentials. Henry IV's minister, Sully, suggested to the synod of La Rochelle (1607) that they should refrain from debating on Antichrist, while Jurieu thought that the identification of the Antichrist was extremely important.⁶⁹

Obviously the Reformation was a *new* movement. It had the genuine elements of renewal. It was a part and a generator of a revolutionary age: it brought "light after darkness." As von Hutten expressed it, "The spirits are awake: it is a luxury to live"; Erasmus declared, "I anticipate the near approach of the Golden Age"; and Harnack wrote, "None can survey the history of Europe from the second century to the present time without being forced to the conclusion that in the whole course of history the greatest movement

Waldenses had few teachers; the Albigenses do not seem to have had any. Matthieu de Larroque, *Considérations sur la nature de l'église, et sur quelquesunes de ses propriétés* (Quevilly, 1673).

⁶⁹ Du Plessis-Mornay, *op. cit.*; Florim. de Raemond, *L'Anti-Christ* (Lyon, 1597), VIII, 260-599. On 666 cf. also Benoist, *op. cit.*, II, 231. It was "une affaire si importante que, dans toute la réformation, il n'y en a pas une seule qui le soit davantage"; Jurieu, *op. cit.*, III, 253, 254. Cf. also H. Böhmer, *Road to Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 172-275. Sometimes the Albigenses were assimilated with the Antichrist; cf. Borst, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 214. Crespin, *op. cit.*, I, 43-67, discusses the "Persécution de l'église sous l'antéchrist de Rome."

and the one most pregnant with good was the Reformation of the XVIth century.”⁷⁰

However, there is a common denominator between the Reformation of the 16th century and the attempts at reform in the preceding centuries. The common denominator is seen in the Protestant spirit which has its roots in Scripture and refuses to be subjected to a church which, in the Protestant view, has deviated from the original pattern.

Since its inception, the Christian church has been in constant need of reform (*ecclesia semper reformanda*). There was always a Protestant mood. Regardless of theological differences, the Albigenses and Waldenses are part of the Protestant lineage. There is a common denominator in refusing to accept the dogmatism of a church that has deviated, in their opinion, from the scriptural pattern; they aimed, in their own way, to obey God rather than man.

⁷⁰ Harnack, *What is Christianity?* (New York, 1901), p. 268. Harnack also discussed and defended the divisions among Protestants: “Our church is not the particular Church in which we are placed, but the ‘societas fidei,’ which has its members everywhere, even among Greeks and Romans,” *ibid.*, pp. 276, 277.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anderson, Charles S., *Augsburg Historical Atlas of Christianity in the Middle Ages and Reformation*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967. 68 pp. \$ 7.50.

This publication was prepared as an attempt to fill the very real need of an atlas covering medieval and Reformation church history. The author presents first a map showing the topography of Europe, followed by 31 further maps from "Europe in the Time of Gregory the Great (590-604)" to "The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia (1648)." Major developments of the Middle Ages are given fair treatment—there being, for example, maps depicting missions advance, Moslem expansion, the Crusades, political and commercial aspects of the Middle Ages, the decline of the Byzantine Empire, Italy at the time of Gregory I and at the time of Innocent III (as well as Renaissance Italy and Rome in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance), and even maps for "The Rise of the Schoolmen" and for "Viking Raids and Expansion." The dozen or more Reformation maps clearly depict various Reformation lands and developments. The use of several colors, shadings, and other distinguishing marks or symbols are most helpful in keeping clear the variety of items that usually appear on any given map. Occasionally (but not usually) a map may seem to be somewhat cluttered or unclear because of too much detail, as, for example, "Europe and the Crusades" (p. 29), "Medieval Commerce and Industry" (p. 32), and "The Age of Renaissance and Discovery" (p. 41). In these cases, might not two maps in each instance have served better?

Usually, however, excessive detail has been avoided on any given map. In the words of the author, this work "aims simply to provide the student with relatively inexpensive working maps for use in conjunction with standard history texts. . . geographic details are not repeated on each succeeding plate; it is assumed that one can always refer back to the first one in the series." The author goes on to say that "only those elements which are thought essential are on each plate, *i.e.*, not every town or even every major city may appear. This practice has the additional advantage of focusing the attention of the reader on essentials" (p. 5). The reviewer would concur with the author's judgment in this, although he would point out that if the page size of the atlas had been somewhat larger (it is 11" × 8½"), perhaps a small amount of further useful detail could have been incorporated on some of the maps (and in any case the appearance of a number of maps which seem somewhat crowded would have been helped). For the sake of maintaining the reasonable price of \$ 7.50, however, such a desideratum can easily be foregone.

Brief discussions accompany the various maps. These are helpful for a very *general* orientation (and that is, of course, all for which they are intended). A few typographical errors occur, as for example the date "1520" given on p. 42 for Luther's venturing west to Worms (but the correct date of 1521 is supplied on the accompanying map on p. 43), and the mention on p. 58 of Plate 28 as referring to Britain when it is actually Plate 27 that shows Britain. On Plate 25 (p. 49) the boundary between Schwyz and Uri has been omitted, and on Plate 19 (p. 39) it might have been well to indicate the city of Güns inasmuch as it is mentioned in the accompanying text on p. 38.

The author recognizes the lack of attention to Christianity outside western Europe: "When speaking of possible omissions one must certainly acknowledge that this volume is at least as myopic as its predecessors in its almost exclusive concentration on the western church. The story of certain eastern groups has been ignored as if the only movements of significance occurred between the Mediterranean and the Arctic Circle. Hopefully another edition may one day correct this and picture for example the Monophysites of Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, and Syria who were contemporaries of both Gregory I and Charles the Great. Perhaps we might then also look at the vast expanse of land covered by Nestorian missionaries, extending from the Caspian Sea to India, Ceylon, and even China by the seventh century. The great story of the Russian Church is certainly not adequately portrayed by simply noting the lines of mission expansion to the area, as we have done. Here also a selection has been made, hopefully to be amended and supplemented later." This reviewer would hope, too, that another, enlarged edition of this atlas may appear. In the meantime, the present contribution is a significant one and provides a most useful tool indeed for the student of medieval and Reformation church history.

Good indexes to the maps and to the text have been included. And there is an interesting bonus: On the various pages of text there appear some 30 small photographic reproductions of significant woodcuts, drawings, portraits, etc., from the periods covered.

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KENNETH A. STRAND

Avi-Yonah, Michael, *The Holy Land From the Persian to the Arab Conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): A Historical Geography*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1966. 231 pp., 24 maps. \$5.95.

This book is written by the foremost expert in the field of the geography of Palestine in Hellenistic and Roman times. The author was first connected for years with the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, and later with the Hebrew University, where he still serves as Professor of Archaeology. Some 30 years ago he published his first major work, a "Map of Roman Palestine" which appeared with an accompanying text in the *QDAP*, V (1935), 139-193. This work, consisting of map and text, was later published in a revised and expanded

form in Hebrew, which has gone through three editions (1949, 1951, 1962). The present work under review presents an English translation which has again been revised and brought up to date by its author. It contains 24 sketch maps in line drawings, but lacks the large map (1:330,000) which accompanied the Hebrew editions.

The work, well documented in 1442 footnotes, is divided into three parts of very unequal length. Part One (pp. 11-125) presents in ten chapters the fluctuating boundaries and geographical adjustments made from the time of the Persians through the Hellenistic and Roman periods up to the end of the Byzantine rule over the country. Part Two (pp. 127-180) consists of only one chapter and discusses the city territories, mainly in Roman times. Part Three (pp. 181-222) contains three chapters, one on the Roman road system, another one on the economy of the country based on its geographical conditions, and a third on the people who lived in the country in the periods under discussion, and on the size of its population. Seven pages of indices of geographical names, of persons and peoples, and of subject matter conclude this extremely valuable book.

It is also an excellent reference work. Some chapters, especially that of Part Two, make heavy reading but the historical chapters of Part One, and especially those of Part Three, are most interesting and instructive. Needless to say, a work which is the ripe fruit of decades of study by an expert in ancient geography contains hardly anything worth criticizing. Therefore, the following remarks merely deal with matters of interpretation in which this reviewer does not find himself in agreement with the author.

For example, the author questions whether the cities of Lod, Hadid and Ono, lying in the coastal plain, were part of the Province of Judaea during the Persian period (pp. 17, 18). He points out that they are mentioned in the list of the Jews returning from the Babylonian captivity (Ezr 2:33; Neh 7:37), but not in the lists of the builders of Nehemiah's wall. He therefore thinks that the three places were simply Jewish villages outside of the Province of Judaea. However, it should be remembered that these three places do occur in the list of Jewish settlements presented in Neh 11:34, 35, together with Zeboim and Neballat. While the location of Zeboim is uncertain, although it probably was near Lod, Neballat, now *Beit Nabala*, lay four miles northeast of Lod. This indicates that in Nehemiah's time, the number of Jewish villages in that far-off area of the province had increased from three to five. That these villages were not represented by workmen in Nehemiah's building program, may have been due to their exposed location bordering on the territory of hostile Samaria. Furthermore, Avi-Yonah thinks that the choice of the plain of Ono by Sanballat as a place of meeting with Nehemiah (Neh 6:2) shows that it was outside of Judaea. Again, one can interpret this suggestion in a different way, for it is quite possible that part of the plain of Ono lay outside the territory of Judaea, or even that Sanballat was willing to meet on Judaeian territory, though in a place lying close to his homeland, in

order to make a meeting with Nehemiah somewhat more palatable than if it would have had to take place on Samaritan territory. That Lod and two neighboring places were taken from Samaria and turned over to Judaea by Demetrius II of Syria in the Maccabean period (1 Macc 10:30; 11:34; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 4.9) is no proof that it had already been part of Samaria in the Persian period, as Avi-Yonah assumes (p. 24.) Since we know so little of the history of Judaea from the end of the 5th to the 3rd cent. B.C., it is impossible to say at what time these places in the coastal area had changed hands and had become part of Samaria. When all is said, it seems to this reviewer that the evidence is not strong enough to question the records of Ezra and Nehemiah which make Lod, Hadid and Ono part of the Province of Judaea.

Avi-Yonah also wants to exclude some southern cities, such as Hebron, En-rimmon, Lachish, etc. (mentioned in Ezr and Neh), from the territory of the Province of Judaea (pp. 14, 15, 52), mainly because their inclusion would have made the province stronger than it seems to have been according to the available historical sources. Pointing to the small size of Judaea in the later period, he says that there is "no known historical event which would justify such a drastic reduction of the area of Judah." However, this reviewer sees in the migration of the Edomites-Idumaeans into southern Judaea in the 3rd cent. B.C. the historical event responsible for the loss of that territory to Judaea. It is quite possible that the Idumaeans, when pushed out of their homeland by the Nabataeans, did not move into a geographical vacuum, but pushed the inhabitants of southern Judaea toward the north and took over their territory.

On pp. 24, 25, Avi-Yonah suggests that Sicheim/Shechem was "al-most certainly" a district capital during the Persian domination of the country. The recent excavations of Shechem by the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition have clearly shown that Shechem had an extremely small population during the Persian period, and could hardly have been important enough to serve as a district capital. Its repopulation did not take place until after the expulsion of the citizens of Samaria by Alexander the Great (see G. E. Wright, *Shechem* [New York, 1965], pp. 170-180).

For the Eshmunazer inscription from Sidon Avi-Yonah favors a date in the Ptolemaic period, giving as his chief reason the fact that "the title 'Lord of the Kings' appears many times in Semitic epigraphy, and always in connection with the Ptolemies" (p. 38). The author fails to mention that this occurs in Aramaic on the Saqqara Papyrus (*mr' mlkn*) already in the early 6th century B.C., where it refers to the Egyptian king. It is therefore still possible to date Eshmunazer in the Persian period as many scholars have done.

The author considers the statement of Jn 12:21 in error according to which Bethsaida belonged to Galilee (p. 138). This question has frequently been discussed, and many scholars have defended the accuracy of John. One reference may suffice. J. H. Bernhard says in his

discussion of Jn 12:21 in the *Intern. Crit. Comm.*: "There is abundance of evidence that the northeastern side of the lake, where Bethsaida is situated, was reckoned as in the province of Galilee by the year A.D. 80."

That the treatment of the various sites is not exhaustive is demonstrated by a comparison of the article on the history of Heshbon-Esbus in this number of the *AUSS* and Avi-Yonah's discussion of that city, but it is equally obvious from a study of the pertinent material that no important source material has been overlooked by Avi-Yonah. He has certainly put all those in his debt who are interested in the ancient history and geography of the Holy Land by giving them such a fine study. This reviewer belongs to those who have learned from this book, even with regard to subjects where he tends to disagree with the author.

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SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Barclay, William, *The First Three Gospels*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966. 317 pp. \$2.65.

William Barclay in his usual lucid style has contributed another useful book to the field of NT studies. The book had its origin as articles in the *British Weekly*. These have been considerably expanded in this volume. It is intended as a comprehensive introduction (in the technical sense) to the Synoptic Gospels, even discussing at length such matters as the priority of Mt and the calendrical theory of Mk.

It is in the first chapter that Barclay's basic thesis for the study of the Gospels is put forth. In discussing the problem of faith and history, he emphasizes the necessity of "happenedness" as a basis for faith. "The facts will not in themselves beget faith, but unless the facts are there faith cannot even arise" (p. 41). Throughout this first chapter and throughout the book the teacher in Barclay stands out. He uses excellent illustrations and adds interesting tidbits of information wherever possible which are usually omitted in serious scholarly works. More scholars can use Barclay's method with profit.

In the second chapter he discusses form criticism at length with fairness and sympathy, so much so that it is difficult at times to know whether he is describing what the form critics are saying or what he himself really feels. However, in the following chapter he assesses more systematically what he accepts of form criticism and where he would draw the line. He says: "It is our conclusion that the Form Critics have done an immeasurable service in enabling us to understand the formation, the genesis and the aim of the gospels, but that their one mistake is their failure to see that the gospel writers sought to awaken faith by showing Jesus as he was" (p. 115). While we could not have expected a full-scale criticism of form criticism, this seems to be much too cavalier a treatment of it. It would have been better if he had taken a few significant pericopes and treated them in detail to illustrate his conclusions. The students for whom he is writing would

have appreciated this much more than mere positive affirmations.

The second part of the book beginning with ch. 4 deals with the literary relationships among the Synoptics. Barclay follows Streeter's analysis with the priority of Mk, Q as the second source, and M and L as material peculiar to Mt and Lk respectively. It is understandable that the problem of Proto-Lk is fully discussed in connection with the special introduction of this Gospel, but some mention of this could have been made in the section dealing with literary relationships. It is much more difficult to see why the question of the priority of Mt is discussed in the special introduction. Characteristically, Barclay gives a lengthy description of this view (17 pages), but only a few lines in its evaluation with no specific criticisms.

The third part of the book is a special introduction to the three Gospels. While there is very little new, the student will be fascinated by the compilation of the traditions concerning each evangelist. Here is Barclay's forte—his ability to bring together from various sources and writers just the right material arranged in a way to make the discussion both interesting and illuminating. His discussion of the various reasons given for Mk's being called *kolobodaktulos* illustrates this point. The temptation here, however, is to bring in items which are more interesting than substantial. In all three special introductions, he deals effectively with the characteristics of the respective Gospels.

It is surprising that Stendahl's *School of St. Matthew* is not even mentioned nor listed in the bibliography. The book by Bornkamm, Barth, and Held is mentioned in the bibliography but not in the text, while Marxsen and Robinson are not mentioned in either place. These are unfortunate omissions, and we hope that any future revision will include these writers in the discussion.

In spite of some of the weaknesses noted above, Barclay's book will serve a very useful purpose, especially for the student who finds introductory studies somewhat less than exciting. Most teachers know how difficult it is to arouse interest on the part of the general Seminary student in the technical matters of special introduction. One guesses it would be a delight to study at the feet of Barclay.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Barth, Christoph F., *Introduction to the Psalms*. Translated by R. A. Wilson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966. 87 pp. \$2.95.

This study of the Psalms is a translation of the enlarged German version, published under the title *Einführung in die Psalmen* (Neukirchen, 1961), of Barth's introductory preface to the new translation of the Psalms into the Indonesian language which was produced by the author and P. S. Naipospos over a period of six years.

In 22 chapters Barth covers a much wider field of problems than the usual questions of scholarly "Introduction," though these questions are dealt with in succinct form in the opening chapters. The author then

gives a judicious account of the application of form criticism to the Psalms, fully acknowledging Herman Gunkel's tremendous contribution to this method of research, but at the same time emphasizing the importance of looking at each Ps independently and not forcing it arbitrarily into a *Gattung* (formal category). At this point Barth is influenced by the penetrating form-critical study of Claus Westermann (*The Praise of God in the Psalms*, translated by Keith R. Crim [Richmond, 1965]). There is an important but all too short section dealing with the cultic use of the Psalms in Israelite acts of worship. Barth suggests that just as there was a measure of exaggeration in the attribution of certain Psalms to the supposed "Enthronement Festival of Yahweh" (championed by the "Uppsala School," especially Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, translated by D. R. Ap-Thomas, 2 vols. [Nashville, 1962]), so the "Covenant Renewal Festival" (advocated by Arthur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, translated by Herbert Hartwell [Philadelphia, 1962], and Gerhard von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* [New York, 1966]) may likewise come to be recognized as overpressed. It appears that Barth is here essentially in agreement with the view expressed more recently by the German scholar Hans-Joachim Kraus, who warns that a "decisive cultic principle [*massgebendes Kultprinzip*]" (*Psalmen* [3d ed.; Neukirchen, 1965], I, XXXIX) as a unifying factor for the interpretation of the Psalter will result only in one-sidedness and distortion. It is further argued that the "Royal Psalms" are closely connected with the Election theme, and that there is a close connection between king, individual Israelite, and community through the working of the principles of corporate personality and democratization.

The relationship of Israelite psalmody to extra-Biblical psalmody is recognized, but stress is laid upon the uniqueness of the Biblical psalms. A valuable analysis is given of their special characteristics, particular attention being drawn to the "freedom from any wheedling or magical attempt to gain the grace of heaven" (p. 32) and the quality of humility in its peculiar relationship to the psalmist's frequent proclamation of his righteousness, a righteousness which is not claimed by himself but attributed to God. A theologically significant interpretation is given to the "wicked enemies" mentioned so frequently in the Psalms. According to Barth these enemies are to be viewed as "real human beings" (p. 45) as against the modern interpretation of Scandinavian scholars who understand them as mythical powers of death. "The Psalmists are dealing with men whose total godlessness they have only realized on the basis of the judgment that has come about in the cult" (p. 47). Their prayer, then, is that there is a visible execution of the cultic judgment of God's righteous will. Thus we are not dealing with outbursts of personal revenge against the wicked enemies, but with liturgico-cultic prayers and formulas directed primarily against the enemies of God and only secondarily against particular adversaries. Barth suggests that what is said about the wicked is related to the influence of the ancient formulas of cursing

as in Dt 27-28. The treatment of the theme of death as opposed to life sums up what Barth has said in his earlier important discussion on this topic in *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments* (Zürich, 1947).

The discussion of the place of David in the Psalter purports that the superscriptions of the Psalms which present David as the author with biographical details "cannot have been written before the third century B.C." (p. 63). This particular point may need some drastic revisions in view of the manuscript finds of the Psalms from Caves 4 and 11 of Qumran, one of which is a fragmentary copy (4QPs^a) from the second century B.C. of a considerably earlier canonical Psalter containing superscriptions referring to David (cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., *The Ancient Library of Qumran* [Garden City, N.Y., 1961], p. 165, and J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* [Oxford, 1965], and his *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1967], pp. 13, 157, 158).

As a whole this book is a splendid short introduction for nonspecialists, but also the advanced student can learn from it. From a liberal point of view, which needs to be constantly kept in mind, it covers the more difficult problems of Psalm research.

Andrews University

GERHARD F. HASEL

Harvey, Van A., *The Historian and the Believer*. New York: Macmillan, 1966. xv + 301 pp. \$6.95.

The problem to which this book addresses itself is one which may be posed very sharply. It concerns the contrast between the probabilities of historical judgment and the certainty claimed for faith by one who is a believer. How may the certainty of faith rest upon the probabilities, that is, the relative certainties of the historian? "Can one and the same man hold the same judgment tentatively as an historian but believe it passionately as a Christian?" (p. 18). The historian who claims to know, not simply believe, must give reasons for his claim. The development of modern historiography is that of the emergence of the historian's autonomy. He does not simply record, edit and harmonize past reports. Rather he assesses the deposits of the past, and so, in a sense, creates fact by this process of assessment, which is, of course, performed in the light of articulate principles. These must not be stereotyped, for since history is a "field-encompassing field," that is, since it takes within it all spheres of human experience, the nature of and procedures for the assessment must be appropriate to the particular area of discussion. Sound historical judgment will be based on appropriate assessment. Here the author connects with Toulmin and his examination of the variety of kinds of arguments occurring in practical discourse.

Harvey proceeds by adopting the standpoint of F. H. Bradley that "the warrants and backings for historical judgments lie grounded in

present knowledge" (p. 71). However, he refuses Bradley's identification of present knowledge with scientific knowledge, for since history is a field-encompassing field, its methodology may not be dictated by that of any one field. Thus the differing status of different conclusions is to be recognized. Some will be probable, with various degrees of probability. Others will be practically certain. "In history, we need only the level of certainty the context requires" (p. 93). A stance which Harvey adopts on the basis of "present knowledge" is that of skepticism toward miracles, miracles of any shape. For indeed Harvey lumps together many different kinds of miracle (*e.g.*, the raining of blood from the sky, the singing of the *Te Deum* by a beheaded martyr, the stories of Jonah and of Joshua's sun, the resurrection of Jesus Christ [cf. also p. 223]) and adopts the attitude that for certain reasons (cf. p. 88) skepticism toward any alleged miracle is justified. When one asks how a particular historical judgment is validated, one receives the following answer: the historian decides that his hypothesis is correct "in seeing how far other facts . . . corroborate such an interpretation" (p. 92). It is difficult to see how the historian can see without some intuition (the addition of the adjective "mystical" [p. 96] is confusing). It is also appropriate to ask what constitutes the "seeing how far," that is, how is it that the historian measures the relation between his "how far" and the fact he has established as the basis of this insight? This would seem to compromise his emphatically stated distinction between how one comes to know, and how one comes to justify what is known.

The conclusion of the first part of the book is that the historian ought to presuppose present knowledge. It is this that Harvey means by his cumbersome phrase "the morality of historical knowledge."

The second section of the book is an examination of historical movements in theology in the light of this criterion. As each is examined, its weaknesses are high-lighted; and in this way the ground is prepared for the statement of the author's own position in the final chapter. The weakness of "traditional belief" (chapter IV) is that it makes sound historical judgment impossible (p. 119). The weakness of the dialectical theology (Tillich is included along with Bultmann and Barth) is that in leading to the conclusion that faith has no essential relationship to a past historical fact (p. 131), the representative writers do not even address themselves to the fact of the historian's autonomy. If the truth of history is opposed to the truth of faith and the results of historical inquiry are of no concern to faith, "it is impossible for faith to clarify its own object" (p. 158). The weakness of the "New Quest for the historical Jesus" is not that it violates the morality of historical knowledge, but that it universalizes a particular understanding of historical scholarship (p. 186), and does not allow a diversity which should be as varied as are the questions which men ask. (It may be noted that Harvey commends Ebeling for not postulating supernatural causes or absolutely unique events and for affirming that the historian employs the same method for dealing with all past

phenomena.) Moreover, the warrant for the claims of the New Quest is unsatisfactory. Since it appeals to the faith, namely the self-understanding, of Jesus it is laying the case on very tenuous grounds, and indeed is driven to require some of the data which (against the Old Quest) it is asserted that it is impossible to get. For since thought and self-understanding occur in a context, to reconstruct such self-understanding requires a consideration of "chronology" (p. 189). Moreover (and this is the real fault), the New Quest assumes the uniqueness of Jesus' selfhood, and this idea of "uniqueness" (miracle being one example of it) Harvey does not allow. He writes "as an a priori assumption it can hardly serve the purposes of critical history."

The error of the New Quest is that it solicits heavy assent to a tenuous historical judgment, namely, that concerning the selfhood of Jesus.

The further position now taken on by Harvey is what is called (awkwardly) Hard Perspectivism. The issue is whether a different perspective on the "facts" from one which rules out miracles is an appropriate one. Against the fact-interpretation identification of the Hard Perspectivist (Alan Richardson is the chief representative), Harvey insists on a distinction of fact from interpretation. Richardson's argument that the perspective which enables us to "see" most of the facts is the most adequate offends Harvey and leads him to a discussion of "presuppositions" (see below). But what then does "fact" mean? Is it to be taken in the idealist sense? Are we to assume that having made the distinction, a fact can have ideally not more than one, *i.e.*, the correct, interpretation? Does the objectivity ideal here reappear in a different form?

The question, Does Christian faith require specific historical assertions which "in the nature of the case, are dubious or not fully justified"? (p. 249) sets the issue squarely. Harvey has already refused certain answers: (1) whatever the historian does about the supernatural or miracles, faith needs them and will assert them; (2) faith is independent of the results of historical research; (3) the self-understanding of Jesus is the source of both historical knowledge, and the kerygma and faith; (4) the fact of faith and the interpretation derived from faith and expressing faith are identical. He suggests a modified "blik" theory of faith. The believer and the unbeliever differ not in the "fact" which they interpret but in the significance they see in it. Both interpretations presuppose "that there is some 'given' to be interpreted" (p. 252), some "paradigmatic event," some archetypes cast up by history. Different religions are struck differently by different models of interpretation. The "blik" is about the given: so one may not, on the basis of characterizing faith as a perspective, say that it has no referent, that is that it is noncognitive. However, the "event," the "given," the "fact" is of little significance. What is important is the perspective taken of it. This becomes obvious from the description of the crucifixion (which is somewhere near the heart of Christianity) and of the resurrection, where, dependent upon Ebeling, Harvey asserts: "the so-called

appearances can be interpreted only as the concomitant phenomena of the faith-awakening encounter with Jesus" (p. 274). Belief in miracle is not required. Confidence in Jesus' message is. This is a historically (*i.e.*, rationally) defensible position. Indeed Harvey suggests that the perspectival image derived from the Biblical narratives may be compared with the Biblical Christ, which latter is the memory image of Jesus distorted by theological interpretation by the NT writers (pp. 267, 268). But faith does not depend upon such a reconstruction (hence, the performance would be an academic exercise), indeed faith is independent of historical beliefs. "No remote historical event can . . . as such, be the basis for a religious confidence about the present" (p. 282). So what of Jesus and his life and death? These are important as parabolic clues to an image, which image helps in understanding reality known on other grounds ("in all events"). The autonomy of the historian's judgment is won at the price of abandoning the exclusiveness of Christianity.

The book is unfortunately vague in some important places, and in arguing towards his conclusion, the author leaves the impression that the destination is (at times) more important than the route. For example, in the fourth chapter, in his polemic against "traditional belief," he admits that this term (which he nowhere defines or expounds) is far too sweeping but lets it stand nevertheless. The issue is purportedly over the soundness of historical judgment and conclusions. It turns out to be one of presuppositions. Harvey's premise is that the genuinely critical historian works in the case of the Gospels with skeptical presuppositions concerning miracles, since these are called for by scientific history and are also appropriate to the subject matter. This skepticism is given an explicit formulation. Resurrection is "initially improbable." To assert the opposite is to lack "a certain quality of mind" which makes for sound historical judgment. Harvey's method, however, parallels that which he criticizes. He writes, "Logical possibilities . . . are converted into practical possibilities" (p. 122). In the case of "traditional belief" the logical possibility is "miracles are not impossible." In his own case the logical possibility is "miracles are impossible." Since the dynamic of argument is parallel in both cases, we ask for that which leads to the better judgment of the skeptical historian, and receive the answer that it is a certain "intangible quality" (pp. 119, 120) present to the one and absent to the other! We remain in the realm of counter-assertion! "Traditional belief" is not sufficiently illustrated by specific examples to enable the reader to see whether the author's assessment of its method is in fact fair and cogent. He shows no concern to set the presuppositions over against one another and examine them on their merits. The initial improbability that underlies the whole argument here in the chapter (and the entire book) is assumed. It is never examined, indeed it is never explained.

Harvey's proclivity to over-generalization may be shown at other points to vitiate his argument. In arguing against Alan Richardson's

position, which he (unhappily) calls "hard perspectivism," he criticizes those who would drop the fact-interpretation distinction, since "there is no *one true* significance of an event" (p. 221). What, never? Surely some events must be exempted from this generalization. To say that evaluation of significance cannot be final, is not the same as to say that there cannot be one true significance of an event. At least the language that speaks of *the* significance of an event is not vacuous. We sense an oversimplification of the problems involved in the argument against the fact-interpretation identification. We suggest that there are three rather than two alternatives to be considered: (1) fact and interpretation are quite distinct, (2) fact and interpretation are identifiable, (3) no general rule is to be made *a priori*. If one examines the data without loading the case, it may be found that an interpretation is the primary fact in certain cases, and, in others, interpretation has to do with a more primary fact than itself. What the status of the interpretation is will itself be a matter of interpretation. Thus an interpretation may assess a fact as problematical. It is an assertion of rather far-reaching consequences to say that an event cannot be interpreted meaningfully (p. 215). The fact that in many if not most cases of historical judgment there are plausible alternatives, does not mean that in some cases there may not be one correct one, nor that even among the plurality (in a given instance) one is not much more probable than others.

Harvey takes issue concerning the use made of the notion of presupposition by the Christian apologist. His allegation is that the specific usage conflicts with the general presuppositions of the critical historian. To put the matter in this way beclouds the issue. For in pressing behind the "very concrete beliefs" (p. 224) to the assumptions they illustrate, one may obviously come up with propositions of wider generality; that is, one may generalize from the concrete beliefs about a particular set of events. The issue is fogged by this confusing contrast between general and particular. The real point concerns the nature of the assumptions. The basic issue is whether the presupposition is to take the form, unique events happen, or, unique events do not happen. It is difficult to understand how a fair-minded historian would *on principle* exclude the unique. If history is a "field-encompassing field," as Harvey claims it is, should not the open-minded historian consider the possibility that there might be one case that was unique? He would, if such were found, have to modify his view of historical warrants. How would one know unless one had experienced it, except by taking the witnesses to the unique as trustworthy? A conflict of presuppositions is not settled by appeal to "facts" (in Harvey's sense).

Our point is that in arguing for a skeptical presupposition Harvey has engaged in much loose talk. We give one final example. The resurrection of Jesus is identified with faith-interpretation (it would be a fair question to ask whether different interpretations of the resurrection could appeal to an agreed upon "fact"), with a right understanding of Jesus. The "so-called appearances can be inter-

preted only as 'concomitant phenomena . . . ' of faith. It is not the case that this is the only interpretation possible. Harvey means that this is the only adequate interpretation. The use of the term "concomitant" is thus not helpful, for it tells us nothing. The resurrection is indeed dispensable for Harvey since he cannot allow miracle, and since he does not have to refer to Jesus' person for the faith perspective (p. 274).

One wonders how it is possible to give so much away in acknowledging the "scientific" spirit of critical history.

The following misprints were noted: sigilography for sigillography (p. 56), especially for especially (p. 113), bibilical for biblical (p. 151), regin for reign (p. 272).

Andrews University

EDWARD W. H. VICK

Ladd, George Eldon, *The New Testament and Criticism*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967. 222 pp. \$3.95.

The purpose of the author is to demonstrate by means of clear-cut illustrations the fact that the various critical methodologies, *i.e.*, textual, linguistic, literary, form, historical and comparative-religion, are not inherently destructive of conservative faith. In fact, they are necessary for a sound conservative understanding of Scripture. Some conservatives will question this thesis, for they will feel that their rigid authoritative regard for the Bible will be affected by accepting any of the critical methodologies mentioned above. Nevertheless, Ladd would insist that if faith is affected by these methods *per se*, such faith needs to be purged since "an adequate study of the Bible demands a historical-theological methodology" (p. 14).

Each chapter is profusely illustrated to show how the method can be applied in a conservative context. The most conservative reader, it seems to me, would have to concede the author's point. These methods are absolutely necessary in order to study the Bible intelligently. Too often any type of criticism concerning the Bible is considered from a pejorative point of view. But criticism in itself is a neutral term and an inescapable activity in studying the Bible. Ladd defines it thus: "Criticism means making intelligent judgments about historical, literary, textual, and philological questions which one must face in dealing with the Bible, in the light of all the available evidence, when one recognizes that the Word of God has come to men through the words of men in given historical situations" (p. 37).

While the reviewer agrees with Ladd's basic conclusions and conservative tendencies, he feels a certain uneasiness resulting from the author's approach and attitude. Why does Ladd, especially in chapters 6-8, set in opposition to *his* conservative use of these methods the usage of the radical critics without making allowance for other conservative views which may deviate from his? By attacking the results of these

radical critics, he, in effect, is attacking all those who do not agree with *his* particular conservative positions. There are conservative scholars who would accept more of the results of these methodologies than he, without sacrificing a "high view" of Scripture.

His use of the critical methods will seem to be quite arbitrary even to some conservatives. He chooses where he will use criticism and where he will not. On p. 182, 2 Macc is cited and the miraculous event recorded there is considered as the "product of devout imagination, not sober history," but Ladd seems to feel that the exercise of critical judgment which is used to arrive at the above conclusion cannot be applied in the same way to the Bible. Many *conservatives* with a "high view" of Scripture would disagree with him. Again if a book is anonymous, Ladd is quite free to use all of his critical judgment in determining the author, but if a book claims to be written by someone, no critical judgment can be used. This claim must be accepted (pp. 116, 128). This will seem too arbitrary to some. Ladd's use of criticism seems too rigidly bound by presuppositions which restrict his integrity in its use.

One especially disturbing stylistic peculiarity is Ladd's use of the expression "in terms of." This is predominantly so in ch. 8. On the first page alone, it is used four times.

The author himself forecast that his book would meet with varying reactions from the theological right and left. Some will feel he has yielded too much ground, while others will feel he has not gone far enough. Liberals will feel that he seems to be fighting battles long since won and thus that he is "piddling with trivia." But they must be tolerant, for only those like Ladd can understand that to many conservatives this problem is not trivial. Besides, he is not addressing liberals in this book. A good group of conservatives who have looked at the inescapable phenomena of literary and historical criticism will in large part applaud the efforts of Ladd.

The criticisms offered above in no way invalidate the value of the book for its intended readers. It will fill a real need among conservative students for a handy volume discussing the relationship of conservative scholarship to these critical methodologies. Ladd's basically positive attitude to these methodologies and his judicious approach throughout will enhance its value.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Laeuchli, Samuel, *The Serpent and the Dove: Five Essays on Early Christianity*. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1966. 256 pp. \$ 5.95.

The Serpent and the Dove is in a sense a continuation of the author's *Language of Faith*. This is so although its form is that of a series of essays rather than a monograph and although these essays "represent at many points either a qualification or even a break with positions held

in the *Language of Faith*" (p. 16). The time period covered is from the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217) to the death of Constantine (A.D. 337)—a period which "gives us the decisive transition from pre-Nicene Christianity to the change which came about in the battle of the Milvian Bridge and its subsequent decades, containing the evolution from the theological climate of Origen and Tertullian to that of Athanasius, Donatus, and Antony" (p. 13).

As the title implies, this book deals with forces of good (dove) and forces of evil (serpent) which were so intertwined in the history of the early Christian church. The author has stated: "The form of this book was born from a desire to phrase the tentative and fragmentary character of both history and its interpretation. Partly through being involved in interdisciplinary debates, even debates with nontheological and nonhistorical interpretations, partly through reading contradictory yet pertinent studies on one and the same issue, I have come to appreciate, and I have attempted to express, the mysterious dialectic of events, that baffling identity, or at least proximity, of Christ and Anti-Christ in the history of the church. Time and again I have been fascinated by that intertwining of charisma and death, of theology and bigotry. The patristic church produced its basilicas and it produced Theodosius' witch-hunt. These two facts can be distinguished only partially; at times we can separate them, at times we cannot" (pp. 13, 14).

And so the author leads us through various facets of a tortuous and confusing stream of history, where the forces of good and of evil at times stand in opposition, at times seem to interchange, and at times blend—both inside the church and outside. His opening essay "Christ and Anti-Christ" (pp. 19-49) fittingly treats the matter of "peace" and "persecution" for the church. It is pointed out that peace had both positive and negative aspects. For example, the "peace under the soldier-emperors enabled the creation of Origen's magnificent opus—and it prepared the congregations of Carthage and Alexandria for treason. The victory under Constantine gave Christian history the superb basilica as a Christian sanctuary—and it brought about the faithless mob of Christian Rome" (p. 28). Moreover, the "peace before Decius and the peace after Constantine represent two different possibilities of a *modus vivendi* between Christian faith and the world" (p. 28). There is also an excellent discussion of the church's *external* peace and *internal* peace (pp. 31-33).

The *persecutions* of the early church, Laeuchli sees as "a fight between two claims of salvation that could not endure coexistence" (p. 34). But his suggestion that persecution "was an expression of despair" on the part of Rome and that "the emperor cult had no religious significance" (p. 38) may be questioned. Was Roman religion as dead as is often assumed? (See now, e.g., Herold Weiss, "The *Pagani* Among the Contemporaries of the First Christians," *JBL*, LXXXVI [1967], 42-52.) And is it accurate to claim lack of religious significance on the part of the Roman imperial cult by asking, "Indeed,

did anyone ever address a prayer to the soul of Titus whose apotheosis is depicted in the vault of his triumphal arch?" (p. 38)? Moreover, does any help come from the further comment that "Pliny was a priest of the 'deified Titus' (*C.I.L.* V. 5667)—which he does not mention once in his letters" and that "he [Pliny] prayed for the living emperor (*Ep.* 10.13-14), but he never prayed in the name of a dead augustus" (p. 38, ft. 41)? Is not the difficulty in all this simply the fact that Laeuchli here fails to make a necessary distinction between the eastern mentality which was generally ready to pay *divine honors* to a *living* emperor and the western mentality (especially the Roman itself) which at first was quite unwilling to do so (and therefore had apotheosis and worship of the *numen* or *genius* instead)?

Laeuchli's discussion of the Christian side of persecution — persecution which was at times "a judgment on both sides, the persecuted and the persecutor" (p. 43)—is indeed stimulating, and the chapter concludes with an analysis of the drama of "peace—persecution—peace persecution—peace" (p. 44) in several "disturbing" aspects, including its opaqueness and its lack of closing scene.

The second essay "The Heresy of Truth" (pp. 50-101) begins with observations on the Nicene debate and then proceeds to examine "the relationship between heresy and truth in both pre-Nicene and post-Nicene theology" (p. 51). In the next essay "The Milvian Bridge" (pp. 102-150), the author uses Constantine's claim of success as an instrument of God as a backdrop for dealing with the question of a Christian interpretation of history. He endeavors "to show in the course of this chapter certain possibilities for a historical encounter, in the postpositivistic and postexistentialist age of historical consciousness" (p. 103). After considering three metaphysical possibilities "which repeatedly recur in patristic thought"—rational naturalism, dualism, and transcendental monism—and interpreting the life of Constantine in the light of them, he then analyzes four possible interpretations of Constantine's claim: Christ's *presence*, Christ's presence in only *qualified* manner, Christ's *absence*, *ignoring* the question altogether (pp. 103-123). He is now ready to lead us into a challenging study of hermeneutic. "The three conflicting metaphysical possibilities and the four conflicting types of interpretation," he says, "have made it quite clear that the age of Constantine does not provide us with a consistent answer to the problem of *evil*. The three concepts and the four interpretations of God have collapsed because behind them lurk conflicting interpretations of evil. If history could give us an explanation of evil, it could give us a consistent understanding of God" (p. 123). Ignoring history is not the solution, however: "Contrary to the temptation to evade the issue by nonhistorical categories we believe that it is the dialogue of history itself—the dialogue with the dialectic event—that does lead us on" (p. 123).

The treatment of methodology is thought-provoking. The categories of *evidence*, *dimensions of our speech*, *reenactment*, *critical evaluation*, etc. (pp. 133^{ff}), are familiar ground, but the application of such a

category as *creation/fall* (pp. 126 ff) may not seem so familiar. In fact, to some it may appear quite inappropriate in spite of its rather intriguing aspects.

In this chapter (which seems quite central for the author's theme), one could heartily endorse the attention given hermeneutical principles which lead to sound reconstruction of past events. One would also certainly wish to recognize the importance of the challenge of those events *to us*. Moreover, the author has done a service by placing squarely before us the "mysterious dialectic of events." However, may not the "dialogue with the dialectic event" hold within it negative as well as positive aspects (contain both the "serpent" and the "dove"), especially if utilized too exclusively as a hermeneutical approach? Also, how does this interpretation relate to the attitude toward history evidenced in the Biblical literature? Inasmuch as the discussion is not simply historical, but theological as well, might it not have been appropriate (even though not necessarily essential) to explore this question quite fully, regardless of whether the answer would be positive, negative, or an admixture of both?

The final two chapters of this book consider the Christian and church in two aspects: "Communio Peccatorum" (pp. 151-195) deals with the Christian in his humanity, loyalties to church and empire, and "the influence of the individual on the development of penance during this period" (p. 184). "The Broken Altar" (pp. 196-246) treats the question of where and where not the unity lay in the patristic church before and after Nicea.

The Serpent and the Dove abounds in informative detail and thought-provoking interpretations and insights. There is certainly much with which to agree, and there may be some things with which we would wish to disagree. It has even occurred to the present reviewer that should the author produce another book as a continuation of this one, he might present "either a qualification or even a break" with some of the positions held in the volume under review. But that is the genius and value of scholarship. And *The Serpent and the Dove* is most definitely a product of scholarship by a genuine scholar. But it is more than that. It is an eminently readable piece of literature—one which the present reviewer found hard to lay down once he had begun to read it.

Andrews University

KENNETH A. STRAND

Larson, Martin A., *The Essene Heritage or the Teacher of the Scrolls and the Christ*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1967. xviii + 237 pp. \$ 4.95.

Here is another book which tries to prove that Christianity is nothing but a warmed-up Essene religion. According to Larson the "Teacher of Righteousness" had been put to death *ca.* 70 B.C. by the Jewish authorities. His followers then declared him to have been

God himself, considered his death as an atoning sacrifice for the elect, and believed that he had risen from the grave and returned to heaven, and after a short time would send a representative to earth. The author, furthermore, believes that Jesus had been a full-fledged member of the Essene order, also that the core of the Christian community consisted of Essenes who had defected to this community soon after the crucifixion of Jesus, and that Essenes joined Christianity in large number after the destruction of Jerusalem (pp. xiv, xv). In his views the author follows in part A. Dupont-Sommer and John M. Allegro, in part also writers such as A. Powell Davies.

The author reconstructs an artificial history of Essenism according to his own interpretation of the scanty historical evidence extant in the Qumran scrolls and in other ancient records, and then dates all the extra-Biblical Qumran literature accordingly. It goes without saying that his dates often disagree with those arrived at by the foremost scholars in Qumran research. His main arguments for the Essene origin of the Christ story and of Christian theology is based on *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (especially that part of it known as the *Testament of Levi*), a pseudepigraphical Jewish work which contains many Christian interpolations. Larson believes that "*The Testaments* in their entirety, as known in the Christian Church, were actually Essene writings" (p. 112, n). He therefore declares the statements in the *Testament of Levi* referring to Christ, which have always been recognized as Christian interpolations, to be of Essene origin, and believes that they refer to the "Teacher of Righteousness." He thus maintains that he has documentary evidence for the support of his arguments, referred to above, that Christianity has taken over all its basic concepts from the Essenes.

The fact that fragments of the *Testaments of Levi* and of *Naphtali* have come to light in Qumran caves is taken by Larson as evidence that these books in their entirety, as presently known, are of Essene origin. That only fragments of the *Testament of Levi* have been published which do not contain material that could be disturbing to Christians today, while other *Testament of Levi* fragments of Cave 4 remain unpublished many years after their discovery, has made Larson suspicious. He believes that the scholars involved in the publication of the scrolls are reluctant to publish this material since it might shake the pillars of Christian faith (pp. xvi-xviii). In support of his suspicion he quotes Allegro, who claims that he is no longer permitted to see the scrolls, and Larson speaks of the failure of his own efforts to obtain photographs of the unpublished fragments of the *Testament of Levi* from Cave 4.

This suspicion is unfounded, although it must be admitted that many students of the Dead Sea scrolls and of the Bible share Larson's frustration that serious studies of the scrolls are still hampered by the fact that most of the Cave 4 scroll fragments remain inaccessible 16 years after their discovery. Yet there are valid reasons for this delay: (1) the scholars entrusted with the publication of the scroll material

have other full-time jobs and do most of their work on the scrolls in their spare time (to their credit it must be said that they have already published all scroll material from Caves 1-3 and 7-10, and also one scroll from Cave 11); (2) the nature of the fragments makes their study, decipherment, identification and interpretation a slow, drawn-out process; and (3) the publication of each volume takes several years, even after a manuscript has been submitted to the printer. That access to the scrolls has been denied to Allegro is probably due to a breach of faith, which the editor-in-chief of the scroll publications, Roland de Vaux, has described, and which occurred in connection with the publication of the text and translation of the copper scrolls (*RB*, LXVIII [1961], 146, 147). The allegations of Allegro (*Harper's Magazine*, August, 1966, pp. 46-54) and Larson are therefore without basis. There is no reason to question the honesty of a scholar such as Frank M. Cross, Jr., who has worked on the scroll material of Cave 4 almost from the time of its discovery as a member of the team entrusted with its publication. Being well acquainted with the published as well as the unpublished Cave 4 scroll fragments of the *Testament of Levi*, he still believes with all scholars competent in this subject that the *Testaments* are "indeed Judeo-Christian editions, in part reworked, of older Essene sources" (*The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* [1958], p. 118, n. 99).

Since Larson's basic premises are not valid, his far-reaching conclusions must be rejected as equally baseless and invalid. Books like his may satisfy readers who want to justify their rejection of the originality of Christianity, but they cannot be considered serious attempts to explain the amount of influence which Essenism had on Christianity.

The book also contains a great number of historical errors in details. The following from Chapter II are referred to by way of illustration: The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus took place in 539 and not in 538 B.C. (p. 12); Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunus, the oldest son of Ptolemy I, who never occupied the throne of Egypt, while the author gives the impression that Seleucus was killed by Ptolemy I, the only Ptolemy whom he mentions a few paragraphs earlier (p. 13); the king who ascended to the throne in 223 was not "Antiochus II the Great," but Antiochus III (p. 13); Herod's territory was not divided after his death "among four tetrarchs" (p. 17), but among three of his sons, of whom one received the title "ethnarch," and two the title "tetrarch"; the Jewish-Roman war lasted from 66-70 (or from 66-73 if the fall of the last fortress is included), but not from 68-70 (p. 18); and the destruction of Jerusalem did not take place after "eight terrible months" of chaos. This period was either 4¾ months long (Nisan 14 to Elul 8, A.D. 70), if the Roman siege of the city is meant, or much longer than eight months if reference is made to the period of internecine warfare between the various Jewish factions inside the city.

Linnemann, Eta, *Jesus of the Parables: Introduction and Exposition*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. 218 pp. \$ 4.95.

The book under review is a translation (by John Sturdy) of the third edition (1964) of Eta Linnemann's *Gleichnisse Jesu: Einführung und Auslegung*, first published in 1961. It has also appeared in England under the title *The Parables of Jesus: Introduction and Exposition* which better represents both the original German title and the contents of the book since it is a study of the *parables* of Jesus and *not* of the *Jesus* of the parables.

This book grows out of the author's dissertation written under the supervision of Ernst Fuchs and accepted by the Kirchliche Hochschule, Berlin. It was prepared for publication under a commission from the Catechetical Office of the Hannover Landeskirche whose commission was that it should be of help to "the teacher of Religious Knowledge" (p. xi). This commendable aim has been carried out with consummate skill. Excellence of organization and clarity of argument contribute greatly to this end. In the words of her mentor, the author "leads teacher and pupil together in their work on the text by showing them step by step how one deals with the text methodically as an expositor" (p. xi).

The book is divided into two main sections: Part I (pp. 1-48) deals with the "basic principles of parable interpretation," while Part II (pp. 49-128) attempts "expositions" of 11 parables (using the term "parable" somewhat more loosely than the author would wish!), in the process of which one sees the "principles" applied. There follow, in fine print, extensive "notes" (pp. 129-196) by which the reader is reminded, or made aware, of points of view which are similar to, or differ from, those of the author. Again and again in this section one comes upon references to, or quotations from, the works of Bultmann, Fuchs, Joachim Jeremias, Jülicher, Klostermann, and other German scholars who have given special attention to the parables of Jesus. The book includes an excellent bibliography and helpful indices of References and Authors. The Index of Subjects is quite inadequate.

In Part I (The Basic Principles of Parable Interpretation) a distinction is made, first, between *similitudes* (a similitude tells of "a typical situation or a typical or regular event") and *parables proper* (a parable tells of "some interesting particular case"); second, between *illustrations* (an illustration "produces an example," as in the case of the story of the rich fool, Lk 12:16-21) and *parables* (a parable "adduces a correspondence," as in the case of the story of the unjust steward, Lk 16:1-8); and, third, between *allegories* (an allegory says "something other than what it means," for example, the allegory of the royal wedding feast, Mt 22:1-14) and *parables* (a parable, in contrast, "means what it says," for example, the parable of the great supper, Lk 14:15-24). There is much here that is most helpful, but one wonders why, in the discussion of allegory, the author only refers to the work of Jülicher and makes no mention of the work of C. A. Bugge and

Paul Fiebig which calls for a considerable modification of Jülicher's conclusions at some important points (for example, Jülicher looks to Aristotelian prototypes rather than to Rabbinic models and as a result overstates the case when he claims that Jesus' parables could not have contained allegorical elements).

In what immediately follows, the reader's attention is drawn to the importance of recognizing the fact that the parables of Jesus "are subject to the laws of popular narrative" (here Bultmann is followed closely). The reader is also warned against the danger of misconstruing the "introductory formulas and applications." Thereupon, under the heading "The Structure of the Parable," Linnemann makes her own particular contribution to the on-going study of the gospel parables. She speaks of it as "the phenomenon of interlocking."

In the parable, the judgment of the narrator concerning the situation in question "interlocks" with that of the listener. Both evaluations become intrinsic elements of the parable. The choice of the material, the point of comparison, and the course of the narrative are primarily determined by the judgment of the narrator. But the estimate of the listener also leaves its deposit. These individual evaluations do not merely appear side by side in the parable, but are interlocked or interwoven in the single strand of the narrative. It is the author's claim that as long as we overlook this interlocking in the parables of Jesus "we have no access to what Jesus was really saying" (pp. 27 f).

Fuchs, in his introduction to the book under discussion, says (p. xi) that this is Linnemann's "own discovery" and adds that it is "one of far-reaching significance." Since she treats this matter so briefly here, it is to be hoped that she will develop it more fully in another study. She comes nearest, in this work, to illustrating the nature and significance of this phenomenon in her exposition of the parable of the prodigal son (pp. 73-81).

Also of particular value is her discussion of the parable as "language event," a category we have come to associate with the names of Fuchs and Ebeling. The successful parable is an "event" that decisively alters the given situation. It creates a possibility that did not exist before, the possibility that the listener may come to an understanding with the narrator. This possibility is significant even if understanding does not result. Even if the listener persists in his prior opinion, it is not "just as before." By his persistence he actually makes a decision; his opposition becomes explicit. Thus a successful parable is an event in a double sense; it creates a new possibility in the situation, and compels the listener to make a decision. This event is called a "language event" because "something decisive happens through what is said" (pp. 30-32). Linnemann is to be commended for a lucid statement of this significant concept.

The author's "Expositions," Part II, are, on the whole, and from the point of view of exegetical method, exemplary. Rarely does she run beyond the basic "principles" she herself has laid down. But she is not faultless. In her exposition of the story (illustration) of the

good Samaritan she allows the Lucan context to lead her to conclusions concerning the "meaning of Jesus' answer" which are foreign to the illustration itself, namely, with respect to the problem of justification (see pp. 55 f).

At times our author flies in the face of *communis opinio*. Take for instance her long note (almost four pages of fine print) in which she says frankly, "In my opinion there is not one saying of Jesus that speaks expressly of the nearness of the kingdom of God the authenticity of which is not at least disputed" (p. 132, n. 26). Surely this calls for further discussion.

Linnemann's *Jesus of the Parables* is at once a most interesting and important book. It is alive to the contemporary discussion concerning the meaning and significance of the parables of Jesus and makes a significant contribution to that discussion. The serious expositor of the parables, be he teacher or preacher, who will ignore this book will do so to his own loss.

Andrews University

JAMES J. C. COX

Schwantes, Siegfried J., *A Short History of the Ancient Near East*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1965. 191 pp. + 5 maps. \$ 4.95.

The aim of this book, as the author explains in the foreword, is to supply the need for a short and yet substantial history of the ancient Near East in the English language. With a background of sound scholarship in language, literature and history, the author has admirably met this need. Indeed, the uniqueness and appeal of the book centers on the fact that, unlike far too many academic textbooks, the work under review does not regard the pre-classical Orient as an historical prelude leading up to a more detailed study of the explosive fifth century and the birth of classical Greek civilization. Rather, the author presents early Near Eastern civilizations, prior to the advent of Alexander the Great, as possessing significance and fascination for their own sake. It is a majestically sweeping view of a world of long ago. To have the political histories of the various regions of the ancient Orient authoritatively brought together under one cover is an exceptional rarity reminiscent of James H. Breasted's popular textbook for high-school students: *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World*. Tastefully offered, augmented by striking illustrations (including a synoptic chronological chart), the book recommends itself for popular consumption both for those who desire an introductory acquaintance with ancient history and for those who simply may want a concise summary of the salient highlights of specific chapters of that history.

Perhaps the most valid complaint which can be offered has to do with the unavoidable results which are imposed by the compactness of the history. Since a wide time range must be compressed to fit under one cover, some conclusions come with arbitrary abruptness. Sargon

I is spoken of as possibly having crossed the Taurus Mountains into Asia Minor (p. 27). The historical implications of that tradition in light of the reference to Sargon made some seven centuries later by the Hittite king Ḫattušiliš I are not discussed (see H. G. Güterbock, *JCS*, XVIII [1964], 1-6). The complementary, archaeological lines of evidence which demonstrate that the Philistines came from the island of Crete—such as linguistic traces and architectural remains—are reduced to a passing remark concerning the Aegean affinity of Philistine pottery (pp. 160, 161). The intriguing chronological problem posed by the Biblical story of the Israelite Exodus from Egypt is given a tantalizingly brief analysis, but without offering a definitive conclusion as to just when that event took place (pp. 156-158). The hotly debated historical question of whether or not there existed a coregency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV is not considered (p. 89). Nor is there an alternative theory supplied in answer to the mystery of who slew the son of the Hittite monarch Šuppiliuma (p. 46)—other than to suggest that the wicked deed was instigated by Pharaoh Eye. Was the culprit Ḫaremḫab, who seemingly headed an Egyptian army in Syria at the time? Needless to say, the peculiar historical difficulties which surround that infamous international murder are avoided. While King Josiah's annexation of the Assyrian provinces of Samaria, Gilead and Galilee is duly noted (p. 172), the recent discovery that he also expanded his hold on territory to the west of Judah is neglected (see J. Naveh, *IEJ*, X [1960], 129-139). Recent discussions as to the identity of the Babylonian king Kandalanu also are by-passed (pp. 132, 134). In the reviewer's opinion, the name "Kandalanu" may have been the Babylonian throne name for the Assyrian ruler Assur-eṭil-ilāni, Assurbanipal's son and successor (see Elizabeth von Voigtlander, *A Survey of Neo-Babylonian History*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963, pp. 6-8). Such disappointing briefness in the narrative, though sad to the heart of a true historian, is perhaps inevitable if the work is to remain a short history.

Items against which the reviewer would take particular issue include the oft-heralded theory of a constant Bedouin pressure upon the sown (pp. 11-12). A refutation of this commonly held thesis (that Arabian nomads continually emerged from the desert upon the more fertile sedentary cultures) is conveniently provided by J. M. Grintz (*JNES*, XXI [1962], 186-206) and more recently by J. T. Luke (*Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of Michigan, 1965). Nor can the reviewer agree with the author's contention that the god of Pharaoh Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) was formed by syncretism. The unprecedented religious revolution of Akhenaten was out of temper with the religious mood of his times (H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* [New York, 1948], p. 3). Furthermore, a study of the earlier and later titular name of the god Aten reveals a religious revolution formed by "exclusion" rather than by "syncretism" (B. Gunn, *JEA*, IX [1923],

168-176). That the Hyksos introduced the horse into Egypt is another common assumption which until recently seemed to be based on good evidence (as brought out on p. 78). Recently, however, Walter B. Emery has found the burial of a horse lying directly on the brick pavement of a Middle Kingdom rampart (*Lost Land Emerging* [New York, 1967], pp. 111, 112). The implications of that find are possibly reflected in the statement made by the Egyptologist Keith C. Seele in the *Chicago Tribune* ("Books Today," July 16, 1967, p. 13): "There is no evidence that the horse and chariot were introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos."

The following corrections may be noted. The *ka* is not to be confused with the *ba* (p. 65); it is the latter that is represented as "a bird fluttering in the air." The Bethshan stela of Seti I is not the first time an Egyptian source mentions the word "Canaan" (p. 94); the term already is found as early as the reign of Amenhotep II (15th century B.C.). Azriyau was not a usurper who made himself king of Sam'al (p. 153), but is rather to be identified with Azariah-Uzziah of Judah (see especially E. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* [Grand Rapids, 1965], pp. 93, 94). The general of Cyrus, who is also called the governor of Gutium, was not Gubaru (Greek "Gobryas") as is postulated (pp. 139, 143), but a certain "Ugbaru" (the cuneiform possibly is to be read "Ukmaru"). The Theban king who reunited Egypt during the Middle Kingdom is not Mentuhotep II/III (p. 70), but rather Mentuhotep I (see Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* [Oxford, 1961], p. 120). Amenhotep III reigned 38 years (J. Černý, *JEA*, 50 [1964], 37), not 36 years (p. 86), and he probably did make periodic visits to Egypt's Asiatic provinces (in contrast to the remark on p. 87). Until recent years, letter 116 of the Amarna correspondence had been interpreted as supporting the contention that he did not go (lines 61-63). The crucial lines, however, have been retranslated (*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, III, 21; H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägypten zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* [Wiesbaden, 1962], p. 174), and it consequently appears that Amenhotep III indeed did visit Canaan. The remark that the dates of the reign of Ramses II "can be fixed between 1301 and 1234 B.C." (p. 95), must be modified in view of the fact that chronologists have narrowed the accession year of Ramses II down to either 1304 or 1290 B.C. (M. B. Rowton, *JNES*, XXV [1966], 240-258).

Because of the rapid increase of available archaeological information, which is a continuous process, a number of changes in the dating of ancient literary works has become mandatory. The *Execration texts* (to which a third series now can be added, G. Posener, *Syria*, XLIII [1966], 277-287), previously dated to the early Middle Kingdom (p. 72), should now be dated toward the end of the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty (S. H. Horn, *AUSS*, I [1963], 53-55, although W. F. Albright would place the Sethe, Mirgisseh, and Posener texts to an overall date of ca. 1925-1825 B.C.; *BASOR*, No. 184 [1966], 35, *appendum*). The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (misspelled "Ipur-wer," p. 67) possibly are not to be dated to

the end of the Old Kingdom, but to a time following the catastrophic collapse of the Middle Kingdom (J. Van Seters, *JEA*, L [1964], 13-23; followed by Albright, *BASOR*, No. 179 [1965], 41). The Gudea statues and inscriptions are not to be dated as being contemporaneous with the Third Dynasty of Ur (p. 31), but to a time preceding Ur-Nammu (S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* [Chicago, 1963], pp. 66-67). Finally, the seven tablets of the Babylonian Creation epic, *Enuma elish*, probably are not to be dated to the first Babylonian dynasty (pp. 37, 38), but to the fourth dynasty when Nebuchadrezzar I (ca. 1100 B.C.) raised Marduk to the supreme position in the Babylonian pantheon (W. G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadrezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamia," *The Seed of Wisdom, Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek* [Toronto, 1967], pp. 3-13).

The above criticisms are not meant to distract from the value of the study under review. As a popular work it remains a unique and needed contribution. Undoubtedly the book will arouse in many a desire for a deeper study into the history of antiquity. The "Selected Bibliography" (pp. 177-179) should thus be expanded to include not only such histories as are published under the "Ancient Peoples and Places" series, but also the pertinent fascicles of the revised edition to *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Other general works, such as Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961); Sabatino Moscati, *The Face of the Ancient Orient* (Garden City, N.Y., 1962); Martin Noth, *The Old Testament World* (Philadelphia, 1964); A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964); and Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (London, 1964), are but a few suggestions to be added to the list.

Andrews University

S. DOUGLAS WATERHOUSE

Vahanian, Gabriel, *No Other God*. New York: George Braziller, 1966.

xxi + 114 pp. Paperbound. \$ 1.50.

Vahanian begins by asking the question whether the age of religion has come to an end. His answer is an unambiguous "no." He feels Bonhoeffer made a mistake when he replaced the dichotomy between faith and religion with the dichotomy of atheism and theism, the religious and the secular, thus substituting the traditional transcendental millenarianism with an inner worldly millenarianism (p. 21). In affirming the secular, the inner worldly, Bonhoeffer rejected the religious. Vahanian's intent is to make the religious relevant again.

The problem with the religious has been that it has been conceived either as sacral or as supernatural, and therefore it has been denied relevance in the religious life of the world. Bonhoeffer, then, in an attempt to establish the relevance of Christianity for the world, treated with contempt "the religious." The result has been that his disciples have become eager to proclaim the necessity of a secular, atheistic Christianity.

Against this, Vahanian affirms that faith is not "the juxtaposition

of belief and unbelief." Faith does not bridge the gap between belief and unbelief, rather it bridges the gulf between God and man (p. 22). The great danger in this time of cultural turmoil is that a "simulacre" of Christianity should be presented as the answer to the challenge of atheism (p. 23). It is impossible to have faith in Christ without God. Jesus cannot be "some kind of substitute for God" (p. 34). The Word of God has through Jesus and through the Bible become a phenomenon in the world, but it cannot be recognized for what it is unless it becomes "established." Here Vahanian is leaning heavily on Heidegger II in order to establish "the verbal nature of reality." So that what comes out is that Jesus does not become the Christ, "except where man is also asserted through that act of faith by which alone he can legitimately assume his contingency. What the Greeks called nature becomes here the domain of faith. And what they considered to be reason or the sense of proportion becomes here that iconoclastic quality of faith by which man assuming his contingency can improvise his destiny" (p. 40).

What Vahanian laments is that theology has desacralized and spiritualized the world, and the result has been the secularization of Christianity. And since the word has "always an iconoclastic function," now literature, "the orphan of the orphans of the world," has usurped the prophetic task once identified with the function of theology (p. 45). The tragedy is that Christianity, by fostering and finally surrendering to secularism, has forfeited its iconoclastic vocation in the modern period. Biblical iconoclasm was directed against "idolatry in all its forms from superstition to legalism or dogmatism and literalism—against anything that preaches the deification of man, the divinization of culture or history or reason and religion as well as against anything that sacralizes symbolic events or institutions." But modern iconoclasm is directed against God; therefore, the death of God means that faith has no sphere of action other than *secularity* (p. 47), and Christianity must adjust to this fact of life in a post-Christian world.

In contrast to secularism, which results from secularizing Christianity for the benefit of a desacralized world, "secularity" refers to "the attitude by which the Christian affirms faith as presence to the world at the same time that he affirms the original goodness of the world" (p. 18). In a secular world there is no "valid dichotomy between the sphere of religion and the sphere of literature" (p. 48) (see Cleanth Brooks, *The Hidden God*, 1963). The death of God as a cultural phenomenon, then, signifies the transition from radical monotheism to radical immanentism, it points to the fact that "eschatological existence is not one aspect of the human reality but pervades it through and through"; and in order to preserve "the iconoclastic function of the word as an icon," eschatological existence may appear to become completely secular (p. 47).

Finally Vahanian addresses himself to the question of a theological method for a post-Christian world. Here by means of a gymnastically exhilarating *tour de force* he abandons Bultmann in order to take up

Calvin. In the *Institutes* he finds the four marks of theology for today. These are: knowledge is theonomous, theology is Christological, theology is pneumatic, and theology is ecclesiastical.

This little volume is worthy of serious consideration as an attempt to salvage Christianity for a post-Christian era, but it suffers greatly because of its unashamed optimism about the nature of man. The book does deal with great questions, but in sweeping generalizations that make one wonder at the intentionality of what is being said. Consider this sentence: "Indeed, if the sacralist tendency represents in general the surnaturalist deviation of Catholicism, and the spiritualizing tendency represents the moralizing deviation of Protestantism, both nevertheless attain the same result: Christian life is viewed as based on the idea of a separation from the world rather than of an action that manifests its eschatological vocation within the world through the very socio-cultural structures of the present world" (p. 20). Poetry may hint at reality. Theology, when dealing with the mysteries of faith, may legitimately do likewise. But this book is not this kind of theology; rather, it is a chapter in the relationship between religion and culture. The presentation, which is in itself most tantalizing and makes manifest its author's amazingly broad cultural background, could have profited by a more explicit description of the phenomena at hand and a more controlled use of cryptic paradoxes whose function is at times overestimated in existentialist circles. It is to Vahanian's credit that, having sensed this, he provided the reader with an appendix in which he tries to explain himself by means of diagrams.

Andrews University

HEROLD WEISS

Wanke, Gunther, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihrem traditions-geschichtlichen Zusammenhang*. "Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft," 97. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1966. v + 120 pp. DM 28.—.

This traditio-historical study (a 1964 dissertation presented to the Vienna University) treats the "Psalms of Korah" (42-49, 84, 85, 87, 88), a collection of songs that originated from outside of as well as from within the Korahite collectors. The special concern of this investigation is those Korahite Psalms that are preoccupied with Zion-Jerusalem (42/43, 46, 48, 84, 87). Wanke provides for each of these "songs of Zion" a critical translation with text-critical notes and a discussion of its structure, meter, literary form, and *Gattung* (type). Ps 46 is notable, classified as a national psalm of trust (*Volksvertrauenslied*).

The Korahites of these Psalms appear to be Levites according to the Priestly Tradition and the Chronicler knows them also as temple singers (2 Chr 20:19). It is thus argued that the Korahites gained significance or even originated first in post-exilic times and were prominent at about the fourth century B.C. The theology of the Korahites

seems to have been in the main a Zion theology, as can be recognized by the preoccupation with the Jerusalem-Zion theme in the Korahite "songs of Zion." Since this is the case, it is assumed that the Korahites participated actively in their composition. The logic of this argument of Wanke is dubious. If our knowledge of the theology of the Korahites is solely dependent, as he shows, upon the information from the Korahite "songs of Zion," how can one then turn around and argue that because the theology of the Korahites is Zion theology the Korahites must have had an active part in the composition of these songs, which are preoccupied with the Zion theme? If our knowledge of the Zion theology of the Korahites were derived from a source other than the Korahite "songs of Zion" and if this Zion theology could be shown to be present in them, then one could rightly conclude that they are of Korahite origin. Since this is, however, not the case, our stricture pertains to a methodology that is hampered by circular reasoning.

Wanke contends that the Korahite "songs of Zion" are to be dated in the post-exilic period, because of the highly developed Zion theology including its peculiar terminology and motifs. The investigation of the terminology of Yahweh Sabaoth, Elyon, and God of Jacob, which is typical of the Korahite "songs of Zion," points to a late pre-exilic to post-exilic date. Missing in Wanke's treatment of these names are a number of significant essays: K. T. Anderson, "Der Gott meines Vaters," *STh*, XVI (1962), 170-188; F. M. Cross, Jr., "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HTHR*, LV (1962), 225-229; H. A. Brongers, "Der Eifer des Herrn Zebaoth," *VT*, XIII (1963), 269-284; E. Lipinski, "Yāweh mālāk," *Bib*, XLIV (1963), 405-460; and O. Eissfeldt, "Jahweh, der Gott der Väter," *ThLZ*, LXXXVIII (1963), 481-490.

The motifs which serve to undergird the Zion theology are the "mountain of God," "paradise," and "combat with chaos." The "mountain of God" motif in the Korahite Psalms is chiefly influenced by northern Syria and Mesopotamia. With the aid of parallel texts it is argued that it was only in exilic and post-exilic times that this motif was absorbed into the Zion theology. However, the Is 2:1-5 passage, in which the "mountain of God" motif is closely connected with Zion, can now no longer be dated to a timelater than that of Isaiah of Jerusalem (cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja* [Neukirchen, 1965], pp. 75-80). This passage demonstrates that the Zion theme contained the "mountain of God" motif already in the eighth century B.C. In connection with these motifs Wanke neglected to deal with the pertinent University of Sheffield dissertation, *The Divine Dwelling-Place in the Old Testament* (1961), by R. E. Clements, which appeared in revised form under the title *God and Temple* (Philadelphia, 1965).

Wanke could have made his study more complete by discussing also the "river" motif contained in the Zion theology of the Korahite "songs of Zion" as well as the closely aligned motif of a very special bond between Yahweh who dwells in Zion and his land (cf. H. S. Nyberg, "Studien zum Religionskampf im A.T.," *ARW*, XXXV [1938],

329-387; R. E. Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult Tradition," *VT*, XV [1965], 300-312).

The motif of the "battle with the nations," which is not connected with the motif of "combat with chaos," lacks any extra-biblical parallels. It is argued that Eze in chapters 38-39 invented it, although its roots go back to Jer. It is in fact only to be found, aside from the Korahite "songs of Zion," in post-exilic prophecy. This means that the "battle with the nations" motif is clearly post-exilic. Due to the late and peculiarly Israelite origin of this motif, Wanke denies the hypothesis of a Jerusalem cult tradition that originated in pre-Davidic times and was incorporated into later Israelite thought. It would be reasonable to expect echoes of such a Jerusalem cult tradition between the capture of Jebusite Jerusalem and the fall of the city in 586 B.C. if the influence of that tradition were real. Instead such echoes are concentrated in the Korahite psalms which are datable to the post-exilic period. Wanke argues here against the widely accepted assumption (Rohland, von Rad, Kraus, Schreiner, Hayes) that the Jerusalem cult tradition precedes prophetic eschatology. Is an argument from silence, that is, the lack of the "battle with the nations" motif in extra-biblical sources, so compelling an argument that the whole notion of a Jerusalem cult tradition, whose other motifs are amply attested in extra-biblical written sources, needs to be discarded? Could one not also argue that the motif of the "battle with the nations" was developed by Israel herself in pre-exilic times to which a good number of prophetic texts (Is 5:25-29; 10:28-32; Jer 4:6, 13, 16; 5:15; 6:1, 22-23; Eze 38-39) and the Psalms of Korah testify, and which was joined by Israel to the other motifs of the Zion theme?

This causes us to say something about the problem of the post-exilic dating of the Psalms at hand. It remains an open question whether the cumulative arguments that are advanced by Wanke in support of a post-exilic date for the Korahite "songs of Zion" will be valid and decisive criteria for such a late date, because these arguments are in their details not all clear-cut and unambiguous. The methodological procedure here at work needs to be questioned. It cannot easily be ruled out that the Korahites were active both in post-exilic and in pre-exilic times. This seems to be indicated in 1 Chr 25 and the undeniably pre-exilic Korahite Ps 45. The Zion theology of the Korahite "songs of Zion" can be understood as an earlier, *i.e.*, pre-exilic development. This view finds support in the notion of the "inviolability of Zion" which was fostered by the experience of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib of Assyria (2 Ki 18:3-16). That such a notion was current in Jeremiah's time is evidenced by his Temple Sermon (Jer 7: 1 to 8:3) from his early period in which he warned against a false trust placed in the Temple. These and other considerations do not make it unlikely that a pre-exilic Zion theology existed.

Wanke attributes the admittedly pre-exilic Ps 45 to a collection of Korahite Psalms which is distinct from the Korahite "songs of Zion." He also denies that the term "sons of Korah" in the titles of Psalms

implies authorship. Other scholars differ with Wanke on this point. For instance, S. Mowinckel (*The Psalms of Israel's Worship* [Nashville, 1962], II, 97), takes the titles in the sense of indicating that each of these Psalms "came into being within this [Korahite] guild and had one of the sons of Korah for its author." (It is a real short-coming of Wanke's study that he has not taken account at all of this important two-volume work of Mowinckel.) Furthermore, Wanke's hypothesis that the Korahite Psalms consist of two groups, *i.e.*, songs of non-Korahite and of Korahite origin, is not valid because the theology of the Korahites, which is used to determine origin, is derived from a limited selection of the Psalms. In other words, since there is no verifying factor to determine what is Korahite theology aside from these Psalms, a limitation of Korahite theology to the particular emphasis of the Korahite "songs of Zion" to the exclusion of other aspects of Korahite theology is too arbitrary a distinction to support a separation of the Psalms of the "sons of Korah" into two groups.

In spite of the fact that the present writer has pointed out some important shortcomings of Wanke's work, this is a study to be reckoned with in further investigations of the Psalms of Korah, and of their Zion theology with its various motifs, because it has raised anew many questions whose answers were taken for granted.

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VOLUME VI

1968



ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

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TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

א = ' <i>a</i>	ד = <i>d</i>	י = <i>y</i>	ס = <i>s</i>	ך = <i>r</i>
ב = <i>b</i>	ה = <i>h</i>	פ = <i>h</i>	ע = <i>c</i>	שׁ = <i>š</i>
ג = <i>g</i>	ו = <i>w</i>	צ = <i>ḥ</i>	פּ = <i>p</i>	שׂ = <i>ś</i>
גּ = <i>g</i>	ז = <i>z</i>	ל = <i>l</i>	פֿ = <i>ḥ</i>	ת = <i>t</i>
דּ = <i>d</i>	ח = <i>h</i>	מ = <i>m</i>	צּ = <i>s</i>	תּ = <i>t</i>
	ט = <i>t</i>	נ = <i>n</i>	ק = <i>q</i>	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֿ = <i>a</i>	ׁ, ׃ (vocal shewa) = <i>e</i>	ֿ = <i>ō</i>
ֿ = <i>ā</i>	ׂ, ׃ = <i>ē</i>	ׁ = <i>e</i>
ֿ = <i>o</i>	ֿ = <i>i</i>	ׂ = <i>ō</i>
ֿ = <i>e</i>	ֿ = <i>i</i>	ֿ = <i>u</i>
ֿ = <i>ē</i>	ֿ = <i>o</i>	ֿ = <i>ū</i>

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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

<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual	<i>RB</i>	Revue Biblique
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal	<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 alltt. 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