

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
SEMINARY STUDIES

VOLUME XII

JANUARY 1974

NUMBER 1

CONTENTS

Meyer, John R., Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms 1

Nitowski, Eugenia L., Inscribed and Radiated-Type Byzantine Lamps . 18

Terian, Abraham, Coins from the 1971 Excavations at Heshbon 35

Tuland, Carl G., Ezra-Nehemiah or Nehemiah-Ezra? 47

Book Reviews 63

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY PRESS
BERRIEN SPRINGS, MICHIGAN 49104, USA

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
SEMINARY STUDIES

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

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Editor

JAMES J. C. COX, GERHARD F. HASEL, LEONA G. RUNNING

KENNETH A. STRAND

Associate Editors

SAKAE KUBO *Book Review Editor*

GERHARD F. HASEL *Circulation Manager*

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

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

ANDREWS UNIVERSITY SEMINARY STUDIES is published in January and July of each year. The annual subscription rate is \$6.00. Payments are to be made to Andrews University Seminary Studies, Berrien Springs, Michigan 49104, USA.

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

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

LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE TWO KINGDOMS

JOHN R. MEYER
Hamilton, Ontario

Contemporary man is suffering from a type of historical amnesia, a condition which is partially the result of a pathetic attempt to live entirely in the "specious present." In the *Future of Man*, Teilhard de Chardin accurately assigns to history its role in human knowledge:

It is clear in the first place that the world in its present state is the outcome of movement. Whether we consider the rocky layers enveloping the Earth, the arrangement of the forms of life that inhabit it, the variety of civilizations to which it has given birth, or the structure of languages spoken upon it, we are forced to the same conclusion: that everything is the sum of the past and that nothing is comprehensible except through its history.¹

As an historian of western religious thought, this is where I stand. In this essay I ask you to struggle with me through an attempt to understand what Luther, the renovator, had to say about the social order and what this might imply for our "specious present."

The Sitz im Leben of Luther's Two-Kingdoms Doctrine

Religious history cannot afford to neglect the political, social, and economic factors of a particular historical situation. To assess adequately the contextual fabric of Luther's Germany we must devote some time to elaborating, or at least enumerating, such factors.

The process of the development of the territorial state was well under way in western Europe by 1500.² It was led by princes, both ecclesiastical and lay, and frequently in opposition to the cities. They retained control of the imperial Diet and at the same time established police powers with uniform justice,

¹ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *Future of Man*, trans. by Norman Denny (London, 1964), p. 12.

² Cf. Harold Grimm, "Social Forces in the German Reformation," *Church History*, 31 (March, 1962), 3-13.

administration, and protection throughout their lands. Naturally, they were inclined to cling to all that they considered good in the old order, and thus they behaved as conservative reactionaries. Nevertheless, by developing territorial states they were furthering changes of revolutionary proportions.

The lesser nobles were being replaced by the rise of a wealthy and influential class of townsmen. The knights in Germany were reduced to subject status and to economic ruin because of the growth of capitalism and the concomitant decline of their agrarian economy and landed wealth. The alternatives were serfdom, thievery (robber barons), or service in secular or ecclesiastical courts (as warriors, ambassadors, and counselors). How did the leaders of the knights retaliate? By producing reform pamphlets, seeking to create effective unions of knights for common action, calling for reestablishment of the medieval order under a common emperor, and the abolition of church and capitalistic monopolies. The main difficulty was that they were hopelessly divided by their territorial, economic, and religious differences, so that effective cooperation was impossible. Many of them had some naive hope that if they embraced Lutheranism they would gain widespread support for their cause.

The same can be said for the peasants, who in the main were revisionists; i.e., they called for reestablishment of peace, order, and justice of an earlier period. Seldom did they discriminate in their attacks upon feudal knights, princes, towns, churches, and monasteries.

The patrician class (wealthy merchants and property owners) were inclined to think of the common welfare of their citizens and the Empire as a whole. In the cities under their control, they had experience in dealing with religious matters such as furtherance of monastic reforms, selection of local clergy, supervision of morals, control of education, and care of the poor and sick.

The guildsmen had been in revolt against patrician control for not serving the common welfare, for discriminating against them, and for failure to allow them representation in city offices. When they did gain complete or partial control of a city council they still permitted the patrician class to remain as influential

citizens. Thus it is not a valid generalization to claim that this class of guildsmen, which supported the Reformation, had as their political goal the democratization of the city government. The economic hopes of the guildsmen had been raised by Luther's teachings; but with the exception of a relatively few big merchants and financiers, Germans of the 16th century seemed unconcerned about production for profit and remained satisfied with making a modest living. Indeed, there was on the part of all classes a considerable spirit of communal concern for the entire commonwealth.

The revolts of the time seem often to have been spearheaded by unorganized workers who had failed to find security. They were supported by the free laborers, recent immigrants to most cities, and a floating population of beggars. Preachers of radical religious and social reform gained many followers here; but since a uniform program and plan of action were lacking, the revolts were normally suppressed with relative ease. All classes, in fact, were being compelled to make adjustments which caused widespread dissatisfaction, and the Reformation provided many people with a dynamic hope that their difficulties could be solved.

In Wittenberg serious disturbances broke out while Luther was in hiding at the Wartburg Castle. Luther responded with a short pamphlet, his *Sincere Exhortation to Beware of Revolt and Insurrection* of 1522. In this, his starting point was his own experience: He felt that through his agency the Word had been made effective beyond all expectations; the Word was all that mattered; it was the Word that would triumph, not force of arms. If the Word of Christ were preached correctly, if everyone led a Christian life in obedience to it, the great change would come about at once. He added some practical instructions to do away with all man-made papal laws but to do so in faith and love, otherwise a thousand revolts would not help. However, the people did not interpret Luther's exhortation as simple instruction. They looked beyond what Luther said and included other man-made laws that touched and oppressed them. Nevertheless, with regard to Wittenberg itself, he effectively dealt

with the unrest in 1522 by slow, methodical exhortation through preaching.

He also spoke to the Swabian peasant unrest and revolt of 1524-25. In most regions the feudal form of overlordship had gradually and relentlessly demolished all that remained of ancient protective rights. Extensive tithing, forced labor, removal of hunting and fishing rights, and the uncertainty of the legal position of the peasants were causes of the revolts. In his *Admonition to Peace: A Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Swabia*, Luther spoke out against the abuses of overlords and also exhorted the peasants to patience.³ But as the warfare proceeded and destruction was rampant, Luther produced a second and furious pamphlet, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, which appeared just as the battle in Thuringia ended in 1525. In it he condemned the peasants for three reasons:

In the first place, they have sworn to be true and faithful, submissive and obedient, to their rulers. . . . Since they are now deliberately and violently breaking this oath of obedience and setting themselves in opposition to their masters, they have forfeited body and soul, as faithless, perjured, lying, disobedient rascals and scoundrels usually do. . . .

In the second place, they are starting a rebellion, and are violently robbing and plundering monasteries and castles which are not theirs; by this they have doubly deserved death in body and soul as highwaymen and murderers. . . . Therefore let everyone who can, smite, slay, and stab, secretly or openly, remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel. . . .

In the third place, they cloak this terrible and horrible sin with the gospel, call themselves "Christian brethren," take oaths and submit to them, and compel people to go along with them in these abominations. Thus they become the worst blasphemers of God and slanderers of his holy name.⁴

A third tract which soon followed, *An Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants*, is Luther's response to his critics in the form of a letter to Caspar Müller. Luther defended at length his views as expressed in the *Admonition* and *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes*. It is the Christian's duty

³ Text in Eng. trans. is given in *Luther's Works* (henceforth abbrev. *LW*), 46, 17-43.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50.

to suffer injustice, and anyone who thinks otherwise is a secret rebel against God and the state. This does not exclude the rulers from treating the rebels justly. Any abuse on their part is as reprehensible and sinful as insurrection itself.

But these furious, raving, senseless tyrants, who even after the battle cannot get their fill of blood, and in all their lives ask scarcely a question about Christ—these I did not undertake to instruct. It makes no difference to these bloody dogs whether they slay the guilty or the innocent, whether they please God or the devil. They have the sword, but they use it to vent their lust and self-will. . . . I had two fears. If the peasants became lords, the devil would become abbot; but if these tyrants became lords, the devil's mother would become abbess. Therefore I wanted to do two things: quiet the peasants, and instruct the pious lords. The peasants were unwilling to listen, and now they have their reward; the lords, too, will not hear, and they shall have their reward also. However, it would have been a shame if they had been killed by the peasants; that would have been too easy a punishment for them. Hell-fire, trembling and gnashing of teeth [Matt. 22:13] in hell will be their reward eternally, unless they repent.⁵

It is well known that Luther's attitude in connection with the Peasants' Revolt cost him the sympathy, not only of the peasants, but also of others, including many townsmen.

Luther's Theological and Psychological Presuppositions

There is a growing consensus among scholars that the fundamental issue of the Reformation for Luther was the sovereignty of God. It is also generally agreed that Luther was absolutely orthodox in preaching that God alone—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—creates, redeems, and sanctifies man. Moreover, his significant emphasis on God's Word is well recognized. These features of his thought all have a bearing on his view of the two kingdoms. More specifically, however, I would like to call attention to a useful thesis recently suggested by John M. Tonkin:⁶ (1) In Luther one has to reckon with a coincidence of two apparently contradictory attitudes: (a) a fervent apocalypticism which looked for the disintegration of the secular order,

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁶ J. M. Tonkin, "Luther's Interpretation of Secular Reality," *Journal of Religious History*, 6 (December, 1970), 133-150.

and (b) a remarkably positive affirmation of secular reality. (2) This coincidence is explained by the peculiar dialectical structure of Luther's thought. (3) The distinctive character of Luther's perspective on secular order derives not from the presence of "modern" notions but from the reappropriation of forgotten elements in the biblical tradition. (4) For both internal and external reasons, the truly radical implications of his outlook were not realized in socio-political terms.

Concerning the first attitude, (1,a) viz., a fervent *apocalypticism* which looked for the disintegration of the secular order, one finds ample evidence that Luther lived his whole life with a vivid consciousness of the last day. This was reinforced by his interpretation of the advance of the Turks as a sign of impending judgment. Luther was convinced that the judgment of God would come suddenly, that the angels were already girding on their swords to prepare for the final battle, and that the opportunity to escape the penalty was slipping out of man's hands.⁷

Luther thought that history could be divided into six parts. The sixth part began with the coming of Christ which would terminate the papal rule of the Roman Empire and then would come the end of the world. The world was like a creaking old house on the verge of falling down. Therefore all attempts to reform society were merely efforts to repair a social order doomed to collapse very soon.

Because there is no hope of getting another government in the Roman Empire, as Daniel also indicates (Dan. 2:40), it is not advisable to change it. Rather, let him who is able darn and patch it up as long as we live; let him punish the abuse and put bandages and ointment on the smallpox. But if someone is going to tear out the pox unmercifully, then no one will feel the pain and the damage more than those clever barbers who would rather tear out the sores than heal them. Very well, Germany is perhaps ripe and, I fear, worthy of stout punishment. God be gracious to us! . . . Whoever is able to do it better, to him I yield my poor Pater Noster with a glad heart. Just let me have the chance to add the Amen at the end. For I have often said—but who will believe me until he

⁷ See Luther's *Sermon on Luke 21:25-36*; *Sermon on Christmas*; *Exposition on Psalm 6:2*. Also see G. W. Forell, *Faith Active in Love* (Augsburg, 1954), pp. 156-185, and his "Justification and Eschatology in Luther's Thought," *Church History*, 38 (1969), 164-174. Forell considers the apocalypticism to be a limiting principle in Luther's social ethics.

experiences it?—that changing and improving are two different things. One is in men's hands and God's decree, the other is in God's hands and grace.⁸

Even in the 1540's when there were evident signs of the progress against the Turk and the Pope, Luther saw this merely as the last brilliant flaring up of a candle about to be extinguished. This extinction of the light would be followed by a period of wild abandonment until Christ should bring all things to their fulfillment. A new heaven and a new earth would emerge only out of the ashes of the old ones.⁹

The second attitude (1,b), which appears to be contradictory to the first one, is Luther's positive affirmation of secular reality. We have already noted in the above quotation that he does affirm the task of improving the social order. Furthermore, one can discern this attitude in his analysis of government, and of vocation or calling, as I shall show when I treat some polarities that ensue from his doctrine of the two kingdoms.

Another psychological presupposition that in this case reflects Luther's antipathy toward violence stems from his early years at Erfurt (c. 1508) just after he had been ordained. The quiet of his monastic life was disturbed when a row began over the question of taxation. The city authorities, largely of patrician blood, had plunged the town into debt by raising loans and then pocketing the money. The citizens wanted accountability. The council reluctantly supplied some information and reported the matter to the the elector. When the council could not account for a sum of a hundred guilders, a haughty alderman named Kellner shouted: "If you don't know what I spent it on, put down 'brothels!'" This touched off armed conflict between the citizens and representatives of the elector archbishop. Students joined in, the main building of the university was burned down, the library was destroyed, and a new city council was appointed in which the plebeians (smaller craftsmen and journeymen) were in a majority. After a summary trial, the hated Kellner was strung up for his insolent remark. This conflict was a class struggle which ended in compromise. The archbishop retained the

⁸ "Exp. Ps. 101," in *LW*, 13, 217.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 221.

city, while the citizenry won the right to elect the city council.

This was Luther's first real exposure to a Germany that for a large part resembled a landscape of volcanic mud in which small eruptions continually broke the surface and subsided again. He never forgot the fighting in the streets, the burning university buildings, and the mangled books.

The Precise Nature of Luther's Two-Kingdoms Doctrine

The essential unity of Luther's apocalypticism and his secularity inheres in the distinctive dialectical structure of his thought as developed by the juxtaposition of opposites. Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms (regiments or realms) provides the most significant example of his dialectical contrasts.¹⁰

Luther himself fully treated this concept in his treatise, *Temporal Authority: To What Extent it Should be Obeyed* (1523). He sharply distinguished the two communities into which the human race is divided. The worldly realm stands under God's rule and is His instrument. But the relationship to the worldly realm on the part of the Christian is distinctive. True Christians are governed by the Holy Spirit and really have no need of worldly authority but ought to do good of their own accord just as an apple tree bears apples without coercion.¹¹ The argument is predicated on the assumptions that "there are few true believers and fewer still who live a Christian life," and that the world and its masses will always be unchristian. No one can really be called a true Christian, so all must be placed under the restraint of worldly authority.

The Christian stands in a tension between the old life and the new, a tension which has no present resolution. Thus as a citizen of both kingdoms, polarities or opposites co-exist within him "in constant alternation" but "joined together completely in the same heart."¹²

Though the two kingdoms are utterly distinct in their principle of life and mode of operation, they not only stand under one rule of God but are dialectically related in the life of the Christian

¹⁰For a brief review of the doctrine see Ivar Asheim, ed., *Christ and Humanity* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 84, 92.

¹¹Cf. *LW*, 45, 89ff.

¹²See *LW*, 35, 411.

man, who is a citizen of both kingdoms. The Christian belongs to the worldly kingdom, stands under its authority and participates in its life; but his commitment to it is qualified and limited by his ultimate commitment to the spiritual kingdom.

This doctrine is one of the consequences of Luther's concept of creation. God exercises His dominion over the human race in different ways: in part through the Word and the sacraments, in part through the authorities and the secular order. The gifts which are needed for man's salvation are imparted in the spiritual realm, while the external order, necessary for human society, is upheld through the secular realm.

This concept is not to be confused with modern ideas of church-and-state, in which the state is thought to stand outside the religious sphere, while the church represents the spiritual domain. Here may be a real difficulty inasmuch as there remain very few societies which really hold that God rules in both realms, the spiritual and the secular. Within much of the modern world view, God is now confined to a very small closet.

Luther drew a sharp line of demarcation between the two realms. The spiritual realm is without external power. Its power is exercised by God Himself through the Word and the preaching office. The secular realm is subject to human reason, and its authority is exercised by men who have the power to enforce laws, etc. It is God Himself who is active in both realms, and thus they are united. In the spiritual sphere God works through the Gospel to save men, and in the secular He works through the Law and impels men to live in a certain way, to do good and avoid evil.

The doctrine of the two realms or kingdoms opposed the medieval concept of the church as being superior to the state. It also opposed the political concept of the enthusiasts, who looked upon the state as something foreign to faith and who conceived of man's relation to God in purely spiritual terms. The *politia* and the *economia* represent the secular realm (state and home) and the *ecclesia* the spiritual. These are interdependent with the appropriate callings.

Luther's concept of authority was based on Rom. 13:1-8:

“Every person must submit to the supreme authorities.” Nevertheless, this authority is a limited one, based upon Acts 5:29: “We must obey God rather than men.” This is not a systematic and abstract formulation of a doctrine. It grew out of Luther’s experience of confronting the social order as we have described it, of being influenced by the psychological dimensions of his early life, and of formulating in a dialectical manner certain theological presuppositions. Internally, the Christian, as a citizen of both kingdoms, must make new, free decisions which satisfy the external boundaries of the spiritual kingdom (the realm of faith involving Christian freedom, service, and office) and the worldly kingdom (the external order involving the law, coercion, authority, and power). These kingdoms are independent partners.

The life relationships which the Christian has with these kingdoms are equally distinguishable. In the spiritual kingdom the relationship will be characterized by a personal, loving attitude toward one’s neighbor, witnessing to the gospel, forgiveness, endurance, and sacrifice, supported by the uncoercive Word of God. As a citizen of the temporal or worldly order, he will relate to the common welfare of society under the limits set by the law and justice. In this relationship the citizen will be supported by the coercive power of the law (government) which is grounded upon the power of punishment and the right of collective self-defense.

To return to my original thesis: the complementarity of Luther’s apocalypticism and positive secularity involves unresolved tension, limitations upon the secular affirmation, and a denial of any utopian vision of the world’s destiny. Unlike the Anabaptists, who consigned the world to the devil and required the regenerate to sever all links with it and to withdraw into holy communities, and also unlike Calvin, who made the world a target for redemptive conquest, Luther let the world be the world. He deprived it of its gods, demons, and spirits without seeking to invest it with new religious meaning.

Indeed, Luther was never able to extricate himself from a basic ideological conflict as expressed in this doctrine. God’s kingdom, which could become reality only in the life beyond, was infinitely

higher and purer than the lesser world of this earthly kingdom which was always sinful. God instituted government precisely because of natural man's self-centeredness. There will always be a few citizens who have been transformed by the gospel; but there will never be enough in any society to warrant the elimination of government supported by reason, law, public sentiment, and force. Only force or the threat of force is able to maintain the order which reason dictates as the minimum condition for some sort of acceptably functioning society. Government is necessary because man has brought disorder into creation through his own sin. Therefore, he dwells in the "Kingdom of Satan."¹³

But just as the structures of worldly authority are limited by God to fulfill His purposes, so too the devil is limited. The purpose of civil authority is to restrain evil, to preserve a decaying world, to patch and mend it while the present age endures.¹⁴ The princes are the instruments of God who rule by reason and common sense and not by gospel. This is a rather positive affirmation of the secular order. Provided that reason keeps to her proper task, she is the empress who conclusively demonstrates Luther's respect for reason.¹⁵ The government of society has a rationale and an integrity of its own, though this is not absolute, for it is always under God's judgment—but not through ecclesiastical control. *Billigkeit* (equity) is about the most one can expect from the state. Often it does not even give that. One should pray for the bad rulers and accept them as the scourges applied by God to the self-centeredness of natural man living in society.

Some Polarities, Contrasts, and Necessary Comparisons

Here one must necessarily reflect on another of Luther's polarities upon which our previous statement depends, i.e., Luther's Law-Gospel concept. At the obsequies of Luther, Johann Bugenhagen commented:

. . . he was without doubt the angel of which the Apocalypse speaks in chapter XIV: "And I saw an angel flying through the

¹³ *LW*, 23, 33.

¹⁴ Cf. "Exp. Ps. 101," *LW*, 13, 164.

¹⁵ Cf. Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Reason* (Oxford, 1962).

midst of heaven, who had an eternal gospel to preach," . . . the angel who says: "Fear God, and give glory to Him!" These are the two articles of the teaching of Martin Luther, the law and the gospel, by which the whole Scripture is opened and Christ made known as our righteousness and eternal life.¹⁶

The question is not one of two distinct orders, with the law to be replaced by the order of the gospel in the life of the Christian. These orders are really interdependent poles. The law never reaches fulfillment apart from the gospel. The gospel must be preached together with the law. The meaning of the gospel would be lost without the backdrop of the law. The law reveals sin and accuses the conscience; it unmaskes sin and condemns man; it drives him to seek the help of Christ. Thus the gospel proclamation of the forgiveness of sins could not take place apart from the law.

They can be distinguished. The law tells us what we are to do, under the threat of punishment. The gospel promises and provides the forgiveness of sin. One task of the law is to compel men to act, to promote the good and prevent the evil. As such it therefore includes all public order and activity on the different levels of life. This is the "civil use of the law" (*usus legis civilis*). However, when it comes to a man's relation to God, to righteousness in a higher sense, then man is referred to the Word of the gospel, which offers him forgiveness of sin for the sake of Christ. Now the task of the law is simply to reveal sin and to make the threat of wrath real—the wrath under which man stands because of his sinful nature. This is the spiritual use of the law (*usus theologicus seu spiritualis*).

There is also a correlation with the doctrine of Providence. Providence brought a particular power into existence: not a structure called the "state" (a word used from the 17th-18th century), but *Obrigkei*t or authority. God in His love works through (1) His own "proper" work—love, mercy, grace, or the *gospel*—; and (2) His "strange" work—punishment, threat, power, or the *law*. The law works for the gospel. In a sense Luther's conception of the state is a *Theocracy* defined as "a rule of God

¹⁶ On Feb. 22, 1546; cited from W. Pauck, *The Heritage of the Reformation* (Glencoe, 1961), p. 19.

through the political situation." The proper function of the state is to repress evil and preserve society.

For Luther, call and creation go together. It is God, in His sustaining power, who places men in the various callings and positions. The purpose of the call is to serve one's neighbor. It is a part of this earthly life and is upheld by mutual service as its highest goal. Man cooperates with God in his calling. There he is an instrument for God's sustaining activity. When he fulfills that which belongs to his calling, he is doing something useful for his neighbor, and God thereby reveals His goodness and foresight.

Luther's concept of the call implies two things: (1) that the position and work which each man has is to be looked upon as a divine command, in which man is to seek God's help and obey His will; and (2) that human society is to be shaped by mutual service, in which men serve each other and bring God's gifts to their neighbors by fulfilling their various tasks. This second implication is poignantly expressed in Luther's Advent Sermons of 1522.

The secular order is also affirmed in Luther's understanding of vocation.¹⁷ The gospel is not excluded from the world when the prince is denied strict rule by the gospel. The gospel is freed for creative expression in the world through the Christian's vocation. Man's faith, in which he stands *coram deo* in the spiritual kingdom, becomes active in love towards the neighbor in the worldly kingdom. The proper fruit of faith is love towards the neighbor in the world. Christian discipleship becomes flesh in the context of ordinary human life. Radical commitment to God implies radical involvement in the world. The world is a sphere of free, creative, and responsible activity, in which the Christian may participate as a man alongside other men in the common tasks of social life and civilization, seeking to regulate and build according to the common gift of reason.

Such a Christian becomes everyone's servant. He becomes active because faith always produces fruit. He becomes zealous for his neighbor's rights but does not consider his own. He seeks

¹⁷ Cf. G. Wingren, *The Christian's Calling: Luther on Vocation*, trans. by Carl C. Rasmussen (Edinburgh, 1957).

to correct injustices and evils affecting others but suffers his own in silence in imitation of Christ.¹⁸

Application to the Contemporary Scene

Some scholars, including A. Nygren, P. Althaus, G. Ebeling, H. Bornkamm, and G. W. Forell, have defended the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms as the source of a salutary political realism, and as combined with a definite sense of Christian social responsibility. Others, such as K. Barth and D. Bonhoeffer, have condemned the doctrine as the source of a hopeless dualism and defeatism. Perhaps somewhere between these two positions one can locate those critics who *qualify* the applicability of the Two-Kingdoms doctrine to 20th-century social and political issues.

It can be argued by Luther and his commentators—and here I think is a valuable contribution in terms of modern Christianity—that the very finitude and contingency of the created order is the charter and guarantee of its character as a secular sphere, a given order for the responsible care and dominion of man. In Luther's time there was a credibility gap between (a) his conception of creation as appropriated from the OT and mitigated by the Pauline motif of world-rejection, and (b) the lack of fulfillment or application of this concept in his socio-political context. He had neither the liberty to shape a new order out of a confused one nor did he want to do so. He never followed through from his theological starting-point to a coherent vision of social and political order. He regarded all political forms as imperfect and ephemeral. He remained uncommitted to any particular form of political organization and in fact regarded the whole question as secondary. This was due to many factors, among them his limiting eschatological principle and the historical context of the time. In practice, this made Luther a social and political conservative who was prepared to work within the framework of the status quo; but it should not denigrate his recovery of forgotten elements in the biblical tradition.

I now wish to explore some dimensions of Luther's Two-Kingdoms doctrine which might profitably apply to the political

¹⁸ On this whole concept, see also, e.g., Luther's famous *Freedom of the Christian* of 1520.

sphere in both general and specific contours. With the development of political bureaucracies to unmanageable proportions, the crucial problem of the 20th century is the problem of politics. Political decisions are at the center of our lives and are increasingly the determinants of our destinies. We may think, for example, of the problems connected with inflation, international economic and monetary crises, socialization, unemployment, pollution, natural resources, drug abuse, and education which are facing modern society. These and other issues have become the concern and the indentured offspring of politics from local to federal level. In the process of decision-making within the constellation of power known as politics, the Christian proclamation has often been irrelevant, sentimental, and reactionary.

Can it be anything else? I would suggest that on the basis of the general outlines of Luther's position—especially as it relates to the correlative polarity of law and gospel—, the Christian assertion does provide a more positive contribution to the welfare of man in the body politic. We shall deal with the two poles with respect to *universality* and *absoluteness*.¹⁹

The *universality* of the law is proclaimed by the Christian church on the basis of God's revelation in the Bible. All men everywhere and at all times are under the law. This may appear hard to appreciate, especially when there are such vast differences in the positive laws of various human societies. It is not true that laws are merely the will of those who are powerful and oppress those who are weak. Such oppression may reveal the perversion of justice and the administration of laws due to the fact of sin, but is not the intrinsic fault of the principle of law. The universality of law provides a basis for cooperation with all those who share respect for law, regardless of their theological convictions.

With regard to *absoluteness* of law, we must bear in mind that the structure which confronts us is not arbitrary or freely reversible. The soundness of certain essential principles of equity seems to be discoverable by all people, and political life should be so organized as to give the greatest amount of support to the

¹⁹ Cf. Forell, "Law and Gospel as a Problem of Politics," *RL*, 31 (1962), 409-419.

related norms of action. The objective of the state and of politics is the earthly welfare of man. Therefore, to achieve these goals they must not ignore the absoluteness of the law. Positive laws of society must support the absolute norms of action which are by their nature reasonable. The Christian man must accept the law as ultimately rooted in God's will for man and the world. It is a means which God has established to preserve order and to restrain the self-destructive tendencies of sin while the church is waiting for the final consummation. This is also to recognize the essential content of Luther's doctrine of sin and of his eschatology. Man has the responsibility to serve his neighbor by doing everything in his power to contribute to the earthly welfare of man by political means.

When it comes, as it does now, to relating the gospel and the Christian assertion of it to the realm of politics, a much thornier process is involved. The gospel cannot be the basis for cooperation with non-Christians, nor can it undergird politics; for most of the western world lives in a highly pluralistic society in which perhaps a majority neither know nor believe in the gospel. It is even highly dubious to equate western societies which initially had their origin in a Judeo-Christian tradition with an identical typology today.

Furthermore, we cannot establish the gospel rule with our resources. As Luther has said in his *Small Catechism*, "The kingdom of God comes indeed of itself, without our prayer, but we pray in this petition that it may come unto us also." Only God can effect the establishment of His Kingdom, which is not of this world.

However, the Christian and the Christian Church can function as a leaven leavening the loaf and as a light shining in the darkness. Thus they can be instruments for the gospel of Christ to exert an indirect but important influence upon the political life of the community.

To return once more to the categories of "universality" and "absoluteness": For the Christian the gospel is *universally* relevant. It is as a forgiven sinner that the Christian participates in political life. This will protect him against false hopes and false despair. He should know about sin in its pervasiveness and thus

participate in politics with fewer illusions concerning the possibilities of political achievement. He will not expect unattainable utopias nor succumb to the siren songs of all sorts of political and social saviors. The gospel is for him the source of cool and calm realism in the political turmoil and fanaticism of our age. On the other hand, he will not subscribe to false despair since he can depend upon the resources of the gospel. God offers him forgiveness of sin through grace which frees him for responsible and intelligent action in the realm of politics.

There is also relevance in the *absoluteness* of the gospel, which is always the same, immune to the changes of opinion, clime, and time. It is a gospel which offers the steadfast love (*hesed*) of God. The Christian works under it *sub specie aeternitatis*. It adds stability and identity to the thinking of the Christian in politics. Preserving man from such perversions as opportunism and moral surrender, though he is subject to relapses, the gospel stands ready to raise man up again and turn him in the right direction. Thus the law is immediately and socially relevant and the gospel is mediately and personally relevant. Through both, God deals with man.

INSCRIBED AND RADIATED-TYPE BYZANTINE LAMPS

EUGENIA L. NITOWSKI
Berrien Springs, Michigan

Certain lamps common in the Byzantine period (more specifically from the 4th to the 6th cent. A.D.) are according to their design on the nozzle usually referred to as "candlestick" lamps. The first of several problems connected with these lamps is their name, which is too restrictive and totally ignores other equally important designs used in the same family. In reviewing the various difficulties connected with the classification and dating of these lamps, which will be discussed in this article, the most reasonable name for such lamps appears to be that of "luchnaria" (singular, luchnarion), a shorter form of "luchnaria kala," meaning "pretty little lamps." This phrase is found as an inscription on actual lamps belonging to one of the groups discussed in this article. The name luchnarion was originally suggested for the entire family of lamps by Charles Clermont-Ganneau, but has never been generally adopted.¹

These lamps fall into two families. First there are those that carry an inscription around the filling hole (called hereinafter "Inscribed Type"), and second, those which instead of an inscription have lines radiating from the ring that surrounds the filling hole (called hereinafter "Radiated Type").

The following study is the result of two years of work with a few such lamps belonging to the Andrews University Archaeological Museum (AUAM) and one which is in the private collection of Lawrence T. Geraty. First a description of these lamps and of some lamp fragments will be presented. This presentation is followed by a discussion of the seven groups into which all inscribed lamps can be classified, and it will be ascertained into which of the seven groups the lamps in this study fall. Furthermore, an attempt is made to arrive at a proper sequence or dating of the inscribed lamps.

¹See Charles Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQS*, 28 (1896), 259.

1. Lamp (AUAM 67.005) – The Inscribed Type (Fig. 1:1).

Provenance: Unknown.

Color: Reddish yellow, 5YR-6/6.²

Size: 10 x 6.5 cm.

Description: It is a molded lamp without a handle. Two rings are around the filling hole; the outside ring develops into a seven-branched palm-menorah on the nozzle, but its branches are not connected to the main stem, which forms a loop around the wick hole. Around the filling hole is a (corrupt) Greek inscription patterned after a common formula, ΦΩ ΧΥ ΦΕΝ ΠΑΑΣΙΝ “the light of Christ shines for all.” Some of the letters are poorly shaped, unnecessarily doubled, upside down, or out of sequence. The possible explanation for these irregularities and a possible pattern followed will be discussed later.

2. Geraty's lamp – The Inscribed Type (Fig. 1:2).

Provenance: Unknown.

Color: Pink, 7.5YR-7/4.

Size: 10.8 x 6.8 cm.

Description: It is a molded lamp without a handle. There are two rings around the filling hole; the outside ring breaks and extends along the nozzle of the lamp on each side of a seven-branched candlestick. Neither the branches of the candlestick nor the legs of the tripod touch the center stem, but the center stem connects with a single ring around the wick hole. Around the filling hole is a very clear Greek inscription, ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΛΗ, “the light of Christ shines beautifully for all.” Extending around the inscription and on to the nozzle, but not to the end of it, is a raised line acting as a border enclosing the inscription and nozzle design.

3. Lamp Fragment (AUAM 68.293) (H68 331) – Inscribed (Fig. 1:3).

Provenance: Excavated at *Tell Heshbân*, Jordan, in 1968. It was found in Locus D.2:16, a hard-packed earth layer of Islamic times.

Color: Very pale brown, 10YR-8/4.

² The *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (1971 ed., of the Munsell Color Co., Inc., Baltimore, Md. 21218) have been used in order to avoid haphazard guesses in describing the color of pottery.

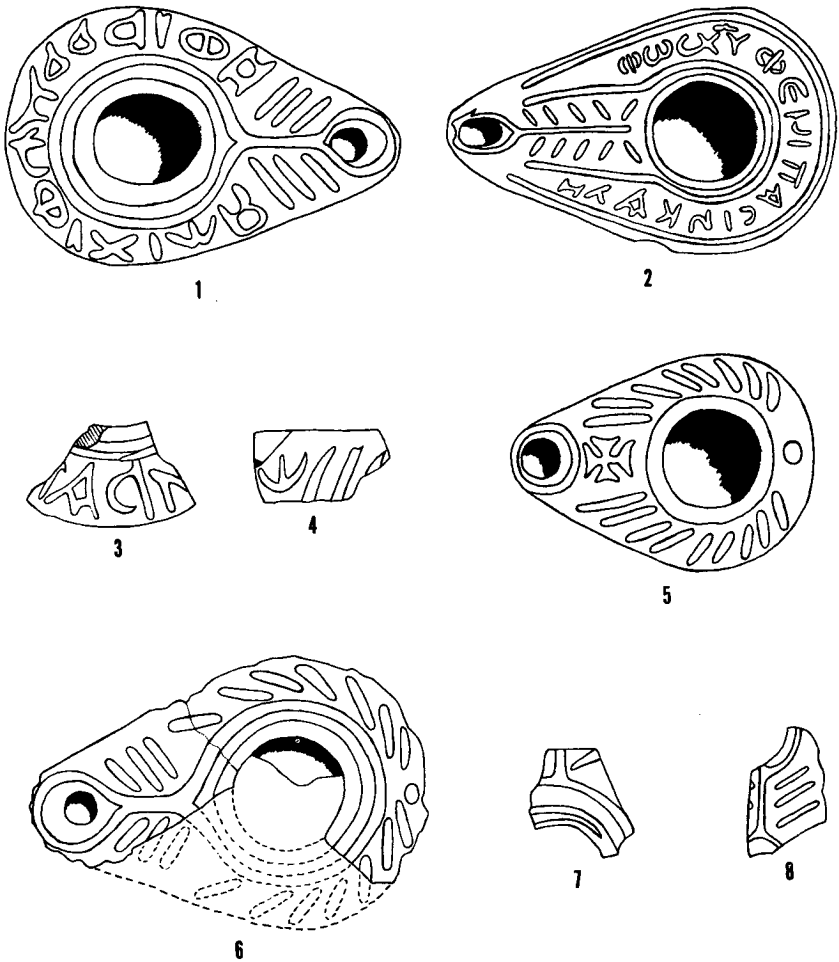


Fig. 1. Nos. 1 and 3-8 are Byzantine lamps and lamp fragments of the inscribed and radiated types in the Andrews University Archaeological Museum. No. 2 is an inscribed Byzantine lamp in the L. T. Geraty collection

Size: 4.5 x 2.8 cm.

Description: A fragment of a molded lamp of the inscribed type, without a handle. A portion of the two rings which surround the filling hole is present. Five letters of the inscription (two of which are only partial) can be clearly read as ΠΑΣΙΝ, "all." As a result of the study which will follow, it may be safely said that this lamp carried a palm-menorah on the nozzle.

4. Lamp Fragment (AUAM 68.292) (H68 330) — Inscribed (Fig. 1:4).

Provenance: Excavated at *Tell Hesbân*, Jordan, in 1968. It was found in Locus D.1:20, an Islamic earth layer.

Color: Very pale brown, 10YR-8/3.

Size: 3.8 x 2 cm.

Description: A fragment of a molded lamp of the inscribed type without a handle. It is easily identified as a piece of the lamp's nozzle by the three partial branches of a palm-menorah. The one remaining letter of the inscription appears at first glance to be an Omega or even an Epsilon; however, by comparison with similar lamps of the same group, the letter is in actuality an open Phi. This peculiarity will be discussed later.

5. Lamp (AUAM 67.006) — The Radiated Type (Fig. 1:5).

Provenance: Unknown.

Color: Reddish yellow, 5YR-6/6.

Size: 7.5 x 5.5 cm.

Description: The lamp is of the molded type without a handle. It has a single ring around the filling hole, and one around the wick hole. The two rings are unconnected. A Byzantine cross fills the space between these two rings. Strokes radiate from the filling hole, but do not touch it. The strokes are not uniform, neither in length nor number, nine on one side and eight on the other. There is a single dot at the back.

6. Lamp (AUAM 71.138) (H71 571) — The Radiated Type (Fig. 1:6)

Provenance: Excavated at *Tell Hesbân*, Jordan, in 1971. The two fragments were found in Loci C.4:36 and 40, Islamic earth layers.

Color: Pink, 5YR-7/4.

Size: 10 x 7 cm.

Description: The lamp is of the molded type without a handle. It has two rings around the filling hole, of which the outside one develops into a seven-branched palm-menorah on the nozzle, with the branches not touching the stem. The stem forms a loop around the wick hole. Strokes radiate from the outside ring around the filling hole, but do not touch it. There is a dot at the back or rear of the lamp.

7. Lamp Fragment (H68 31046) — Type uncertain (Fig. 1:7).

Provenance: Excavated at *Tell Hesbân*, Jordan, in 1968. The fragment came from Locus D.2:16, an Islamic robber pit.

Color: Pink, 7.5YR-7/4.

Size: 3.1 x 2.9 cm.

Description: A fragment of a molded lamp. Of the two rings which encircle the filling hole, the inside ring shows a split, probably due to poor molding, while the outside ring develops a stem which forms a palm-menorah on the nozzle. Only the end of one of the branches still exists and it is not connected to the stem.

8. Lamp Fragment (H68 30176) — Probably Radiated Type (Fig. 1:8).

Provenance: Excavated at *Tell Hesbân*, Jordan, in 1968. The fragment came from the surface soil in Area D.

Color: Very pale brown, 10YR-7/3.

Size: 3.5 x 2.1 cm.

Description: A fragment of a molded lamp of the type without a handle. This portion belongs to the lamp's nozzle, clearly evident from the three complete and two incomplete branches of a palm-menorah, on each side of the stem which connects the rings around the wick and filling holes. By comparing the nozzle fragment with inscribed lamps it is safe to assume that it belongs to the radiated type.

Patterns and Variations

Three types of variations can be distinguished with regard to the decorations (including the inscriptions) within this family of lamps: (1) on the nozzle; (2) around the filling hole, and (3) at the back.

1. *Decorations on the Nozzle.* The two most common designs to be found on the nozzle are the candlestick and the Byzantine cross, and this study will limit itself to only these. The candlestick or menorah will change style in several ways. There is the very simple form with seven branches, or the branches may vary in number from five to eleven, some being connected to the center stem while others are not.³ The candlestick may or may not be connected to the ring around the filling hole, and may also have a tripod base which has either curved or straight legs.⁴

³ See, for candlesticks (palm-menorahs) depicted on lamps with more or less than seven branches, the following: Y. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 6 (1956), 108, Fig. 4:1, for an eight-branched type, not connected to the wick hole; S. A. S. Husseini, *QDAP*, 6 (1936), Pl. 7:2, 6, for the nine-branched type not connected to the wick or filling holes, and six-branched type not connected to the stem, or wick and filling holes; C. A. Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14 (1963), Pl. 26:658, 659, 702, three lamps each with nine branches; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, 3 (London, 1912); eight-branched candlestick not connected with the ring surrounding the wick hole, Pl. 77:13; Pl. 104:1, 3 shows two lamps each with five unconnected branches, and Pl. 188:8, 4 and 3 give five, nine, and eleven branched types respectively; C. C. McCown, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 1 (New Haven, 1947), Pl. 40:2; Pl. 41:12; Pl. 42:6, all eight-branched; S. J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany* (Jerusalem, 1957); nine-branched types are seen on p. 53, Fig. 16:1, 4, and p. 54, Fig. 17:4, not connected to the wick hole; O. R. Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122 (April, 1951), 43, Fig. 5 shows one lamp with nine branches; Sellers and D. C. Baramki, *BASOR*, Supplementary Studies, Nos. 15, 16, 1953; five-branched type on p. 53, and the nine-branched type on pp. 48, 49, 51, 53; J. C. Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 2 (New Haven, 1947), Pl. 73:1666, ten-branched. Another type need only be mentioned here. It is an eight-branched palm-menorah not connected to the wick hole, but there is a circle connected at the top of the center stem. See McCown, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 1, Pl. 42:9, 14; and Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 2, Pl. 73:1668.

⁴ Aharoni, *IEJ*, 6, p. 108, Fig. 14:1, tripod base with straight legs; Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel: Seasons 1961-1962* (Rome, 1964), Fig. 10:4, tripod with straight legs, and Fig. 25:1, curved legs not connected to the filling hole; J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald, *PEF Annual*, 5 (1927), Pl. 17:31, 35, both have straight legs; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 3 (New York, 1953), Fig. 338, straight tripod legs; R. W. Hamilton, *QDAP*, 6 (1937), Pl. 42, straight tripod legs; Husseini, *QDAP*, 6 (1937), Pls. 7:9 and 8:2-4, tripods with straight legs, not connected to the filling hole; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 77:13, straight tripod legs not connected to the filling hole; Pl. 188:1 and 5, two examples of curved tripod legs, one not connected to the filling hole, while the other is connected; McCown, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 1, Pl. 40:3, 6, straight legs; B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1969), Pl. 13:B4, straight legs; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 42, Fig. 1, curved legs not connected to the filling hole.

Partly because of its varied style and partly because it is sometimes accompanied by a Christian inscription, this design is said to be a palm branch and not a candlestick or menorah. It is said that Christianity had too long been separated from Judaism to show any of the blending common in the Apostolic church.⁵ This problem is still not solved, and it is just as uncertain to call the design a palm branch as it is to call it a menorah. The reasons are: (1) The fact that the design has more or less than seven branches is no proof that it is not Jewish. This has been pointed out by Goodenough.

The number of branches can by no means be taken as a criterion, for unmistakable menorahs have a varying number of branches. . . .

I always feel that we are closer to rabbinic Judaism when the number is not seven, because of the rabbinic prohibition against reproducing articles from the Temple.⁶

(2) Some of these, as has already been noted, have tripod bases. They are distinctive parts of the designs on many menorahs, and cannot be considered parts of palm branches.⁷ It may therefore be safe to strike a compromise and use the term which Goodenough applied to such designs, calling them "palm-menorahs." If a design shows merely branches, the term palm-menorah seems most suitable, but if the design contains a tripod base it seems to me that it should be called a menorah. It is not the purpose of this study to ascertain why Christians would use such a design on their lamps (as found on Geraty's lamp, Fig. 1:2), but this peculiarity should be pointed out.

The Byzantine cross likewise shows style changes. It may be the ordinary type which consists of two intersecting bars with arms of equal length flaring at the ends.⁸ Another type of cross

⁵See the discussion by Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, 83-85.

⁶Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, I, 158.

⁷For unmistakable Jewish menorahs see Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols*, 3, Figs. 316, 334-337, 340, 345-347, 349, 923-928, 931, 934, 935; Mazar, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 13:B1.

⁸Aharoni, *Ramat Raḥel 1961-1962*, Fig. 26:9; J. W. Crowfoot, G. W. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957), p. 375, Fig. 89:5; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald, *PEF Annual*, Pl. 17:24; Hamilton, *QDAP*, 6, Pl. 42; Husseini, *QDAP*, 6, Pl. 7:1, 3, 5, 7; Pl. 8:7, 10, No. 7, shows two crosses on each side of a palm-menorah; Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14 (1963), Pl. 25:631, 640; on No. 631 there are two crosses on each side of a nine-branched palm-menorah; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pls. 77:2, 3, 5, 14; 113:5; 118:12; McCown, *Tell en-Naṣbeh*, 1, Pls. 40:8, 9, 11, 15; 41:7, 11, 14, 15-18;

is formed by four nearly equilateral triangles, whose apexes meet at the center without being connected.⁹ Somewhat similar to this is a design consisting of a St. Andrew's cross made of double lines.¹⁰ And the final of these four common design types consists of a cross of two intersecting bars of equal length with a single circle attached to the ends of the two bars.¹¹

2. *Decorations Around the Filling Hole.* The second variation applies to the space around the filling hole, which is usually taken up by an inscription or by strokes which radiate from the ring surrounding the filling hole. Occasionally, however, a lamp like one found at *Ramat Raḥel* will have neither inscription nor strokes, but rather a design commonly used at the back of the lamp. In this instance a single dot in a half circle is repeated around the filling hole.¹²

Lamps with strokes radiating from the ring surrounding the filling hole will contain either a palm-menorah, a menorah, or a cross on the nozzle.

The lamps which carry an inscription cannot be treated so simply. Distorted inscriptions have not always been recognized as such. For example, among the lamps found at *Ramat Raḥel*, nine of those listed in the publications are inscribed, as the drawings show. However, only four are described as carrying inscriptions, while the remaining five are merely called decorated, just as those which have strokes radiating from the ring around the filling hole.¹³

42:3, 5, 7, 16, 17; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:3, 7-9; p. 54, Fig. 17:4, two palm-menorahs on each side of the cross; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, p. 50, Fig. 54; Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 2, Pls. 72:1661, 1662; 73:1664, 1671, 1673, 1676.

⁹McCown, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 1, Pls. 40:12, 13; 41:6; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:10; Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 2, Pl. 73:1667, 1669.

¹⁰Hamilton, *QDAP*, 6, Pl. 42; Hussein, *QDAP*, 6, Pl. 8:8; McCown, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 1, Pls. 40:14, 20; 41:10.

¹¹Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:14. The same lamp is also found in P. B. Bagatti, *L'Eglise de la Circoncision* (Jerusalem, 1965), p. 128, Fig. 31:5.

¹²Aharoni, *IEJ*, 6, p. 108, Fig. 4:4.

¹³In Aharoni, *Excavations at Ramat Raḥel: Seasons 1959-1960* (Rome, 1962), Fig. 18:1-3 describes these lamps as being inscribed and also in *Ramat Raḥel 1961-1962*, Fig. 10:2, while in Fig. 26:1-3, 6, 7, these lamps are merely referred to as being decorated.

Seven Groups of Inscribed Lamps

The inscription may be clear or distorted, but even the distorted ones follow definite patterns. Therefore the idea that they were distorted through ignorance cannot be altogether correct. These inscribed lamps may be divided into seven groups according to nozzle design, length of the inscription, the direction in which the inscription is read, and the shape of the letters.

Group I. Lamps belonging to this group carry the inscription: $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$ XY Φ ENI ΠΑΣΙΝ,¹⁴ and have the following characteristics: (1) a palm-menorah is on the nozzle; (2) the inscription reads from right to left like Hebrew (Fig. 2); (3) it contains the abbreviation XY, frequently without a line over the contraction, although this line stands sometimes vertically between $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$ and XY (see Fig. 1:1); (4) it often contains the odd symbol H at the beginning and end of the inscription; (5) it uses the cursive Alpha

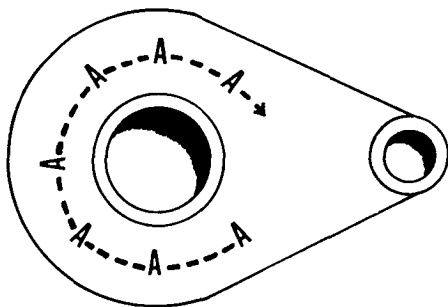


Fig. 2. Sketch of a Byzantine lamp on which the inscription is read clockwise from right to left. The several A's indicate how the Greek letters of the inscription are arranged around the filling hole. (Group I)

¹⁴AUAM lamp, Fig. 1:1. Aharoni, *IEJ*, 6, p. 108, Fig. 4:5, *Ramat Rahel 1959-60*, Fig. 18:3; *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Figs. 10:2; 26:7; P. V. Corbo, *Gli Scavi Di Khirbet Siyar El-Ghanam* (Jerusalem, 1955), Tavola 25, Fot. 72:13; V. I. Kerkhof, *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen*, 50 (1969), 68, Fig. 18; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 104:3; for full description of this lamp see *PEFQS*, 36 (1904), 24, 25; Macalister and J. G. Duncan, *PEF Annual*, 4, p. 195, Fig. 209, four examples.

(α) which is sometimes doubled in ΠΑΣΙΝ (Fig. 1:1); (6) ligatures may exist in several words, contracting the Nu and Pi of ΦΕΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ (ΝΤ), and the Sigma and Iota of ΠΑΣΙΝ, Ϟ (Fig. 1:1); (7) the Nu may be shaped like an Eta (Η) or be backward; (8) the first word of the inscription ΦΩΣ is often divided by the palm-menorah on the nozzle (Fig. 1:1); and (9) the Phi of ΦΩΣ may be so open that it looks like an Omega.

Group II. Lamps of this group carry one of three short inscriptions, and have the following characteristics in common: (1) a palm-menorah is on the nozzle, and (2) the inscription is read from left to right (Fig. 3).

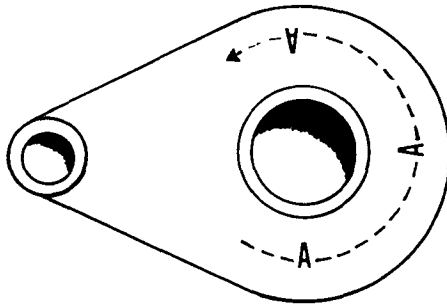


Fig. 3. Sketch of a Byzantine lamp on which the inscription is read counter-clockwise from left to right. The three A's indicate how the Greek letters of the inscription are arranged around the filling hole. (Groups II and III)

A. ΔΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑ¹⁵ (1) Cursive Alphas (α) are always used. (2) The Nu is sometimes backward. (3) The Lambda of ΚΑΛΑ is occasionally upside down.

B. ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ.¹⁶ (1) An Omega, which is sometimes upside down, always replaces the second Omicron in ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΥ.

¹⁵Bagatti, *L'Eglise*, p. 204, Fig. 87:1; F. J. Bliss, *PEFQS*, 28, p. 118; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald, *PEF Annual*, 5, Pl. 17:28; Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, Pl. 26:679; Macalister and Duncan, *PEF Annual*, 4, p. 195, Fig. 210.

¹⁶M. Burrows, *BASOR*, No. 47 (October, 1932), 32, Fig. 7; Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, Pl. 26:680; Macalister and Duncan, *PEF Annual*, 4, p. 195, Fig. 210; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 178, Fig. 35:1.

(2) The final Upsilon is always upside down.

C. ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΑΙΑ.¹⁷ (1) The Upsilon of ΤΟΥ and ΑΓΙΟΥ is always an upside-down Omega. (2) The Alpha may be of the cursive α or capital Α form.

Group III. Lamps of this group carry the inscription: ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΙΣ,¹⁸ and show the following characteristics: (1) the palm-menorah is on the nozzle; (2) the inscription is read from left to right (Fig. 3); (3) the inscription will contain the abbreviations ΧΥ and ΙΣ, but the lines over the contractions are not always present; (4) the Phi of ΦΩΣ is sometimes open and looks like an Omega; (5) the Nu is sometimes reversed or shaped like a small h; (6) the Omega of ΦΩΣ is always upside down; (7) the Alpha may be either cursive α or a capital Α; (8) An Eta may be added to the end of ΦΕΝΙ; (9) the Pi may have the odd shape π; (10) the only ligature seems to be in ΠΑΣΙΝ with Sigma and Iota contracted (Ϟ).

Group IV. Lamps of this group carry the inscription: ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΛΗ,¹⁹ and have the following characteristics: (1) the design depicts the menorah with a tripod base on the nozzle—the only type of lamps having this design; (2) the inscription reads from left to right (Fig. 4); (3) the inscription will always contain the abbreviation ΧΥ, with or without the line over the contraction; (4) Alphas are always of the capital form Α; (5) the Alpha and Lambda of ΚΑΛΗ are often upside down; (6) there may be a ligature of the Sigma of ΦΩΣ and the Chi of ΧΥ (Ϟ).

Group V. Lamps of this group carry the inscription: ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΛΗ,²⁰ and have the following characteristics: (1) there is a Byzantine cross on the nozzle; (2) the inscription

¹⁷Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 26:2, 3; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 178, Fig. 35:2; the same lamp is also seen in Bagatti, *L'Eglise*, p. 204, Fig. 87:5.

¹⁸Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1959-60*, Fig. 18:1; *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 26:6; Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, Pl. 26:668; Macalister and Duncan *PEF Annual*, 4, p. 195, Fig. 209, two examples; McCown, *Tell en-Nasbeh*, 1, p. 174, Fig. 39; the author is uncertain of the translation given here; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 43, Fig. 4; H. Qandil, *ADAJ*, 14 (1969), Pl. 26.

¹⁹Geraty's lamp, Fig. 1:2. Bliss, *PEFQS*, 28, p. 119, No. 20.

²⁰Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 26:1; Bagatti, *L'Eglise*, p. 165, Fig. 61:5; p. 204, Fig. 87:2; Clermont-Ganneau, *RB*, 7 (1898), 485; Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, Pl. 26:667; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 43, Fig. 3.

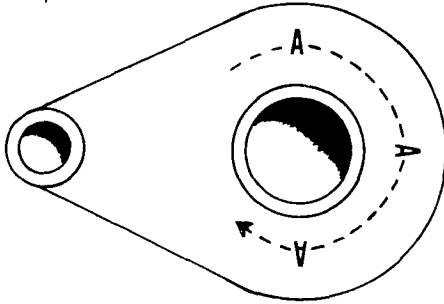


Fig. 4. Sketch of a Byzantine lamp on which the inscription is read clockwise from left to right. The three A's indicate how the Greek letters of the inscription are arranged around the filling hole. (Groups IV-VI)

reads from left to right (Fig. 4); (3) the inscription always contains the abbreviation XY, with or without a line over the contraction; (4) the Alphas are always capital (Α); (5) ligatures are occasionally found.

Group VI. Lamps of this group carry the inscription: $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$ XY KOY Φ ENEI ω Δ OY,²¹ and have the following characteristics: (1) two Byzantine crosses are always on the nozzle, the first being large and centered on the nozzle, while the second being much smaller is placed off to the side at the beginning of the inscription; (2) the inscription reads from left to right (Fig. 4); (3) the inscription always contains the three abbreviations XY, KOY, Δ OY, without lines above the contracted words; (4) the Phi of Φ ENEI is of the open form; (5) ligatures of the Sigma of $\Phi\Omega\Sigma$ and the Chi of XY (χ) are sometimes found; (6) the Delta of Δ OY is always of the cursive form, δ ; and (7) the Arabic word for God (ω) is always present.

Group VII. Lamps belonging to this group contain inscriptions which are presently untranslatable.²² They are composed

²¹Bagatti, *L'Eglise*, p. 204, Fig. 87:4; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 118:16; Saller and E. Testa, *The Archaeological Setting of the Shrine of Bethphage* (Jerusalem, 1961), p. 20, Fig. 8:6a.

²²Only a few examples should suffice: Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1959-60*, Fig. 18:2; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 43, Fig. 5.

of groups of letters that may be either meaningless or possibly so abbreviated as to render them untranslatable with our present knowledge.

By keeping the characteristics of these groups in mind it can readily be seen how the two AUAM inscribed lamp fragments 3 and 4 can be classified with some degree of accuracy. Lamp fragment 3 (Fig. 1:3) fits well into Group III, inasmuch as its inscription reads from left to right and follows the pattern of Fig. 3. It could not be mistaken for a lamp of Group IV or V because their inscriptions follow the pattern of Fig. 4. Lamp fragment 4 (Fig. 1:4) could belong to either Group I or III, since the Phi occurs there in an open form and the word $\Phi\Omega\Xi$ is found on that same side in either group.²³

Translation Problems. Several inscriptions cause problems of translation. $\Phi\Omega\Xi$ XY Φ ENI ΠΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΛΗ is clear in its first part, "the light of Christ shines for all," but ΚΑΛΗ has been a source of debate for some time. Many are of the opinion that ΚΑΛΗ was taken from the inscription ΛΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑ, "beautiful little lamps" (Group II:A) and meant to complete the text, "the light of Christ shines for all, fine (lamp)."²⁴ However, this seems a rather unsatisfactory explanation. It seems more probable that the text was originally intended to say, "the light of Christ shines beautifully for all." Although ΚΑΛΗ is ordinarily an adjective, it is justified to use it as an adverb, because at times predicate adjectives ending in an Eta were used adverbially.²⁵ It is possible that this is what was intended by the makers of these lamps.

As for the inscription $\Phi\Omega\Xi$ XY ΚΟΥ Φ ENEI Ω ΔΟΥ, it has quite satisfactorily been shown by Sylvester Saller that the character Ω is the Arabic word for "Allah" or God. He translates the text, "the light of Christ, the Lord, shines for the servant of

²³See for Group I: Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 104:3; and for Group III: McCown, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 1, p. 174, Fig. 39; and Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 43, Fig. 4.

²⁴See Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, pp. 85, 86; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 176; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, p. 47.

²⁵See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1961), p. 126, §243; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of His-*

God."²⁶ This not only makes good sense, but also provides valuable information with regard to the date of this type of lamp and its relationship to other types.

The remaining inscriptions pose no problems: ΛΥΧΝΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΛΑΑ, "pretty little lamps"; ΤΗΣ ΘΕΟΤΩΚΟΥ, "the mother of God"; ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΑ, "St. Elias"; and ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΙΣ, "the light of Christ Jesus shines for all."²⁷

Decorations at the Back of Radiated Lamps

Usually there is a simple decoration next to the filling hole but opposite the nozzle on the Radiated-Type lamps. These decorations vary greatly and may belong to any one of the following designs, although some lamps have a plain space at that spot:²⁸

a single dot, ·,²⁹

three dots in a row, ···,³⁰

three or four dots in a triangle, ∙ ∙ ∙,³¹

tological Research (Nashville, 1934), p. 295; and H. E. Dana and J. R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (New York, 1960), p. 236.

²⁶Saller, *Bethphage*; see the discussion on pp. 23-27.

²⁷The writer has come upon numerous other publications containing inscribed lamps but has omitted them because either the photographs were so poor that the inscriptions were almost totally illegible, or no photographs or drawings were given in these cases; only the fact that the lamps bear "such and such" an inscription was mentioned. This information is practically useless for this study, since the lamps must be seen clearly enough so that it may be determined to which groups they belong.

²⁸Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pls. 110:12; 113:5; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, p. 48; see lamp no. 9, and p. 53.

²⁹AUAM lamps, Fig. 1:5, 6. Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1959-60*, Fig. 18:4, 7; *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Figs. 10:5; 25:5, 6; Bagatti, *L'Eglise*, p. 128, Fig. 31:5; Corbo, *Gli scavi di Khirbet Siyar El-Ghanam*, Tavola 25, Fot. 72:19; Crowfoot, Crowfoot and Kenyon, *Samaria*, p. 375, Fig. 89:5; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald, *PEF Annual*, No. 5, Pl. 17:25; Hamilton, *QDAP*, 6, Pl. 42, fifteen lamps; Hussini, *QDAP*, 6, Pls. 7:1-3, 5, 9, 10; 8:2-4, 7; Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, Pl. 26:658, 702; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pls. 77:3, 13, 14; 104:1; 105:27; 110:6; 119:17; 188:12; Mazar, *Jerusalem*, Pl. 13:B3; L. Y. Rahmani, *IEJ*, 14 (1964), 54, Fig. 3; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:3, 5-8, 14; p. 54, Fig. 17:2; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 42, Fig. 2; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, pp. 48, 53; Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 2, Pls. 72:1660, 1661; 73:1663, 1664, 1666, 1669-1671, 1673, 1676.

³⁰Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, p. 49, Fig. 52:60.

³¹Corbo, *Gli scavi di Khirbet Siyar El-Ghanam*, Tavola 25, Fot. 72:3, three dots in a triangle. Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 188:b, c, both types; B. Mazar,

- a dot in a half circle, \cap ,³²
 a dot with a half circle on each side, \odot ,³³
 a dot in an inverted V, Λ ,³⁴
 a dot with a V on each side, $\langle \cdot \rangle$,³⁵
 a verticle stroke, |,³⁶
 a verticle stroke with a dot on each side, $\cdot | \cdot$,³⁷
 a verticle stroke in a half circle, \cap ,³⁸
 a verticle stroke in an inverted V, Λ ,³⁹
 a verticle stroke with a half circle on each side, $\supset \cap$,⁴⁰
 a triangle, Δ ,⁴¹
 a simple cross, +,⁴²
 a circle, \circ ,⁴³
 a circle with a half circle on each side, \odot ,⁴⁴
 or a wavy line, λ .⁴⁵

Besides these most common designs many others exist. It is possible that they had some significance and served as potter's marks.

The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1969), Pl. 13:B4, three dots in a triangle. Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, pp. 49, 53, three dots in a triangle.

³²Aharoni, *IEJ*, 6, p. 108, Fig. 4:2, 4; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 188:f.

³³Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 26:5.

³⁴Saller, *Bethany*, p. 175, description of lamp no. 5270.

³⁵Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 188:d.

³⁶Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 25:1, 2; J. H. Iliffe, "A Tomb at El Bassa of c. A.D. 396," *QDAP*, 3 (1933), 86, Fig. 12; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pls. 110:11; 119:16; 188:g; Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:11; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 42, Fig. 2; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, pp. 48, 49, 53.

³⁷Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, pp. 48, 49, Fig. 51.

³⁸Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:1; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, p. 49.

³⁹Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 10:4.

⁴⁰Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 25:4; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 112:11.

⁴¹Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 188:l.

⁴²Saller, *Bethany*, p. 53, Fig. 16:9; p. 54, Fig. 17:1.

⁴³Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 25:7; Sellers and Baramki, *BASOR SUP*, Nos. 15, 16, p. 49; Wampler, *Tell en-Naşbeh*, 2, Pl. 73: 1668.

⁴⁴Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pl. 188:e.

⁴⁵Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*, Fig. 25:3; Macalister, *Gezer*, 3, Pls. 99:12; 104:2.

Classification and Dating

The inscribed lamps can be classified according to: (1) the differences in decorations on the nozzle, (2) the length and varieties of their inscriptions, and by (3) the inclusion of an Arabic word. It has usually been assumed that the clear inscriptions (for example those of Group V) came first, while the more distorted texts are later in date (Group I).⁴⁶ However, by considering separately each of the three criteria listed above, it will become clear that just the opposite must be true, i.e., that the distorted inscriptions came first and the clear ones later.

1. *The Change in Nozzle Design.* If we are to believe that the clear inscriptions preceded the distorted ones in time, it would mean that the designs would change from a Byzantine cross (Group V), to a menorah (Group IV), and would end with a palm-menorah (Group III to I). This would seem strange. If these lamps are Christian as everyone believes, why would Christians give up the cross for a menorah or a palm-menorah on their lamps? But if we start with the distorted inscriptions first and work through to the clear, the design would change from the palm-menorah or menorah (Groups I to IV) to the Byzantine cross (Groups V, VI).

2. *The Progression from the Shorter to the Longer Text.* Beginning with the most distorted of the inscriptions (Group I), we read, ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΦΕΝΙ ΠΑΣΙΝ. The next addition is ΙΣ (Group III) at the end, which was later replaced by the more popular ΚΑΔΗ (Groups IV, V). The longest inscription or that showing the largest number of additions reads ΦΩΣ ΧΥ ΚΟΥ ΦΕΝΕΙ Ω ΔΟΥ (Group VI). Perhaps we may apply one of the axioms of textual criticism, that the shorter of the readings usually is the more original.

3. *The Addition of Arabic.* The occurrence of an Arabic word in the longer text is the most important clue for the proper classification and dating of these lamps. This addition could not have been made earlier than the 7th cent. If the clear inscriptions came first, of which this lamp is a part, then the distorted

⁴⁶ Kennedy, *Berytus*, 14, p. 85; Macalister, *Gezer*, 1, p. 357, and 2, p. 228; Sellers, *BASOR*, No. 122, p. 45.

types must be placed later, perhaps in the 8th or 9th cent. This seems impossible.

Only a very few of these lamps can be accurately dated on the basis of their provenience as coming from well stratified excavations. Usually only general dates are given in reports, such as "5th or 6th cent."; this provides little help to determine the sequence of the variations. At *Ramat Rahel*, inscribed as well as the radiated-type lamps are dated to the 6th and 7th cent.⁴⁷ At *Tell Hesbân*, two of the radiated-type lamps have been assigned specifically to the Umayyad period, 661-750.⁴⁸ The many lamps found in a tomb at el Bassa were dated to ca. 396, from coins that were found with them.⁴⁹ However, caution should be used with regard to this find as well as all other tombs, because they were often used for several centuries and the task of determining just what objects were placed in the tomb at the same time is often quite impossible. As to paleographical dating, some help comes from Jerash, by the many datable inscriptions discovered there. But again the closest dates arrived at are generalized to the 5th and 6th cent.⁵⁰ Abbreviations, four of which are represented on these lamps, are also datable. The most helpful of the four is IΣ, which has been given the earliest possible date of 524/533.⁵¹ By this evidence, the safest time period which can be set for this family is from the early 5th to the early 8th cent.

It is my conviction that as far as the inscribed lamps go, those of Group I represent the earliest class. They were followed by lamps of Group III, with those of Group II being used contemporaneously with the lamps of Groups I and III. The lamps of Groups IV to VI are later developments. The radiated-type lamps were used throughout this period.

⁴⁷ See especially Aharoni, *Ramat Rahel 1961-62*.

⁴⁸ J. A. Sauer, *Heshbon Pottery 1971*, "AUM," 7 (Berrien Springs, Mich., 1973), pp. 41, 42 and Fig. 3:126, 127.

⁴⁹ Iliffe, *QDAP*, 3, pp. 81-91.

⁵⁰ C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa* (New Haven, 1938), p. 366, Figs. 14 and 15.

⁵¹ M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP*, Supplement to Vol. 9 (1940); see pp. 29 and 73.

COINS FROM THE 1971 EXCAVATIONS AT HESHBON

ABRAHAM TERIAN
Basel, Switzerland

The present study abounds in contrasts when compared with the previous study of the coins from the 1968 excavations.¹ Most of the previous coins were identified through the inconvenience of photographs; the present identifications were made by handling the actual coins.² Whereas no two coins were alike in the 1968 finds, the present finds abound in duplicates and are more than four times as many in number. This is partly due to a hoard of 66 silver pieces found in Area C.

The present proportion of quantity to quality, however, is not better than that of 1968. Aside from the hoard, the 121 coins yielded only 49 specimens worth considering in this report. Though mostly obliterated, 54 of the remaining 72 are somehow recognizable by type and workmanship, but fall short of being attributed to specific rulers.³ The rest are worn beyond recognition and look like flans.

¹ *AUSS*, 9 (1971), 147-160 (hereinafter called previous report). That report contains 46 coins, numbered 1-46. The present list contains 187 coins, numbered 47-233.

² Thanks are due to the Department of Antiquities of the H. K. of Jordan for lending its share of the coins for study and publication.

³ In the following list, the first numeral is the publication number while the excavator's registry number and findspot are presented in parentheses.

No. 162 (387, D.6:5) is Nabataean; Nos. 163 (637, F.T.-6:7), 164 (1103, C.1:35), and 165 (1115, A.1:55/57) are Imperial Roman; Nos. 166 (397, A.2:18), 167 (398, A.2:18), 168 (405, D.1:41), 169 (407, D.6:15), 170 (518, A.2:18), 171 (616, F.T.-6:2), 172 (849, A.1:58), 173 (851, A.1:58), 174 (854, B.2:1), 175 (855, B.3:13), 176 (856, B.4:1), 177 (914, D.6:37), 178 (1019, C.4:41), and 179 (1079, D.6:33g) are Roman *aes* IV type (smaller module) and seem to belong to the 4th-5th cent.; No. 180 (850, A.1:58) is a Byzantine *nummus*; No. 181 (947, D.6:33c) is *Umayyad*; Nos. 182 (381, C.4:30), 183 (414, A.5:1), 184 (515, D.5:3), 185 (546, A.2:23), 186 (1011, C.1 general clean-up), 187 (1031, D.6:31), 188 (1078, D.6:33g), 189 (1080, D.6:33g), 190 (1097, D.6:36), and 191 (1141, D.6:33e) are probably *Ayyūbid*; Nos. 192 (512, B.2:1), 193 (513, C.4:11), 194 (516, D.6:5), 195 (562, D.5:6), 196 (603, C.5:3), 197 (913, D.5:5a), 198 (940, D.5:5e), 199 (944, D.6:33c), 200 (948, D.6:33c), 201 (949, D.6:33c), 202 (951, D.6:33c), 203 (1021, C.5:3), 204 (1023, D.5:5d), 205 (1024, D.5:5f), 206 (1030, D.5:5f), 207 (1082, D.6:33b), 208 (1083, D.6:33b), 209 (1084, D.6:33h), 210 (1085, D.6:33h), 211 (1089, D.6:33c), 212 (1098, D.5:5f), 213 (1099, D.5:5f), and 214 (1140,

Some of the pre-Islamic coins are rather rare, e.g., a Nabataean *leptos* (No. 51) of the long-haired Rabbel II (A.D. 71-106), two procuratorial *lepta* of Judaea (Nos. 52, 53), an Aelia Capitolina *sestertius* (No. 54) from the joint principate of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169), the reverse showing Astarte in her temple which stood at the site in Jerusalem later occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and a *sestertius* (No. 56) of Herennius Etruscus (ca. A.D. 250). No. 55 is an odd specimen of Philip I (243-249). It bears no marks of circulation. Moreover, the wide and raised margin, coupled with unusual thickness, gives it the appearance of a medallion (if not an ancient imitation).

The Islamic coins are all of the conventional type *fulūs*—with the exception of two silver *dirhamayn* (Nos. 81, 82) and the hoard of 66 silver pieces found in Area C. Two pictorial-type Umayyad *filṣayn* were found (Nos. 65, 66); one such *filṣ* was found in 1968 (No. 21 in the previous report). Nonetheless, the overall condition of the Islamic coins is mediocre. Many are badly damaged and the ones in better condition are as problematic in most cases where part of a horizontal legend falls outside the flan. Marginal legends fall mostly outside the flan in many specimens that bear them. This suffices for the general description.

Maccabean

47. (1015—C.1:45, a hard-packed *huwwar*-layer, interpreted as an Early-Roman fill containing pottery that extended from the late Iron Age to the Early Roman period.) Alexander Jannaeus, 103-76 B.C.

D.6:33e) are certainly *Mamlūk*; No. 215 (1142, D.6:33h) is possibly early Ottoman (see below); and Nos. 216 (389, A.2 surface clean-up), 217 (413, A.5:1), 218 (548, B.1:17), 219 (661, C.5:3), 220 (938, D.5:5e), 221 (946, D.6:33c), 222 (1012, C.1 general clean-up), 223 (1013, C.1 general clean-up), 224 (1016, C.3 surface clean-up), 225 (1017, C.4 surface clean-up), 226 (1022, D.2 E. balk clean-up), 227 (1025, D.5:5f), 228 (1026, D.5:5f), 229 (1027, D.5:5f), 230 (1028, D.5:5f), 231 (1029, D.5:5f), 232 (1088, D.6:33e), and 233 (1092, D.6:33f) are worn beyond recognition.

Editor's note: Coin No. 215 identified as possibly early Ottoman by A. Terian, was examined also by George C. Miles, Curator of Islamic Coins of the American Numismatic Society, New York, N.Y. In a letter to Siegfried H. Horn of May 25, 1972, he says that the type seems to be unknown, but that it must be either late Seljuk of Rum or early Ottoman.

Obv. Obliterated.

Rev. Traces of a circle, anchor within.

48. (1090—D.6:33e, the 5th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)^{3a}
Similar to the preceding, but of poorer condition.

Nabataean

49. (1014—C.1:4I, an Early Roman earth layer.) Aretas IV, 9 B.C.—A.D. 40.
Similar to No. 2 in the previous report.
50. (1018—C.4, surface clean-up.)
Similar to the preceding.
51. (1102—B.4:43, a thick, striated plaster layer.) Rabbel II, A.D. 71-106.
Obv. Head of Rabbel r., laureate, with long hair.
Rev. Similar to No. 3 in the previous report.

Provincial Roman (Judea)

52. (1118—B.3:28, a soil layer.) M. Ambibulus, A.D. 9-12.
Obv. Ear of barley; traces of border.
Rev. Palm tree with two bunches of fruit; traces of border.
53. (1100—D.5:5f, the 5th layer in the silt of a cistern.)^{3b} Pontius Pilate, A.D. 29/30.
Obv. Three ears of barley, around: [IOT]ΔΙΑΚΑΙΣΑΠΟ[C].
Rev. Obliterated.⁴
54. (636—F, Tomb 6, Loc 7, i.e., the 3d Loculus on the south side.)
Aelia Capitolina; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, A.D. 161-169.
Obv. Busts of Aurelius (161-180) r. and Verus (161-169) l., both bearded and laureate; around: IMP CAES ANTONINO . . .
Rev. Temple of Astarte showing four columns, pediment, central arch, and the goddess standing l. within, wearing turreted crown and chiton, resting l. hand on spear, r. hand holding uncertain object. and r. bare leg raised on something; COL AEL CAP in exergue.⁵

^{3a} Editor's note: Sixteen coins came from Cistern D.6:33, in which the debris appeared to consist of nine layers, labeled a-i, with an apparent break between layers e and f. However, the coin evidence does not support the assumption that the layers had been accumulated in a chronological sequence. *Mamlūk* coins came from the 3d and 6th layers (c and f), *Ayyūbid* coins from the 2d and the 6th-9th layers (b and f-i), an *Umayyad* coin from the 3d layer (c), and a Roman and a Maccabean coin from the 5th layer (e).

^{3b} Editor's note: The remarks made in connection with coins from Cistern D.6:33 (see note 3a) apply appropriately also to the coins found in Cistern D.5:5, where the silt consisted of five distinguishable layers (b-f). Only the last two of them produced identifiable coins: in layer e one *Ayyūbid* and eight *Mamlūk* coins were found, and in layer f one coin of the Procurator Pontius Pilate and two *Mamlūk* coins. Evidently the silt built up in *Mamlūk* times, although two earlier coins found their way into the cistern during that period.

⁴ Dated year 16 of Tiberius; cf. A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (4th ed.; Jerusalem, 1965), p. 56, No. 131.

⁵ See George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine: Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea* (London, 1914), p. 89, No. 40.

Late Roman

55. (1224—F, Tomb 5, Locus 3, the modernly disturbed grave Trough 6 of the northern arcosolium of the Swinging Door Tomb.) Philip I, A.D. 243-249 (medallion?).
 Obv. Bust of Philippus Arabus r., bearded, laureate, and draped; around: IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG.
 Rev. Laetitia standing l., holding wreath in l. and rudder in r. hand; around: LAET FVNDATA; SC in the field.
56. (429—D.6:15, a fill layer of mixed debris.) Herennius Etruscus, ca. A.D. 250.⁹
 Obv. Bust of Herennius Etruscus r., bareheaded and draped; around: EPENN ETPOV MEKV ΔEKIOC KECAP.
 Rev. Eagle perched on palm branch, head l.; around: ΔHMAPX EΞOVCIAC; SC in exergue.
57. (391—B.2:1, surface soil.) Valerian I, A.D. 253-260.
 Obv. Bust of Valerian I r., radiate and draped; around: IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS P F AVG.
 Rev. Helmeted Mars standing r. with spear, emperor standing l. with scepter; obliterated inscr. around.
58. (1091—D.6:33e, the 5th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Maximian, A.D. 296-305.
 Obv. Bust of Maximian r., radiate and draped; around: MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES.
 Rev. Similar to No. 9 in the previous report, but around: CONCORDIA M[IL]I-TVM; in the field: HA (Heraclea).
59. (1225—F, Tomb 5, Locus 3, the modernly disturbed grave Trough 6 of the northern arcosolium of the Swinging Door Tomb.) Constantine II, A.D. 337-340.
 Obv. Bust of Constantine II r., with pearl-diadem and cuirass; around: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C; pierced.
 Rev. Plan of Roman camp, Sol standing in the middle above; l: VIRT; r.: EXERC; beneath: T.S.A. (Thessalonica); pierced.
60. (1076—A.5:23, firepit). Constans I, A.D. 343-350.
 Obv. Head of Constans I r., around: CONSTA
 Rev. Within wreath: VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX; beneath: SMAN (Antioch).
61. (655—B.4:6, surface soil.)
 Similar to the preceding.
62. (537—D.5:6, a layer of destruction tumble.) Valentinian II, A.D. 375-392.
 Similar to No. 12 in the previous report.
63. (570—C.1:33, a Byzantine soil fill.) Honorius, A.D. 395-423.
 Similar to No. 15 in the previous report.

Byzantine

64. (1188—C.4:2, a late-Islamic wall near the surface.) *Nummus* of Justinian I, A.D. 527-565.

⁹ Son of Decius, 249-251; cf. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* (London, 1899), pp. 225, 226.

Obv. Bust of Justinian I facing, with cuirass.
Rev. Λ (mark of value—1 *nummus*).

Umayyad (661-750)

65. (514—C.4:23, a late-Islamic soil layer.)
Obv. Jerboa facing I.; border.
Rev. *Muḥammad*; border.
66. (945—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
Obv. Similar to the preceding, but traces of inscr. around.
Rev. Obliterated.
67. (606—D.6:26, an occupation surface.)
Similar to No. 23 in the previous report.
- Ayyūbid* (1171-1342)¹
68. (1148—D.6:33g, the 7th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *Az-Zāhir Ghāzi* (Ḥalab Branch), 1186-1216.
Obv. Within double octagram (the inner dotted): *Al-Imām / an-Nāṣir*; between octagram and outer dotted circle: . . . / *ilah.. / illā / 'llah / . . .*
Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik / az-Zāhir*; obliterated inscr. around.
69. (1150—D.6:33i, the 9th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
Obv. *Al-Imām a/n-Nāṣir Amīr / al-Mu'minin*.
Rev. *Ghāzi / . . .*; arabesque beneath.
70. (1094—D.6:33g, the 7th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *Al-'Adil*, 1196-1218.
Similar to No. 28 in the previous report.
71. (1087—D.6:33f, the 6th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad I or II* (Ḥamāh Branch), 1191-1220 or 1244-1284.
Obv. Within triple hexagram (the middle dotted): *Al-Malik / aṣ-Ṣāliḥ*.
Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik / al-Manṣūr*.
72. (1095—D.6:33h, the 8th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
Similar to the preceding.
73. (942—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.)
Similar to No. 29 in the previous report.
74. (1020—C.5:3, a late-Islamic fill.) *Al-'Azīz Muḥammad* (Ḥalab Branch), 1216-1236.
Obv. *Al-Imām / an-Nāṣir / al-Malik al-'Adil / [Abū] Bakr*.
Rev. Within double octagram (the inner dotted): . . . / *al-'Aziz*.
75. (1096—D.6:33h, the 8th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *Al-Kāmil Muḥammad* (Egyptian Branch), 1218-1238.
Obv. Obliterated.
Rev. Within double square (the outer dotted): *Al-Malik al-Kāmil bi-Amr Allah*.
76. (1086—D.6:33h, the 8th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *An-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf* (Ḥalab Branch), 1236-1260.
Obv. Within triple hexagram (the middle dotted): *Al-Imām / al-Musta'ṣim*; traces of border.
Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik / an-Nāṣir*.

¹ End of the Ḥamāh Branch.

77. (1081—D.6:33b, the 2d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Aş-Şālih Isma'īl (Damascus Branch), 1237-1245.
 Obv. *Al-Malik aş-Şālih / Isma'īl*; illegible inscr. between two dotted circles around.
 Rev. *Ibn al-Malik / al-'Adil Muḥammad*; illegible inscr. between two dotted circles around.
78. (1077—D.6:33g, the 7th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) Aş-Şālih Ayyūb (Egyptian Branch), 1240-1249.
 Obv. . . . / *al-Musta'şim / [bi]-'llah Ab[ū] 'l. . .*].
 Rev. . . . / *[Nidj]m ad-Din Ayyūb*; traces of dotted square.

Mamlūk (1250-1517)^a

79. (943—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.) Aẓ-Zāhir Bibars, 1260-1277.
 Obv. Obliterated.
 Rev. Lion facing l.; above: *Al-Malik*; beneath: *Bibars*.
80. (1101—D.5:5f, the 5th layer in the silt of a cistern.) An-Nāşir Muḥammad, 1293-1294, 1299-1309, 1310-1341.
 Similar to No. 39 in the previous report.
81. (950—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.) *Dirham* (2.12 gm.) of aş-Şālih Isma'īl, 1342-1345.
 Obv. [*Lā*] *ilah illā 'llah / [Muḥammad] Rasūl Allah / [ārsa]lahu bi-'l-hudā / [wa dīn] al-ḥaḳ.*
 Rev. . . . / *as-Sulṭān al-Ma[lik] / aş-Şālih 'Imād ad-[Dunyā] / wa 'd-Dīn Isma'īl . . . / an-Nāşir Muḥammad.*
82. (952—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding (2.59 gm.).
83. (366—C.4:24, a late-Islamic soil layer.) Al-Aşraf Sha'bān, 1363-1377.
 Obv. [*As-Sulṭān al-Malik / [al-Aşraf] Sha'bān / . . .*]; double border (the outer dotted).
 Rev. Within hexagram of two triangles: *Ṭarāblu/s*.
84. (436—B.4:5, surface soil.)
 Obv. Within oval: *Bin Ḥasan*; around: *As-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Aşraf*.
 Rev. Within arabesque: *Ḍuriba / bi-Dimaşḳ / . . .*; double border (the outer dotted).
85. (912—D.5:5f, the 5th layer in the silt of a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding.
86. (953—D.6:33c, the 3d layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding.
- 87-89. (911, 939, 1139—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.) Al-Manşūr 'Alā' ad-Dīn 'Alī, 1377-1381.
 Similar to No. 42 in the previous report.
90. (1093—D.6:33f, the 6th layer of a soil pile in a cistern.)
 Similar to the preceding.
- 91-93. (935, 936, 941—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.) Aẓ-Zāhir

^a Bahri Mamlūk (1250-1382), Burdjī Mamlūk (1382-1517).



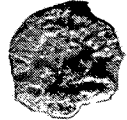
47



51



52



53



55



56



57



58



59



60



64



65



68



69



71



74



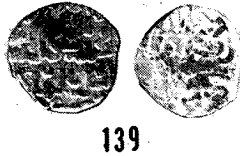
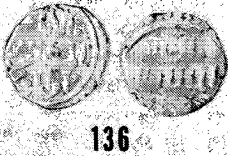
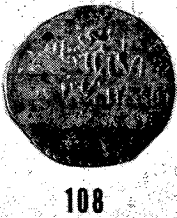
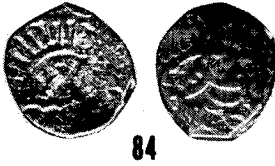
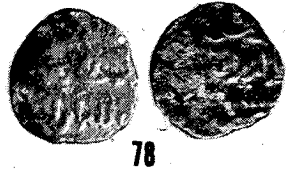
75



76



Maccabean, Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine and Islamic Coins from the 1971 Excavations at Heshbon



Islamic Coins from the 1971 Excavations at Heshbon

Barkūk, 1382-1399.

Obv. . . . / *as-Sultān al-Malik / Barkūk*; two straight lines across the field.

Rev. Within hexagram of two triangles: *Duriba / bi-Dimashk*.

94. (581—C.5:1, surface soil. The coin lay in a Byzantine lamp.)

Similar to the preceding.

95. (937—D.5:5e, the 4th layer in the silt of a cistern.)

Similar to No. 44 in the previous report.

The Hoard

It could be said that a number of coins accumulated in a *locus* may be treated as a hoard. In this case, Nos. 53, 73, 79, 80, 85, 87-89, 91-93, and 95 above, all found in D.5:5 and Nos. 58, 66, 68-72, 75-78, 81, and 82, found in D.6:33, could be counted as additional hoards. But such a consideration has its limitations. Accumulated hoards cover a wide chronological range and are of little value for interpretation of stratigraphy. Such hoards are built up haphazardly, i.e., coins dropped in cisterns or carried off by drains, sunk through soft soil from higher strata on account of their own weight, etc.

The hoard under consideration is a savings hoard found in a sealed *locus* (C.4:37, a late-Islamic layer). It is reminiscent of the remarks made by the satirical playwright Aristophanes in ca. 400 B.C.:

The public has often given us the appearance of treating our wisest and best citizens in the same way as it treats old and new coins. We do not use the latter . . . though they are of purer metal . . . we prefer to use bad copper pieces, struck and embossed in the very worst way.⁹

These remarks are true *heri et hodie et in saecula*—and so they were in the 1270s when an occupant of the “north building” of Square 4 in Area C died, leaving behind his savings. The coins, consisting of bronze cores with silver coatings, were kept in an earthen lamp and hid in a little niche under the west end of a column drum used as a horizontal bench along the south wall. Apparently, no other member of the household knew about the scant savings which consisted of 66 pieces—32 *dirhams* and 34 *half-dirhams* identified as follows:

⁹ *Frogs*, 718-26; quoted by Lloyd R. Laing, *Coins and Archaeology* (New York, 1970), p. 53.

Ayyūbid

96. (460) *Dirham* (2.79 gm.) of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (Egyptian Branch), 1240-1249.
 Obv. Within double square (the outer dotted): *Al-Imām / al-Mustaʿsim*
/ bi-ʾllah Abū Aḥmad ʿAbd / Allah Amīr al-Muʾminīn; in seg-
 ments between square and double border (the outer dotted): *Al-*
Kāhira / sanat ʿrbaʿa wa / . . . ([64]4 A.H.).
 Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ / Niḍīm ad-Dīn Ayyūb / . . .* ;
 in segments: *Muḥammad Rasūl Allah ʾarsalahu / bi-ʾl-hudā / . . .*

Mamlūk

97. (494) *Dirham* (2.86 gm.) of al-Manṣūr Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī, 1257-1259.
 Obv. Within a pattern similar to the preceding: *Al-Im[ām] / al-Mustaʿ*
[sim] / bi-ʾllah Amīr . . . ; in segments: *Bi-sm Allah / . . .*
 Rev. Similar, within: *Al-Malik al-Manṣūr / Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī / Ibn*
Ayybak; obliterated inscr. in segments.
 98. (447) Half-dirham (1.47 gm.).
 Similar to No. 36 in the previous report.
 99-128. *Dirhams*¹⁰ of aṣ-Zāhir Bibars, 1260-1277.
 Obv. 108. *Amīr al-Muʾminīn / al-Imām al-Mustansīr bi-ʾllah / Abū ʾl-*
Qasim Aḥmad Bin / al-Imām aṣ-Zāhir.
 116, 119, 122, 123 (pierced), 126, 127. Similar to the preceding,
 but the beginning *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* is at the end.
 106, 124. Similar to the preceding, but add to l. and r. margin:
Ḍuriba bi-ʾl-Ḳāhira; double border (the outer dotted.)¹¹
 121. *Ḍuriba bi-Dimashq / al-Imām al-Ḥākim / bi-Amr Allah Abū*
ʾl-Abbās / Aḥmad Amīr al-Muʾminīn; similar border.
 99, 103, 114, 118. *Al-Imām al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allah / Abū ʾl-*
ʿAbbās Aḥmad / Amīr al-Muʾminīn; similar border.
 100-102, 104, 105, 107, 109-113, 115, 117, 120, 125, 128. *Lā ilāh illā*
ʾllah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / ʾarsalahu bi-ʾl-hudā; the mint
 and date as a marginal inscr. surround the obv. legend in four
 lines as follows:

¹⁰ In the following list (also in that given in note 16) the first numeral presents the publication number, while the excavator's registry number and the weight in grams for each of the 30 *dirhams* are given in parentheses.

99 (446, 3.39 gm.), 100 (448, 2.71), 101 (449, 2.42), 102 (451, 2.58), 103 (452, 2.93), 104 (454, 2.76), 105 (456, 2.98), 106 (457, 2.84), 107 (458, 3.07), 108 (462, 2.95), 109 (463, 3.38), 110 (464, 2.10), 111 (465, 2.68), 112 (446, 2.92), 113 (467, 2.74), 114 (468, 2.84), 115 (470, 2.72), 116 (471, 2.91), 117 (472, 2.79), 118 (474, 2.90), 119 (476, 3.11), 120 (479, 2.83), 121 (480, 2.90), 122 (481, 2.52), 123 (483, 2.72), 124 (486, 2.75), 125 (488, 2.82), 126 (489, 2.81), 127 (492, 2.73), 128 (496, 2.95).

¹¹ The undated coins, according to S. L. Poole, are "conterminous with the short duration of El-Mustansīr's Khalifate, or 659-661 [1260-1262]" (*Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* [London, 1879], IV, 142, n.). It should be noted that coins bearing these dates have been found; see *infra*. nn. 12 and 13.

- Beginning from 1.: *Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳā/hira sanat sittīn / . . .* ([6]60 A.H.).¹³
Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳā/hira sanat āḥad wa sittīn / wa sit-mi'āa / wa dīn al-ḥaḳ (661 A.H.).¹³
 Beginning from top: *Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳāhira / sanat ḵhamsa / wa sittīn / . . .* ([6]65 A.H.).¹⁴
Ḍuriba bi-'l-Ḳāhira / sanat sab'a / wa sittīn / . . . ([6]67 A.H.).¹⁵
- Rev. *Aṣ-Ṣāliḥi / as-Sultān al-Malik / aḏ-Ḍāhir Rukn ad-Ḍunyā wa 'd-Dīn / Bibars Ḳasīm Amīr al-Mu'minin*; beneath, lion facing l.; similar border (the rev. of the *dirhams* is identical; however, the heads of some lions are larger and the tails of others are raised higher).
- 129-161. *Half-dirhams*¹⁶ of *aḏ-Ḍāhir Bibars*.
 Obv. 133, 144, 152. *Lā ilāh illā 'llah Muḥammad / Rasūl Allah*; around: . . . *ḍuriba* . . .
 149, 155, 160. *Al-Imām / al-Ḥākim*; around: *Bi-sm Allah* . . .
 129, 138, 140, 143, 145, 153. *Al-Imām / al-Mustanshir bi-'llah*; around: *Lā ilāh illā 'llah Muḥammad Rasūl Allah*.
 Rev. Type A: *Al-Malik / aḏ-Ḍāhir*; beneath, lion facing l.
 Obv. 136, 147, 148, 150, 151, 154, 156, 157, 159, 161. *Al-Imām / al-Mustanshir bi-'llah / Amīr al-Mu'minin*.
 Rev. Type B: *As-Sultān / al-Malik aḏ-Ḍāhir*; beneath, lion facing l.
 Obv. 130-132, 137, 141, 158. *Al-Imām al-Mustanshir bi-'llah / Abū 'l-Ḳasīm Ahmad Bin / al-Imām aḏ-Ḍāhir*; 137 begins with an additional *Amīr al-Mu'minin*.
 134, 135, 139, 142, 146. *Lā ilāh illā 'llah / Muḥammad Rasūl Allah / ārsalahi bi-'l-hudā*; around: . . . *ḍuriba* . . .
 Rev. Type C: *As-Sultān al-Malik / aḏ-Ḍāhir Rukn ad-Ḍunyā wa 'd-Dīn / Bibars Ḳasīm Amīr al-Mu'minin*; beneath, lion facing l.

Like S. L. Poole, "I have endeavored in vain to discover any system in the weights of the Memlook coins."¹⁷ The *dirhams* of

¹³ Only the datable Nos. are given: 115, 128 (1261/2).

¹⁴ No. 109 (1262/3).

¹⁵ Nos. 100, 125 (1266/7).

¹⁶ Nos. 110, 117 (1268/9).

¹⁷ See note 11 for explanation of numbers.

129 (450, 1.40 gm.), 130 (453, 1.98), 131 (455, 1.82), 132 (459, 1.45), 133 (461, 0.94), 134 (469, 1.28), 135 (473, 1.60), 136 (475, 1.43), 137 (477, 1.33), 138 (478, 0.96), 139 (482, 2.37), 140 (484, 1.55), 141 (485, 1.76), 142 (487, 1.67), 143 (490, 1.45), 144 (491, 1.29), 145 (493, 1.21), 146 (495, 1.29), 147 (497, 1.69), 148 (498, 1.41), 149 (499, 1.07), 150 (500, 0.99), 151 (501, 1.25), 152 (502, 0.91), 153 (503, 1.24), 154 (504, 1.44), 155 (505, 1.58), 156 (506, 1.49), 157 (507, 1.64), 158 (508, 1.05), 159 (509, 1.35), 160 (1009, 0.84), 161 (1010, 1.55). On both sides all have traces of double borders of which the outer is dotted.

¹⁷ "The first impression one derives from a study of the Memlook coins is that no two examples are alike in weight . . . but the worn condition of most of the coins may account in part for this irregularity. Still, with every allow-

Bibars range from 2.10-3.39 gm. (av. 2.73 gm.) and the *half-dirhams* from 0.84-2.37 gm. (av. 1.54 gm.). But when the three reverse types (A-C) of the *half-dirhams* are considered separately, the range is not so broad. Type A ranges from 0.84-1.55 gm. (av. 1.20 gm.); type B from 0.99-1.69 gm. av. (1.42 gm.); and type C from 1.05-2.37 gm. (av. 1.60 gm.). Figs. 1 and 2 illustrate this; the symmetry in Fig. 2 is noteworthy.

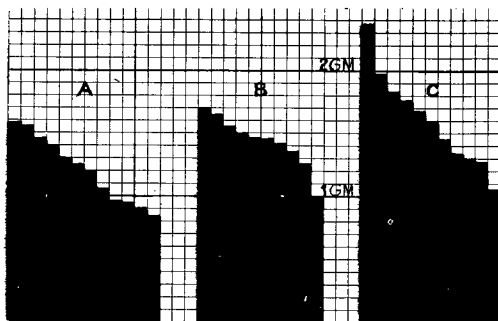


Fig. 1. Graphs showing the weight of each coin in the three reverse types (A, 12 coins; B, 10 coins; C, 11 coins) of Bibars' *half dirhams*

The *dirhams* of Bibars present a variety of obverses and only one type of reverse. The obverse types are of little help to ascertain their chronology since all the datable ones have the same obverse. The rest are represented by a few specimens that do not warrant a comparative study. The *half-dirhams* also present a variety of obverses, but three types of reverses emerge (A-C). These are appropriately divided into 12, 10, and 11 coins. This satisfactory distribution enables a study of their weight system to determine which of the three types is the oldest (assuming the simple principle that coins longer in circulation lost more of

ance for friction, it is impossible to discover any standard weight for either the *deenars* [gold] or the *dirhems* [silver] . . . there are all varieties of weights . . . for *dirhems* between 7 and 88 grains. From such vague data . . . it is difficult to see how any system of standard, in one metal or two, can be discovered" (Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, pp xxi-xxii).

their weight than those with a shorter period of circulation). In the absence of dates on the *half-dirhams*, an application of this metrological theory is appropriate to ascertain the chronology of the three types. It shows that at the time when the coins were hoarded, type A had lost about 25% of its weight and type B about 12% of its weight in comparison with type C. The comparison suggests that A is chronologically the earliest type. Aside from the metrological evidence, the clustering of *tituli* from *al-Malik az-Zāhir*, in A, to *as-Sultān*¹⁸ *al-Malik az-Zāhir* in B, and to *as-Sultān*

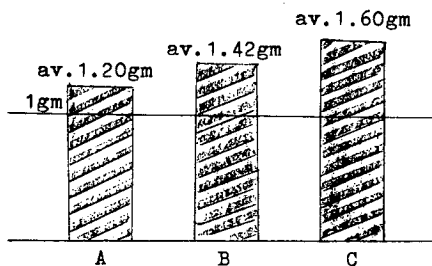


Fig. 2. Graphs showing the average weight of each of the three types of *half-dirhams* of Bibars

al-Malik az-Zāhir Rukn ad-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Bibars Kaṣīm Amīr al-Mu'minīn in C (though the latter appears on the earliest *dirhams*) is noteworthy.

Like the rest of the *Ayyūbid* and *Mamlūk* coins from the various strata, the hoard makes it evident that the *Ayyūbid* coins were almost driven out by the *Mamlūk* coins soon after the rise of the latter dynasty in the middle of the 13th cent. (notice the ratio of 1 to 65). The *Ayyūbid* coin (No. 96) dates from 1246/7 and the latest datable *Mamlūk* coins (Nos. 110, 117) are from 1268/9, suggesting that the hoard was last hidden sometime in the early 1270s.

A disappointment persists: none of the coins hitherto found bears any of the ancient mint names of Transjordan. The obliterated margins of most Islamic coins have no legible traces of mint names. Of the *Ayyūbid* coins, No. 96 was struck at Cairo,

¹⁸ Bibars was the first *Mamlūk* ruler to use this title on coins.

as were the *Mamlūk dirhams*—with the exception of No. 121 which was struck at Damascus. As for the *Mamlūk fulūs*, No. 83 was struck at Tripoli (Lebanon), and Nos. 84-86 and 91-94 at Damascus.

If the coins from the 1971 excavations were to be tabulated as were those from the 1968 excavations, a considerable increase in the number of coins would be seen; however, the pattern of distribution would remain the same as that of Table 1 (p. 157) in the previous report. There are no coins from before the 1st cent. B.C. and none from after the 15th cent. A.D.¹⁹ Likewise, there are no coins from the intervening 9th-12th cents. which comprise the *Abbasid* period. Consequently, the conclusions drawn in the previous report remain unchanged.

¹⁹ A possible exception is the somewhat doubtful Ottoman coin 215 (see n. 3).

Postscript. Please correct the following errors in my article "Coins from the 1968 Excavations at Heshbon," *AUSS*, 9 (1971), 147-160: page 148, line 1 read (No. 7) instead of (No. 8); page 148, line 5 read (No. 8) instead of (No. 9); page 150, line 23 read (year 18 . . .) instead of (year 17 . . .).

EZRA-NEHEMIAH OR NEHEMIAH-EZRA?

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE VALIDITY OF THE VAN HOONACKER THEORY

CARL G. TULAND
Santee, California

The purpose of this paper¹ is to analyze a theory of long standing which was first suggested in 1889 by Maurice Vernes in a footnote of his work *Précis d'histoire juive*, but which was systematically developed by Albin Van Hoonacker in numerous publications between 1890 and 1924.² Van Hoonacker contested the traditional priority of Ezra and attempted to prove that while Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in 444 B.C., Ezra followed 46 years later, i.e., in 398. On account of its implications this controversy has become the subject of countless papers, articles, and learned discussions. Although Van Hoonacker's theory has been rejected by many scholars since its introduction 75 years ago, it nevertheless has found an increasing acceptance by some. However, final agreement among biblical scholars has not yet been obtained.

This investigation will not cover the whole range of the Ezra-Nehemiah problem, but will be limited to a critical analysis of the Van Hoonacker theory. He artificially augmented the number of his arguments by some that dealt with irrelevant and imaginary problems, although he formulated them ingeniously and adroitly. Later his position intrigued many scholars because of the fusion between certain biblical material and the Aramaic papyri which came to light shortly after his theory was published and which seemed to give to it historical substance.

The present study tries to investigate whether Van Hoonacker's views present sound scholarly reasoning, facts, and a candid use of Scripture, or whether they are intelligently composed and fascinating, but outdated, conjectures.

¹ This paper was read as the presidential address at the 26th annual meeting of the Midwest Section of the Society of Biblical Literature April 15, 1965, at the Center for Continuing Education of the University of Chicago.

² Van Hoonacker's works on the subject discussed in this article are conveniently listed by H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament* (London, 1952), p. 133, n. 1.

A concise synopsis of Van Hoonacker's viewpoints can be found in R. A. Bowman's summary of the arguments in his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah in *The Interpreter's Bible*, which, for the sake of convenience, has been used in this study.

Several of Van Hoonacker's arguments can be eliminated without much discussion. Let us first dispose of his last three objections (Nos. 13, 14, and 15) since they belong to a group of irrelevant problems. He argued that the traditional order implied a failure of Ezra's reforms with regard to law, tithing and mixed marriages, which, he felt, pointed to the priority of Nehemiah. First, scholars are divided in their opinion as to whether these reforms were a success or a failure. Second, Van Hoonacker's argument is refuted by Nehemiah himself who records that reforms of a similar nature, which he had initiated in 444, had proved to be a failure when he returned to Jerusalem for his second term as governor several years later.³ Regardless of success or failure, these questions have no bearing on the priority of either Ezra or Nehemiah and can thus be eliminated as irrelevant.

Objection One. Van Hoonacker's objections begin with either a misstatement or a misunderstanding of the official status of Ezra and Nehemiah. His first objection reads as follows:

It is unlikely that the same king would send to Palestine two men with official support and authority at the same time. The powers granted Ezra and Nehemiah were so similar that it is improbable that they would have exercised them simultaneously. Nor was there a division of labor whereby Nehemiah left religious matters to Ezra the priest, for he himself was concerned with regulating the priests . . . the tithes and temple treasurers . . . and the sabbath.⁴

This objection is characteristic of the way in which Van Hoonacker formulated his arguments. There is no evidence that the appointment by Artaxerxes I was made at the same time since Ezra, according to the traditional account, was nominated in 457, while Nehemiah came to Jerusalem 13 years later, in 444. Neither was there a similarity in office, as Nehemiah was a *peha* or governor with administrative powers. Ezra's authority con-

³ Neh 13:4-31.

⁴ R. A. Bowman, "Ezra and Nehemiah," *The Interpreter's Bible*, III (Nashville, 1954), 562, hereinafter cited as Bowman.

cerned judicial matters—the teaching, enforcement, and reconciliation of the king's law (Persian law) with Jewish religious law. Nehemiah was independent and chronologically separate from Ezra and exerted strong religious influence on the community. This can easily be understood when one remembers that the Jewish concept of government does not separate civil administration from religious legislation. Therefore, since both the presumption of simultaneous appointment and the presumption of identical office are factually incorrect, this objection is invalid.

Objection Two. The second objection is formulated as follows:

Ezra and Nehemiah ignore each other in a way that would be surprising if they were contemporaries. Ezra is not mentioned until Neh 8, and then only in a passage originally not part of the Nehemiah story.⁵

I share with other scholars the view that Ezra and Nehemiah were not contemporaries, but differ with Van Hoonacker who moves Ezra's return from the traditional date of 457, the 7th year of Artaxerxes I, to the 7th year of Artaxerxes II, which is 398. Because I also agree with Van Hoonacker that Ezra and Nehemiah were not contemporaries as office holders in Jerusalem, there is no need for further investigation of this specific problem. We may profit, however, from a discussion of the question why the two leaders ignored each other. If Ezra died before the arrival of Nehemiah, or vice versa, it is natural that neither one would mention the name or work of the other. On the basis of a corrected text-sequence—mentioned by Van Hoonacker in this objection—and a statement in Josephus' *Antiquities* (XI. § 158), it appears that Ezra died approximately 456/55, or eleven years before the traditional date for Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem. His memoirs, therefore, could not mention Nehemiah. Although we do not know why Nehemiah makes no mention of Ezra and/or of his reform, there may have been a reason for this silence.

The prophets Haggai and Zechariah provide a parallel example. They were concerned with the *same* problems, lived in the *same* place and were contemporaries, but Haggai does not mention Zechariah, nor does Zechariah mention Haggai. Whether this

⁵ Bowman, p. 562.

lack of reference to each other's work was an accident or done intentionally cannot now be ascertained; however, this analogy furnishes additional evidence that Van Hoonacker's objection is of no importance and thus ceases to be a problem in deciding the priority of either Ezra or Nehemiah.

Objection Three. The third objection reads as follows:

Nehemiah would scarcely have designated the inhabitants of Jerusalem as those who had escaped exile (Neh 1:2, 3) if shortly before a great caravan had arrived there from Babylon with Ezra.⁶

This statement is an unfortunate misquotation of Neh 1:2, 3 which actually reads: ". . . and I asked them concerning the Jews that survived, who had escaped exile, and concerning Jerusalem" (RSV). While the first part of the question refers in general to the Judeans (*y^hhúdim*) of the entire province and not merely to the inhabitants of Jerusalem alone, the second question refers to the condition of the city itself, but not to the inhabitants, as Van Hoonacker formulated and applied it. For this reason alone the objection becomes meaningless.

Van Hoonacker, who intended to prove that there was no Ezra and no caravan in 457, apparently wanted the reader to believe that these verses refer to the beginning of the exile in 586. It would be strange indeed for Nehemiah to have been so concerned and deeply affected about events that had taken place 140 years before his time. Consequently, a brief summary of the political events of his period might be useful to show that Nehemiah's grief over those who had escaped exile and the destruction of Jerusalem's walls and gates was caused by a more recent calamity.⁷

Biblical as well as secular sources indicate that the province of Judea was exposed to extensive hostile actions about the middle of the fifth century at a time when the Persian empire passed through a serious internal crisis. The revolt of Inarus in Egypt (460-456) and the sedition of the hero of the battle of Egypt, Megabyzus (brother-in-law of Xerxes) as reported by Ctesias (*Persica, Epit.* 68-70) had created a new political situa-

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Wilhelm Rudolph, *Ezra und Nehemia* (Tübingen, 1949), pp. 103, 104, hereinafter cited as Rudolph.

tion in Syria and the whole fifth satrapy. Artaxerxes ordered Rehum, the *b^el t^em*, a Persian civil representative of the king in Palestine, to stop the work on the walls of Jerusalem which the Jews were restoring, apparently without royal authorization.⁸ Rehum's complaint, which had instigated this royal intervention, mentions that the rebuilding was being carried out by a group of Jews who had "come up from you the king . . . to Jerusalem" (Ezr 4:11-16). There is no reason to doubt that this group was the one headed by Ezra in 457 (cf. Objection Four).

There are other indications of political unrest in Palestine during that period which also affected the province of Judah. The prophet Malachi refers to an important event that had taken place in his time, i.e., that Edom had been laid waste and shattered beyond any hope of restoration.⁹ It is, therefore, not surprising that Ezra and Nehemiah mention only two of Judah's traditional enemies, the Ammonites and the Moabites, but do not name Edom (Ezr 9:1; Neh 13:1, 2, 5, 6). The Arab Nabateans who had destroyed Edom also posed a threat to the Jews, since the southern part of Judea had been Edomite territory and part of the Arab province of the Persian empire.¹⁰

Hubert Grimme suggested in 1941 that the Edomites were not destroyed by the Nabateans but by the Lihyān Arabs before 450 B.C.¹¹ The historicity of their leader, Geshem or Gashmu, repeatedly mentioned by Nehemiah, is confirmed through an Arabic inscription and an inscribed silver bowl from Tell el-Maskhuta.¹² Chronologically the rule of that Arab chieftain has also been established through a hoard of silver coins found with the bowl confirming the biblical date for Geshem as having

⁸ Ezr 4:17-23.

⁹ Mal 1:3, 4; Robert C. Dentan, "Malachi," *The Interpreter's Bible*, VI (Nashville, 1956), 1123, 1124.

¹⁰ F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1938), II, 122, 123.

¹¹ H. Grimme, *Die Welt als Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1937), III, 452-463; Grimme, "Beziehungen zwischen dem Staate Lihjān und dem Achämenidenreiche," *OLZ*, 44 (1941), 337-343; A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 295, 316, hereinafter cited as Olmstead.

¹² A. J. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris, 1921), No. 349; Isaac Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century B.C.E. from a North-Arab Shrine in Egypt," *JNES*, 15 (1956), 1-9, hereinafter cited as Rabinowitz.

ruled shortly after 450.¹³ Thus, when Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem he was confronted not only with Tobiah, the Ammonite, and Sanballat of Samaria, but also with a third enemy, Geshem the Arab.¹⁴ It seems, therefore, to be justified to connect the events reported in Neh 1:2, 3 with this Arab invader and ally of Judah's traditional foes. Josephus, too, obviously speaking of these same events, states:

They said that these were in a bad way, for the walls had been torn down to the ground, and the surrounding nations were inflicting many injuries on the Jews, overrunning the country and plundering it by day and doing mischief by night, so that many had been carried off as captives from the country and from Jerusalem itself, and every day the roads were found full of corpses.¹⁵

A few observations concerning the trustworthiness of Josephus as a historian may be in order in this connection. Not only have many of his reports found increasing confirmation through archaeological findings, but a critical study of the 11th book of *Antiquities* also shows the credibility of several details which he reports.¹⁶ In my opinion the 11th book of *Antiquities*—with corrections easily explained by Josephus' own narrative—should be accepted as reliable source material with the exception of the last parts of the book, which with our present knowledge seem to contain problems too difficult to reconcile with known historical facts.

We can therefore claim that Van Hoonacker's third objection has no validity not only because it is based on a misconstruing of the Bible text, but also because it does not agree with historical facts. The events referred to in Neh 1:2, 3 are to be sought in the period between 455 and 445 but not in 597 or 586.¹⁷

Objection Four.

In preparation for a census Nehemiah is concerned with the list of those who returned with Zerubbabel some time before (Neh 7:7-73), but he is silent regarding those who returned with Ezra (Ezra 8:1-14).¹⁸

Biblical scholars and historians understand that the genealogies

¹³ Olmstead, p. 295; W. F. Albright, "Dedan," *Geschichte und Altes Testament* (A. Alt Festschrift, Tübingen, 1953), p. 6; Rabinowitz, p. 6.

¹⁴ Neh 2:19; 3:7, 8; 4:1, 2, 7, 8; 6:1, 2, 5, 6.

¹⁵ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI, § 161.

¹⁶ Tuland, "Josephus, *Antiquities* Book XI," *AUSS*, 4 (1966), 176-192.

¹⁷ Rudolph, p. 103.

¹⁸ Bowman, p. 562.

in Ezr 2 and Neh 7 served also the purpose of establishing the legal claims to citizenship and property rights of those who returned from the Babylonian captivity. Jews who had been left behind in the province of Judea in 586 had in the meantime taken possession of fields, vineyards, and other properties.¹⁹ The legal problems resulting from the return of the original owners after 538 could therefore be settled only on the basis of a detailed genealogical list of the returnees. Their families had to belong to a respective clan in order to make their claims legitimate.

Now the question arises: Is the charge valid that Nehemiah "is silent" regarding those who returned with Ezra? The biblical text provides evidence that such a group had actually arrived before Nehemiah's days. A simple comparison reveals that except for the families of David and of some priests, the ancestors of the people who returned with Ezra are also found in the list of Neh 7:

Parosh	Ezr 8:3;	Neh 7:8;	Ezr 2:3;
Pahath Moab	Ezr 8:4;	Neh 7:11;	Ezr 2:6;
Zattu	Ezr 8:5;	Neh 7:13;	Ezr 2:8;
Adin	Ezr 8:6;	Neh 7:20;	Ezr 2:15;
Elam	Ezr 8:7;	Neh 7:12;	Ezr 2:7;
Shepathiah	Ezr 8:8;	Neh 7:9;	Ezr 2:4;
Joab	Ezr 8:9;	Neh 7:11;	Ezr 2:6;
Bani	Ezr 8:10;	Neh 7:15;	Ezr 2:10; (Binnui in Neh)
Bebai	Ezr 8:13;	Neh 7:16;	Ezr 2:11;
Azgad	Ezr 8:12;	Neh 7:17;	Ezr 2:12;
Adonikam	Ezr 8:13;	Neh 7:18;	Ezr 2:13;
Bigvai	Ezr 8:14;	Neh 7:8;	Ezr 2:2;

Inasmuch as the genealogical requirements of those families who returned with Ezra are fully covered in Nehemiah's list, Van Hoonacker's objection appears to be inaccurate.

Objections Five and Six. These objections refer to the population of Jerusalem as a criterion of the priority problem.

Nehemiah found Jerusalem almost uninhabited and subsequently took steps to repopulate it (cf. Neh 7:4; 11:1, 2), whereas Ezra lived and worked in a busy city (Ezr 9:4; 10:1).

In Ezr 8:29 and 10:5 the priests, Levites, and the heads of the families are dwelling in Jerusalem, while according to Neh 11:1 ff., Nehemiah had sent them to the capital.²⁰

These are inaccurate as well as exaggerated statements. After 538 many Jews, their leaders, officials, priests and Levites as well

¹⁹ Jer 31:10; 40:10, 11.

²⁰ Bowman, p. 562.

as others had settled in Jerusalem (Neh 7:73; Ezr 2:70). They had built elaborate houses even before they started rebuilding the temple.²¹ When the wall was finally built under Nehemiah there appeared groups and individuals who repaired sections "opposite the high-priest's house," "their houses," "their own houses," etc. Thus, no doubt, the expression that Jerusalem was almost uninhabited appears exaggerated. We do not even have to decide the controversial question raised by some commentators whether the "very large crowd" which gathered with Ezra for a special convocation was from Jerusalem only, or included people from the whole province (Ezr 10:1, 5), for the city's population in Ezra's days had probably been larger than under Nehemiah, because Jerusalem suffered twice under wars and raids during the decade preceding Nehemiah's arrival (Neh 1:2, 3). Therefore her population had probably substantially decreased during the years between Ezra's and Nehemiah's respective arrivals.

Thus, Van Hoonacker's argument rather proves the priority of Ezra, and Kittel's answer to "Objection Five" can also be applied to Six: ". . . es kann nicht als ernster Einwand gelten," i.e., it cannot be considered a serious objection.

Objection Seven. This objection is a typical illustration of Van Hoonacker's use of the Hebrew text and its interpretation.

Nehemiah found the defenses of Jerusalem destroyed (Neh 1:3; 2:13, 17; cf. 3:1-32; 4:6), but Ezra thanks God for the wall in Jerusalem (cf. Ezr 9:9).²²

Ezr. 9:9 obviously does not support Van Hoonacker's statement, for it reads: "*wayyaṭ 'ālēnū ḥesed . . . w'latet lānū gādēr bihūdāh ūbīrūšālāim.*" It is true that the KJV renders this passage: ". . . but [God] has extended mercy unto us . . . to give us a wall in Judah and in Jerusalem." But today hardly any scholar would agree with the translation of *gādēr* as "wall" for the protection of a city or fortress. A city wall was always called a *ḥomāh*. A *gādēr* usually refers to a wall that served to protect vineyards, separated properties, or was erected along a road, hence is frequently referred to as a hedge or fence.²³ The Greek

²¹ Hag 1:4, 9.

²² Bowman, p. 562.

²³ Num 22:24; Is 5:5.

text, like the Hebrew, also distinguishes between *teichos* for *hômāh*, "wall," and *phragmos* for *gādēr*, fence.

It is quite obvious that Ezra meant neither a real wall nor a real fence. That can clearly be seen from the formulation of the phrase: "a *gādēr*, a fence *in* Judah and *in* Jerusalem." Van Hoonacker had to omit "in Judah," since he could not visualize that an actual fence had surrounded the whole province of Judea; furthermore, it is noteworthy to observe that wherever the Hebrew text refers to a wall *around* a city, it does not use the particle *b*, "in," but the word *sāhīb*, "around."²⁴

The figurative sense of the phrase is not only supported through texts such as Isa 5:5, but is so translated in the very same context used by Van Hoonacker, Ezr 9:8, where the "nail" in the holy place, *yātēd*, or tent-pin, is conceived as the most "secure hold," and *gādēr*, fence, stands for "protection" (RSV). Most recent translations such as the NEB, the Amplified Bible and the Jerusalem Bible have been rather consistent in using the figurative sense of these words in Ezra's prayer. Thus Menge renders it "Wohnsitz," Schlachter "geschützter Ort," while RSV and Moffat use the word "protection."

Consequently, the Hebrew text as well as its obvious figurative meaning refute both Van Hoonacker's translation and his interpretation.

Objection Nine. Inasmuch as Objection Eight will be discussed in another group of objections, we will turn to Objection Nine of his list. It is an outstanding example of mixing facts with fiction.

Whereas Nehemiah was a contemporary of the high priest Eliashib (cf. Neh 3:1, 20, 21; 13:4, 7, 28), Ezra lived during the period of the high priest Jehohanan, the grandson of Eliashib (Ezr 10:6; cf. Neh 12:10, 11, 22). Jehohanan is attested by the Aramaic Papyri as high priest in Jerusalem in 407 B.C., under Darius II. This most important evidence indicates that Ezra was active under Artaxerxes II, at least a generation after Nehemiah.²⁵

While it is a fact that Nehemiah and Eliashib were contemporaries, there is not the slightest biblical or extra-biblical evidence, including the Aramaic papyri, Cowley, Nos. 30 and 31,²⁶

²⁴ 1 Ki 3:1; 2; 2 Chr 14:6; Eze 40:5.

²⁵ Bowman, p. 562.

²⁶ A. Cowley, *The Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 108-114, hereinafter cited as Cowley.

that Ezra and Jehohanan lived at the same time, although Van Hoonacker maintains that they did and calls this argument his "most important evidence." This is fiction. To uphold his contention, Van Hoonacker used the following texts (quoted here according to the RSV):

Then Eliashib the high priest rose up with his brethren the priests and they built the sheep gate. They consecrated it and set its doors; they consecrated it as far as the Tower of the Hundred, as far as the Tower of Hananel (Neh 3:1). After him Baruch the son of Zabbai repaired another section from the Angle to the door of the house of Eliashib the high priest (v. 20). After him Meremoth the son of Uriah, son of Hakkoz, repaired another section from the door of the house of Eliashib to the end of the house of Eliashib (v. 21).

These verses refer to the high priest Eliashib and to an event that took place in the year 444, under Nehemiah.

Now before this came Eliashib *the priest* who was appointed over the chambers of the house of our God, and who was connected with Tobiah (Neh 13:4). And came to Jerusalem and I then discovered the evil that Eliashib had done for Tobiah, preparing for him a chamber in the courts of the house of God (v. 7). And one of the sons of Jehoiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite; therefore I chased him from me (v. 28).

Here a confusion is introduced, since Van Hoonacker identifies Eliashib *the priest* (*expressis verbis*), "appointed over the chambers of the house of the Lord" (vs. 4, 7), with *the high priest* Eliashib of v. 28.

In Ezr 10:6 a Jehohanan, son of Eliashib, is mentioned *without title* in whose chamber Ezra spent a night, in 457 B.C. according to the traditional chronology.

In Neh 12:10, 11 the order of Eliashib in the high-priestly *genealogy* is presented and in v. 22 his position within the high-priestly *succession*.

Ezr 10:6 refers to an incident when Ezra, grieved by the transgression of the people, "withdrew from before the house of God and went to the chamber of Jehohanan, son of Eliashib, where he spent the night." Van Hoonacker contended that this Jehohanan is identical with the high priest of the same name mentioned in the Neh texts and in the Aramaic papyri, Cowley Nos. 30 and 31. He also believes that this event took place about 398 instead

of 457. Ezr 10:6 is thus the crucial text which must be investigated. Even today Van Hoonacker's ingenious conclusions are perplexing to many outstanding biblical scholars. Heinrich Schneider recently confirmed that Ezr 10:6 is the reason why he and others favor the priority of Nehemiah over Ezra. Significant, however, is his final conclusion: "Überzeugt bin ich immer noch nicht."²⁷ To this may be added the judgment of R. de Vaux: "Je ne suis toujours pas convaincu."²⁸ Besides the "I-am-not-yet-convinced" attitude of some scholars there is outright rejection of this hypothesis by others.²⁹

1. It is significant that this Jehohanan, son of Eliashib, appears without a specific title. In another passage, Neh 13:4, Eliashib is explicitly classified as "the priest," i.e., a common or ordinary priest. But in Neh 12:10, 11 Jehohanan (variant Jonatan), son of Eliashib, is a high priest and as such is listed in the high-priestly genealogy while appearing also in ch. 12:22, 23, the list of high-priestly succession. Furthermore Eliashib is mentioned as the father of the high priest Jehoiada.³⁰ This leads to our first conclusion that the biblical record distinguishes between two "sets" of Jehohanan ben Eliashib—one of which consists of common priests while the other set consists of high priests. An historical support for this inference comes from Josephus who consistently mentions the position or title of all persons of importance in his accounts. He accords the title of high priest without exception to Joiakim, Eliashib, Jehoiada, and Jehohanan, as well as to Jaddua,³¹ but when he refers to Eliashib and his son Jehohanan of the Ezr 10 story he omits the title.³² Scholars have taken cognizance of this distinction, namely that the difference in rank is also an indication of the difference in families. Kittel made the following observation with reference to Neh 13:4-7: "Eljaschib ist schwerlich der Hohepriester dieses Namens, sondern der Oberaufseher über die zahlreichen für die Privat-

²⁷ Heinrich Schneider, "Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia," *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, ed. Friedrich Nötscher (Bonn, 1959), p. 75.

²⁸ R. de Vaux, *RB*, 63 (1956), 423-427.

²⁹ Rudolph, pp. 67-71.

³⁰ Neh 12:10, 11; 12:23; 13:28.

³¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI, §§ 121, 158, 297, 300, 302, 306, 322.

³² *Ibid.*, § 147.

opfer u. dgl. dienenden Räume."³³ Rudolph is even more emphatic: "Der Priester Eljaschib, dem die Tempelmagazine unterstanden, hat mit dem Hohepriester gleichen Namens (3:1, 20 f; 12:10, 22) nichts zu tun, sonst hätte ihm Nehemia den Hohepriestertitel nicht vorenthalten (vgl. auch Esr 10:6)."³⁴

2. The distinction in rank is closely related to the difference in office. Eliashib as high priest was the religious head of the post-exilic Jewish community, while according to Neh 13:4 the other Eliashib was merely the guardian of the temple chambers. Bowman in commenting on the complications resulting from an incorrect identification of the priest Eliashib in Neh 13:4-7 with the high priest Eliashib says: "It would be unusual for the high priest to do the limited work of superintending temple cells, a task more appropriate for a minor official. Furthermore, it would be strange for one who favored Nehemiah and helped in his work to turn suddenly to support his foes."³⁵

3. A third point is the difference in family relationship. Some interpreters in support of Van Hoonacker conclude that since in Neh 12:23 *ben* is used in a case of grandfather-grandson relationship, it has also to be thus understood in Esz 10:6.³⁶ But the situations are different. In Esz 10:6 only two persons are involved without reference to any other third name; thus *ben* must be translated as "son." Neh 12:23 serves only to fix a point of time for the registration of the Levites. Therefore, this text does not intend to establish a family relationship, a genealogical sequence, or the high-priestly succession which had already been stated twice in vs. 11 and 22. Thus, the use of *ben*, "son" for "descendant" for this grandfather-grandson relationship (Jehohanan, son, i.e., descendant or grandson of Eliashib the high priest) is correct and in agreement with the customs of that period.³⁷

Thus far three basic differences exclude the identification of the high-priestly Jehohanan-Eliashib "set" (of Neh 3:1, 20, 21;

³³ Rudolf Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III (Stuttgart, 1929), 646.

³⁴ Rudolph, pp. 203, 204.

³⁵ Bowman, p. 805.

³⁶ Bowman, p. 654; V. Pavlovski, "Die Chronologie der Tätigkeit Esdras," *Biblica*, 38 (1957), 292.

³⁷ Emil G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, Conn., 1953), pp. 108, 298.

12:10, 11, 22, 23) found in the Aramaic papyri, Cowley Nos. 30 and 31,³⁸ with the ordinary priests of Ezr 10:6:

1. the difference in rank and title;
2. the difference in office;
3. the difference in family relationship.

Since the ninth objection is based upon an incorrect identification of persons of accidentally like names, Van Hoonacker's "most important evidence" proves to be invalid. A discussion of the chronological implications follows in a subsequent section.

Objection Ten. This objection reads as follows:

The papyrus mentioning the high priest Jehohanan, contemporary of Ezra, also indicates that the power of Samaria then was in the hands of the sons of Sanballat, who was apparently an old man, rather than in his own, since he personally had been the active opponent of Nehemiah (Neh 2:10; 4:1, 2; 6:1, 2).³⁹

In this objection Van Hoonacker creates an artificial and non-historic contemporaneity of Ezra with Sanballat on the basis of the preceding refuted assumption. If this prior link in his argument is removed, the subsequent conclusion naturally collapses.

Objections Eight, Eleven and Twelve. These objections, and by implication also Objection Nine, are centered around some contemporaries of Ezra. Since Van Hoonacker does not limit himself to a general statement but also mentions specific names, we are in a position to test his claims.

In his Objection Eight he says:

No members of the families that returned with Ezra (Ezr 8: 1-20) can be identified with certainty in the list of those who built the wall of Jerusalem with Nehemiah. Hashabiah (Neh 3:17; Ezr 8:19, 24) and Meshullam (Neh 3:4, 30; 6:18; Ezr 8:16) are too common to identify, and it is obvious that the Davidic Hattush son of Shecaniah (Ezr 8:21) is not Hattush son of Hashabneiah (Neh 3:10).⁴⁰

To these names he adds the priests Jozabad, and Meremoth, the son of Uriah, in Objections Eleven and Twelve.

The biblical record states that among the Levites who were urged to join Ezra's caravan were found "a man of discretion, . . . namely Sherebiah, . . . also Hashabiah and with him Jeshaiiah of

³⁸ Cowley, pp. 108-114.

³⁹ Bowman, p. 562.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

the sons of Merari" (Ezr 8:18, 19 RSV). These two Levites occupied prominent positions. Before the caravan left its camp at Ahava, 12 priests and 12 Levites under the leadership of the two named Levites, Sherebiah and Hashabiah, were commissioned to safeguard the gold, silver, offerings, and vessels for the Jerusalem temple (Ezr 8:24). Under Nehemiah, Hashabiah the Levite had become "ruler of half the district of Keilah" by the time he repaired the wall of Jerusalem. It indicates that he had been active for several years in Judea before 444 and thus had become a civic leader. Again, Hashabiah and Sherebiah were the two Levites who signed the covenant according to Neh 10:9, 11, 12. In Nehemiah's list of post-exilic priests and Levites they appear once more together with a chronological annotation: "These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshuah son of Jozadak and in the days of . . . Ezra the scribe."⁴¹ It is by no means accidental that these Levites are in nearly every instance mentioned together in regard to events both before and in 444. Their identification as Ezra's contemporaries during those years demonstrates conclusively that Van Hoonacker's date of 398 is not tenable. How could they be Ezra's travel-companions and fellow-workers in 398, when they were leaders in the Jerusalem community and held public office more than half a century before that date?

Objection Eleven is similar to Objection Eight:

Nehemiah appointed a commission of temple treasurers (Neh 11:16; 13:13) and when Ezra arrived he found a similar one (Ezr 8:33). The priest Jozabad, whom Nehemiah appointed over the outside business of the temple (Neh 11:16), may not be the one of that name functioning in that role in the time of Ezra (Ezr 8:34), but the interval between is proper for him to have been the grandson.⁴²

Again we have to take issue with Van Hoonacker's inaccurate use of biblical sources.

1. The people in Neh 11:16 were not a commission of temple treasurers, but were a group of Levites whom Nehemiah had settled in Jerusalem.

⁴¹ Neh 12:24, 26; for the elimination of "Nehemiah the Governor" cf. Rudolph, p. 195.

⁴² Bowman, p. 562.

2. Jozabad, whom Nehemiah in 444 appointed with others over the outside work of the house of God, was not a priest but a Levite (Neh 11:16).

3. Jozabad was not a member at all of the temple-storehouse treasurers in 432, according to Neh 13:13, the text referred to by Van Hoonacker.

4. The Levite Jozabad was a temple treasurer at Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem in 457 and was, therefore, not appointed by Ezra, and much less by Nehemiah, if Van Hoonacker's date of 398 is followed (Ezr 8:33).

5. Apparently, it was also the Levite Jozabad who assisted Ezra in the reading and targumizing of the law according to Neh 8:7.⁴³ Even if no allowance is made for a correction of the text-sequence, i.e., transferring Neh 8 so that it follows Ezr 10 as it is found in I Esdras, it still demonstrates that Jozabad was a contemporary of Ezra as early as 457 and of Nehemiah from 444 to 432.

The suggestion that there *must* have been another, though fictitious Jozabad, in 398 by papponymy, in order to meet the requirements of the theory, has no biblical or historical foundation. As there is nothing left in this objection to be refuted we may now turn to his twelfth:

Meremoth the son of Uriah was of the family of Koz, which could not authenticate its priestly status in the time of Zerubbabel (Ezr 2:61, 62). He appears as a builder of the wall without priestly title in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:4, 21), assuming a double portion, apparently in youthful enthusiasm. His family doubtless regained its priestly status during Nehemiah's administration, for at Ezra's arrival he is a priest, perhaps an aged man, who received the treasure from Ezra.⁴⁴

According to the traditional sequence Meremoth was a priest in 457 and worked with the priestly group at the rebuilding of the wall (Neh 3:21, 22) in 444. Van Hoonacker's theory creates several new problems. He suggests that Meremoth was reinstated as a priest under Nehemiah about 94 years after the governor's ruling which was to decide the legal status of those priests whose genealogies were doubtful, through the first high priest to be elected at that time (Neh 7:63-65). A delay of almost a century

⁴³ 1 Esd 9:48; Bowman, pp. 736, 737, 777.

⁴⁴ Bowman, p. 562.

is not only very unlikely but it is also disproved by the fact that it was the priest Meremoth who received the treasures from Ezra in 457 B.C. Rowley tried to reconcile Van Hoonacker's views with the biblical records in a unique way. Since his hypothesis requires 398 as the date of Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem, he faces the impossible task of harmonizing their alleged first arrival during that year with their presence and activities in Jerusalem 50 years before that date. Thus, according to Rowley, Meremoth is a man of 67 in 398 when he meets Ezra, but a youthful enthusiast when he accepts a double portion in the repair of the city wall in 444, being a civic leader and priest at the age of 20.⁴⁵ However, the standard minimum age for entering the temple service for the Levites was 30 years.⁴⁶

From this discussion it seems clear that Hashabiah, Sherebiah, Jozabad, and Meremoth appear together at incidents before, during and after the year 444. Since these traveling companions and fellow-workers of Ezra were active in Jerusalem half a century before 398, it convincingly eliminates that year as the date of Ezra's coming to Jerusalem and thus disproves Van Hoonacker's theory of the Nehemiah-Ezra sequence.

On the basis of our present analysis I submit that Van Hoonacker's theory of reversing the Ezra-Nehemiah sequence has been repudiated and should be eliminated.

⁴⁵ Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 158.

⁴⁶ Num 4:3 ff.; R. Abba, "Priests and Levites," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (Nashville, 1962), III, 880.

BOOK REVIEWS

Allegro, John M. *The Chosen People*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972. xiii + 320 pp. \$10.00.

No other people has suffered so much slander and misrepresentation by historians, theologians, and philosophers as the Jews. The defamation continues in Allegro's latest work, *The Chosen People*, a history of the Jews from the period of the Babylonian Exile in the 6th century B.C.E. to the Bar-Kochba revolt of the 2nd century C.E. Allegro develops the theory, of which he already provided a sketch in his *The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross* (1970), that the Hebrew civilization is a reasonable development from the older, cruder Sumerian fertility cults whose supreme god was the sacred mushroom, the *Amanita muscaria*. The ecstatic religious experiences of Judaism cryptically presented in the Bible are ultimately derived from the hallucinogenic drug effects of the *Amanita muscaria* whose original devotees were subjugated and driven underground by the enemies of the mushroom cult.

Beyond his preoccupation with mushroom worshipers, Allegro is concerned with early Jewish origins. The Sabbath and circumcision are, according to him, aspects of a fertility cult which the exiled Jews in Babylon observed as an expression of their imagined tribal-racial memories of Israel's early experiences. The superiority of Yahweh over the gods of other nations developed in response to the continued persecution which threatened to eliminate Jewish group solidarity. The Torah, for the most part a product of the Exile, is viewed as the blueprint of the eventual Jewish dominion over the world. Such a view of history portrays the Maccabees as heinous tyrants, the Pharisees as clannish, the zealots of Masada as knaves and fools, the Romans as innocent, and the Babylonian Jews as responsible for unleashing the pretense for anti-Semitism which henceforth was to blot the pages of history.

The outcome of Allegro's efforts is phenomenal, problematic and frightening. The Jews, not their persecutors, are responsible for the "Jewish problem"; they are being called by Allegro before the bar of public opinion on charges which in their very nature could not be disproved. For it is impossible to answer accusations which either have no basis in fact or are founded on generalizations drawn from a few unrelated actual instances. The author almost exclusively overlooks the importance of the historical sources that he utilizes (e.g., he quotes Dio Cassius in regard to the Bar-Kochba rebellion and acknowledges that the historian's information is not firsthand), and his investigation shifts unashamedly between a scientific, popular, and polemical presentation.

The basic method of Allegro's work leaves much to be desired. One is unimpressed by his curious system of speculative etymology which in the main lacks philological support to arrive at the meaning of Yahweh, messiah, zealot, and other cultic terms where he finds phallic Sumerian fertility symbolism. Hardly does he offer adequate source critical and form critical analysis

of crucial passages. The thesis that Judaism purged from its racial memory all traces of its pristine mushroom beginnings goes unattested and unproved and flies in the face of the biblical taboo against idolatry and Canaanite Baalism. To cite oneself in support of a number of hastily executed statements is indeed speculative and amateurish.

This study by Allegro, who was until recently a lecturer in Old Testament and Inter-Testamental Studies at the University of Manchester, will be criticized as verbose and over-generalized, but it is not without its redeeming features. His theory that there were serious doubts in Jewish attitudes of the time, contra Jewish tradition, towards Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers deserves further consideration. His chapters on John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus represent a convincing description of Jewish despotism. Especially illuminating is his survey of the Herodian period and its plots and counter-plots. There is a generous sprinkling of source material from Josephus, adequate plates, a good but limited bibliography, and no indices of subjects, names, and references.

Our objection to Allegro's findings may be due to innate conservatism which screams at scholarship that attempts to evaluate the ancient Jewish psyche without an honest and accurate understanding of the relationship between the Hebrew Bible and the oral traditions of the Mishnaic period, the chronology of which is the time span of the book under review. Allegro has a right to his opinion, and he has stated fully in a circular manner the grounds on which that judgment rests. But we suspect that a diet of mushrooms is necessary to satisfy the scholarly palate.

Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, California

ZEV GARBER

Aron, Robert. *The Jewish Jesus*. Transl. by A. H. Forsyth and A.-M. de Commaile, and in collaboration with H. T. Allen, Jr. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1971. vii + 183 pp. \$4.95.

Robert Aron, the decorated French writer of history and politics and the author of *Jesus of Nazareth: The Hidden Years* (1960; English ed., 1962), writes on the Jewishness of Jesus as reflected in the Jewish customs, prayers, and rituals he knew in his home, in the synagogue, and in the Temple. Written in a brisk, translucent, and absorbing style that often characterizes a good historical novel, this work could appeal to an audience with little knowledge of Jewish liturgy or with an ignorance of the cultural and religious world of Palestinian Judaism in the time of Jesus. The knowledgeable student and scholar, however, will find the work a gross disappointment. There is no attempt to grasp the origin and history of the noble ideas of liturgy presented. A critical appreciation of the structure and content of the liturgical cycle for the Sabbath, holidays, and weekdays is noticeably lacking. The reader is not exposed to the sources used in the author's recording of historical events in the life of Jesus and of Palestinian Jewry. A summary of the content of a prayer and often its relevance to the contemporary man of faith are given, but technical and scholarly comments are a scarcity. The book abounds in misinterpreted rabbinic sources, mistransliterated Hebrew, anachronisms, and popular ignorance of Jewish religious customs and observances.

It is highly questionable if the tradition of Elijah at the Passover meal, the Bar Mitzvah ritual, and the obligatory daily wearing of a *tallit katan* are found in first-century Judaism. The language of the *Kaddish* is not literary Aramaic (p. 62) but Hebrew-Aramaic, the vernacular of the Jews during the period of the Second Temple. The *Kaddish* in the Jewish service occurs in four different forms (five if one includes the *Kaddish of Renewal* recited at the graveside by the mourner after interment of the deceased), each with a different function, and not one as implied in the text. The author's selection of the *Mourner's Kaddish* as having been recited by Jesus (p. 62) is unfortunate since the original *Kaddish* was a doxology of the messianic hope whose language was derived from the prophets and psalmists and was recited by the teacher at the end of a religious discourse. It had no relation to the prayers and still less to the dead. In asserting that a 1st-century congregational service ended with the *Aleynu*, a prayer proclaiming God as supreme king of the universe and Israel's hope that humanity "on that day" (cf. Ex 15:18; Zec 14:9) will recognize the one God of Israel, the author shows his ignorance of the history of Jewish prayer. It is only since the 14th century that the *Aleynu* was selected to close all public services on weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals. The version of the *Aleynu* cited (p. 63) is from the 14th century and it is essentially the *Aleynu* adoration edited by the Babylonian Amora Rabh in the New Year *Mussaf Amidah* but minus "For they bow down to vanity and emptiness and pray to a god who saves not." Granted that the ideas of the *Aleynu* (*nota bene* there is no reference to the destruction of the Second Temple) are very old, this does not mean that the poem was recited in 1st-century Judea since its composition as acknowledged by most scholars was 3rd-century Babylonia.

On p. 133 the author states, "The Seder itself is followed by readings from the Bible, and by songs, the most popular of which is the 'Song of the Kid,' the *Had Gadya*. It was composed in Aramaic . . . but only written down long after the time of the Second Temple." This may be taken as a typical "factual" understatement made often by Aron. In actuality, the "Song of the Kid" is written in poor Aramaic with a smattering of Hebrew words by an anonymous author of no earlier than the 15th century who modeled his poem after certain types of medieval European folksongs.

One is not at a loss to cite other errors and anachronisms. *Tishri* was not originally the first month of the Jewish year but the seventh. The earliest traditions of *Kabbalat Shabbat* may have begun with Ps 92 (p. 52) but this is not the situation today as claimed by the author. Since the beginning of the 17th century the Inauguration of the Sabbath has begun with Ps 95-99, and 29. These six Psalms, first introduced by Moses Cordovero of Safed, represent the six days of work. The *Amidah* of the Second Temple period consisted of more than six blessings (p. 60). The *Zaddikim* blessing (cf. b. Meg. 17b; benediction number 13 in the *Amidah* of every day) was composed at the start of the 2nd century and could not have been known by Jesus. The *Havdalah* ceremony, parts of the Grace after Meals (*birkat hamazon*), and Blessings on Various Occasions (*birkoth hanehenin*) described in the work were composed later than the period of Jesus and not during or before. On more than one occasion the author instructs with half a truth; this is

a dangerous thing. For example, he mentions that Ps 126 is chanted before the Grace after Meals, but he fails to state that this is only the custom on the Sabbath and holidays when joy is expressed. In other circumstances Ps 137 is recited.

Although specific presentations and arguments in Aron's book must be rejected outright, this volume can serve as a simple anthology of Hebrew prayers which the historical Jesus would have felt at home with, and it provides a convenient summary of Hebrew worship that can grace any inter-faith service. Footnotes are scarce and there are no indices nor bibliography. The work would have been strengthened considerably if the writer had been able to utilize studies in Jewish prayer aside from the excellent study by Dr. Joseph H. Hertz, *The Authorized Prayer Book* (originally published in 1948). Reference to the works of Grant, Oesterley, Dix, Dugmore, Arzt, Kadushin, Idelsohn, Werner, etc., are sorely missed.

Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, California

ZEV GARBER

De Vaux, Roland. *Histoire ancienne d'Israël: des origines à l'installation en Canaan*. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie., 1971. 674 pp. F 100.

Here we have the first of a planned three-volume history of Israel on which the author had been working for some time when sudden death stopped his pen (see the preceding review of R. de Vaux's *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* in *AUSS*, 11[1973], 195-197). Fortunately the first volume was completed and could be published as a posthumous work.

This volume consists of a long Prologue and three parts. The Prologue treats the geography and climate of the Bible lands, and also the culture, archaeology, history, and religion of Canaan and its non-Israelite population from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. to the 13th century B.C. Part 1 deals with the patriarchal period, Part 2 with the Israelite sojourn in Egypt and the Exodus, and Part 3 with the period of the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites.

The author sees a justification for writing a new history of Israel in the appearance of Martin Noth's *Geschichte Israels* (1950; English translation, 1960) and John Bright's *A History of Israel* (1959), two works dealing with the same subject from diametrically opposed viewpoints. For Noth the history of Israel does not begin before Israel's settlement in Canaan; the biblical records about the patriarchal period and the time of the Exodus are no more than traditions about Israel's prehistory. Bright, representing the much more conservative Albright school, allows a much greater degree of historical reliability to these biblical records. De Vaux stands between the two opinions, although he leans more toward the views of Bright than toward those of Noth. He fairly and critically examines all available source material as well as practically every work that has appeared in recent years on the subjects discussed. It is regrettable that the author did not live long enough to see his task completed. Yet, we are grateful to have even this

truncated work which contains a mass of stimulating thoughts and observations.

Andrews University

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Furnish, Victor Paul. *The Love Command in the New Testament*. Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1972. 240 pp. \$6.95.

The author, Professor of NT at Perkins School of Theology, in justifying the publication of this book points to the fact that it is more limited and specialized than James Moffatt's *Love in the New Testament* (London, 1929), Viktor Warnach's *Agape: Die Liebe als Grundmotiv der neutestamentlichen Theologie* (Düsseldorf, 1951), and Ceslaus Spicq's *Agape dans le Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 1958-59). It concentrates on the love ethic, the love command rather than on all aspects of love. Another reason given for its justification is that these either need to be updated or "are not sufficiently critical in method to avoid what many Protestant and Roman Catholic interpreters would now regard to be an unjustified homogenization of differing perspectives and emphases within the New Testament itself" (p. 19).

Furnish works from the assumption gained through the results of form and redaction criticism that the different NT writers have their own contexts and therefore their own differing emphases and interpretations of the love command. By considering the full context, Furnish seeks to understand precisely the meaning of the love command for each writer.

He discusses separately each section of the NT beginning with Jesus' commandments to love, followed by the settings in the Synoptic Gospels, Paul, the Johannine literature, and the remaining books of the NT. While different contexts have led to different emphases and interpretations, the significant thing is how central the love command is in the NT. However, this is not so clear in the Pastoral Epistles and 2 Peter, where love is seen as one among other Christian virtues, and James, where it does not play its distinctive role. One cannot always be too dogmatic, however, about the presence or absence of the centrality of the love command or other major theological doctrines in a particular writing. The particular purpose of the writing will determine what will be presented and what will be emphasized.

After his conclusion, the author presents four considerations from his study which touch upon contemporary discussions of Christian ethics. The most important of these is the first: NT commendation of love is formulated in a *command* to love. Thus love is not spontaneous but must be constantly called forth since it is man's will and not his emotions. Love is fulfilled in deeds of mercy and kindness. "Practical love" is the only love that can be commanded. Love is not the "compendium" (Murray) of all the law or its "distillation" (Fletcher) but "the criterion and measure by which the law itself . . . is to be judged" (p. 200). On this point, he opposes Fletcher and the "new morality" proponents because they assimilate the "love principle" "so far into the decision-making process itself that it loses its force as the single command under which that whole process is to be constantly judged and redeemed" (p. 204).

Furnish has added an appendix treating the various words for love in the NT. Besides the expected thing, he points out that *agapan* is not always used in the distinctively NT way and, on the other hand, *philein* is used more often with the meaning associated with *agapan*. Indices of passages and authors are included. It would have been very helpful if the author had included a bibliography.

This is a careful and skillfully written work. The author is very judicious with the evidence and fair to opposing views, but nevertheless forthright in presenting his own positions. It will remain the standard work on this topic for a long time to come.

Andrews University

SAKAE KUBO

Gilkey, Langdon B. *Religion and the Scientific Future*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970. x + 193 pp. \$5.95.

The purpose of the book, which represents a series of lectures given at various places, is to seek for a whiff of the transcendent from within the *activity* of the scientist. With the dominating influence of science in Western culture there has come a progressive retreat from reference to the transcendent in our thinking. The advance of science has involved the debunking of the myths about the gods, and the development of historical science has resulted in the dehistoricization of what in the myths, couched as they often are in the language of history, time and space, appeared to former ages as historical.

Does this mean that the symbolic language of religion, which forms the basis of the theologian's discourse, represents something that has now faded from the cultural grasp of modern man? Does man's "coming of age" mean not only that he no longer creates myths and symbols but that he cannot understand the process at all, since there is no common ground in his experience with the myth-maker of the past? Are there no longer any spots in his total experience where the talk of ultimate reality or values is relevant?

Gilkey's point is that such language is indispensable if we are to do proper justice to the concerns of the scientist. Such theological elements are to be looked for, not in the conclusions of science (where the liberals found them) but in the *activity* of scientific inquiry. Specifically the scientist is concerned for truth, objectivity and rationality. Such concern is of the nature of a commitment, an "unconditioned affirmation" that truth is to be found and that truth is of essential importance. Science is not the impersonal activity of an uncommitted intellect. The scientist has a passion to know, and the obligation to make judgments according to adequate criteria.

Once the scientist is distinguished as inquirer after truth, and as engaged in the process of considering the application of the knowledge he has, we are in two quite different spheres. To raise the question of the use of the knowledge at the scientist's command is to enter the realm of moral discussion. Here traditional discussions become relevant, for example the discussion concerning man's freedom. So the way is open for theological discourse. As man involved in the application of knowledge to human problems, the scientist can become the subject of a discussion about man.

What about the future? The irony of the situation of modern man is that

he cannot master the use to which his technological knowledge will be put. So when he thinks of the future he necessarily thinks in mythical terms. He must consider man's corruption and his irrationality. These themes are the concerns of the theologian, whose symbols may now take on a new meaning. When so much of the fashion is to dub modern man as "secular" "come of age" (meaning man's imperviousness to the transcendent in any shape or form and so the irrelevance of any theological talk to him), it is salutary to be reminded that such expressions are only clichés. If they give the impression of man's mastery of his fate they are grossly misleading. It is a false step to move from mastery of nature to mastery of the future.

Gilkey has found the transcendent in the very heart of modern man's central activity of knowing. If this fort can be taken, others can also. Gilkey holds that because it is science which has produced the 20th-century culture in which we all share, this is the decisive fort. The assumption behind the lectures is that if one can get at modern man at the point where he appears most secular, and show that at this point, within this activity, transcendent categories are meaningful, one has, so to speak, broken the back of the claim to total secularization.

The book is a most welcome example of apologetic theology. The method is not new, but the book has a freshness derived from the crispness of the style.

Of the 180 pages of text, 48, finely printed ones, comprise footnotes. These set the questions considered within the context of contemporary theological discussion, and also provide in adequate length, treatment of those philosophers of science upon whom Gilkey has drawn. But, why must publishers put such notes at the end of the book? One wonders why publishers are not required to distinguish between "footnotes" and "endnotes" and make some sort of compensation for the inconvenience caused by the latter.

Nottingham, England

EDWARD W. H. VICK

Goedicke, Hans, ed. *Near Eastern Studies: In Honor of William Foxwell Albright*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1971. xxvi + 474 pp. \$15.00.

On September 19, 1971, William Foxwell Albright, the world's leading scholar in ancient Near Eastern studies, died. The book under review is a *Festschrift* consisting of 35 papers written by leading scholars of Biblical and Near Eastern studies offered as a tribute to Albright on his 80th birthday. It now stands as a monument to the brilliant mind, industry, competency, achievement, vision and devotion of one who succeeded in many areas in which others have failed. After an opening personal appreciation by W. Phillips, the articles, in English, German, and French, deal with the wide range of Albright's lifelong scholarly interests in biblical history, religion, linguistics, philosophy, archaeology, text criticism, Semitics, and so on.

Several essays are devoted to Hebrew grammar and syntax. F. I. Andersen (Berkeley) presents a description of the Hebrew passive and ergative in light of transformational grammar and comparative linguistics. M. Dahood (Rome)

assumes that the author of Is 52:13 to 53:12 was a diaspora Jew living in Phoenicia since a preponderance of Phoenician elements including *scriptio defectiva*, third person singular suffix -y, morphology, and collocation exist in The Fourth Servant Song. A. Van Selms (Pretoria), reflecting on the formation of the feminine in Semitic languages, observes that the classification of substantives and verbs into gender came about after man solved the basic problem of survival: after he had learned to raise cattle, to plant, to sow, to harvest, to protect himself and his crops, and to build fortified places of dwelling. T. O. Lambdin (Cambridge, Mass.) argues in favor of a single origin for the definite article in Northwest Semitic and points out the restrictions in developing such an hypothesis.

The articles by H. Bardtke (Leipzig), G. Fohrer (Erlangen), E. Hammer-shaimb (Aarhus), and H. Ringgren (Uppsala) attempt to elucidate the problems of cult, myth, legend, theology, and history associated with the religion of ancient Israel.

H. B. Huffmon (Madison, N.J.) revives the famous theory of F. Delitzsch that the name of Yahweh is found among Amorite personal names. A. S. Kapelrud (Oslo), after discussing different schools of thought about the identity of the Suffering Servant, concludes that the message of the Servant Songs of salvation, deliverance, and comfort to a doomed people is characteristic of the Second Isaiah. New insights regarding textual criticism of Is are provided by K. Elliger (Tübingen), who centers on Second Isaiah, and G. R. Driver (Oxford), who provides a learned lexical note on Is 6:1.

The animosities between Israel-Judah and two perennial hostile allies. Damascus and Edom, are discussed by J. M. Myers (Gettysburg, Pa.) and J. A. Soggin (Rome). The former analyzes Edom and Judah against the background of the 6th-5th centuries, and the latter traces the problem between Syria and Israel in the Hebrew thought of the 9th-8th centuries.

O. Eissfeldt (Halle) comments on the Psalter as a source of history, and D. N. Freedman (Ann Arbor, Mich.) provides a structural analysis of Psalm 137. The etymological investigation of the king names Rehoboam and Jeroboam by J. J. Stamm (Bern) can be read with further profit against his previous essays on the subject. M. Greenberg (Jerusalem) continues his researches into Exodus by commenting on the redaction of the Plague narrative.

A. Jepsen (Greifswald) writes on Elijah as a prophet of Yahweh. M. A. Beek (Amsterdam) presents a discussion of Joshua as a messiah figure. W. Zimmerli (Göttingen) surveys the problems connected with the institution of the first-born and Levitism in the exilic and post-exilic biblical literature. Prophecies of the messianic king and Israel's role among the nations discussed by J. Coppens (Louvain) in his *Le messianisme royal* (1969) are further enhanced by his discussion of the remarks about the messianic king recorded in Mic 4:14 and 5:1-5.

The honoree's interest in Assyriology and in things Aramaic has been acknowledged by a number of articles. J. A. Fitzmyer (Bronx, N.Y.) reopens a discussion of an Aramaic marriage contract from Elephantine (AP 15) first published in 1906 by A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley as *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan*. H. Donner (Tübingen) comments on several Aramaic letters from Hermopolis. W. G. Lambert (Birmingham) interprets the text of

the Converse Tablet (named after a Colonel Converse of the U.S. Army, possessor of the tablet before it passed into Albright's hands), a hitherto unknown Sumerian liturgical text with an Akkadian translation for the cult of Nabu. R. J. Tournay (Jerusalem) restudies the eight-line inscription of Anam, King of Uruk and successor of Gilgamesh, first acknowledged in 1893. J. C. Greenfield (Jerusalem) accumulates parallels in ideas, idioms, phrases, and syntax from Phoenician inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible to strengthen an accepted belief of his that a common poetic and rhetorical tradition engulfs the ancient Northwest Semitic world.

The cursive Edomite, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Minaean Tell el-Kheleifeh inscriptions from the 7th to the 4th centuries are the subject of a study by the late N. Glueck (Cincinnati). S. Moscati (Rome) evaluates recent discoveries in Punic art found in Italy, and S. Segert (Los Angeles) suggests alterations and innovations of Hebrew Bible textual criticism in the light of Qumran. M. Pope (New Haven, Conn.) questions the interpretation of C. F. A. Schaeffer and C. Viroilleaud of a scene depicted on a drinking mug from Ugarit, and presents a strong case that it represents the Canaanite myth II AB.

K. Galling (Tübingen) addresses himself to the varied traditions connected with books and writing in ancient Near Eastern history and culture.

J. Bowman (Victoria) concludes that the unnamed festival of John 5:1 is Purim, based on a more precise understanding of the Samaritan liturgical year and traditions about the Samaritan minor feast of Zimmuth Pesah.

Finally, F. C. Fensham (Stellenbosch) offers notes relating to "father and lord" and "son and servant" as terminology in biblical *berith* forms and ancient Near Eastern treaties, adding to the conclusions of D. J. McCarthy, F. Vattioni, W. L. Moran, H. B. Huffmon, and others.

The volume does not contain an index to subjects nor references to scriptures and other ancient writings. Appended to each essay are generous footnotes. Plates or drawings accompany the articles by Galling, Glueck, Lambert, Moscati, Pope, and Tournay.

Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, California

ZEV GARBER

Hammershaimb, Erling. *The Book of Amos*. Transl. by John Sturdy. New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1970. 148 pp. \$8.50.

Since World War II a considerable number of monographs, commentaries, and articles have been published about the prophet Amos in Hebrew, English, German and other European languages. These publications, written for the most part by competent biblical scholars, have exhausted almost every conceivable problem of Amos both in literary and in higher criticism. Among the Amos studies which stand out as a brilliant exposition, succinct and clearly expressed, continually emphasizing points which are neglected by others, is this little Danish commentary originally published in 1946 (1967*), and now updated, altered by the author, and translated into felicitous English by John Sturdy, Dean of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Hammershaimb, professor at the University of Aarhus, Denmark, has

written his book for the theology student who is beginning his study of prophetic literature. The work contains a short introduction on the importance of Amos, the book and the book's author, while the remainder is occupied with essential questions of text and grammar. Hammershaimb has succeeded in packing a surprising amount of information into each page of his book. However, he largely omits references to the views of other scholars when they differ from his views. He thus fails to guide the beginning student to a variety of views on Amos, although he gallantly admits to failure in his understanding of some extraordinarily difficult passages. He accepts the complete integrity of the work including the judgments directed against Tyre, Edom, and Judah (Amos 1:9, 10; 1:11, 12; 2:4, 5), the doxologies (Amos 4:13; 5:8, 9; 9:5, 6), and the concluding promise of hope (Amos 9:11-15). He refuses to worship slavishly the sacred cow of Bible critics, the emendated Masoretic text sometimes called the *Biblia Hebraica*, but allows himself to make a few critical alterations mainly in regard to vocalic changes. His understanding of rhythm in Hebrew poetry as regulated by the given subject matter is freer than what is generally accepted by biblical scholars. The book is endowed with a select, contemporary bibliography without neglecting the valuable works of past scholars.

Hammershaimb's exegesis reveals that a conservative outlook, in the sense of a high evaluation of the authenticity of the Masoretic Amos, is by no means contrary to a critical investigation. It offers a fine exegetical methodology and form-critical approach which enables the author to present the most probable translation and interpretation without resort to wanton textual emendation. The commentary is sweeping and surprisingly up-to-date; source material from Ras Shamra and elsewhere is incorporated in the author's remarks. His analysis of Amos' speeches and his mission to Bethel and Samaria shows a definite measure of originality and independence.

The majority of modern commentators view Amos 9:8-15 as secondary because the authentic Amos brought no oracle of hope since there is no ground for divine salvation in the society castigated by him. Hammershaimb takes issue with this position and points out that Amos could have had a faith in a brighter future for his people, though it is true that he has consistently and firmly expressed himself in the opposite sense. By citing conclusive evidence from the pre-exilic literature of Hosea (Hos 2:14-23; 3:14), Micah (Mic 3:12; 4:5), Isaiah (Is 9:11), and Jeremiah, in whose books statements of justice and mercy alternate throughout, the author demonstrates that grace and mercy are properties of Yahweh's nature as are hatred of sin, jealousy, and holiness. He posits the belief that the *Gattung* of judgment establishes that Yahweh must and would punish the people for their sins *but* will turn aside his decree and demonstrate divine pardon if Israel acknowledges its errors, shows remorse, undergoes repentance, and resolves solemnly not to repeat the offence. Furthermore, the eschatological references in Amos do not deal with the end of the present world order, or of history, but rather the coming of Yahweh in judgment if the rulers of the Northern Kingdom do not amend their reckless violation of the covenant and their unjust cruelty to the afflicted and the destitute. Alas, the tribes of Israel did not heed the word of Yahweh, and his promises to them conditioned by the covenant abruptly

came to an end in 722 B.C.

The most speculative part of the book is that in which Hammershaimb attempts to reestablish the mentality of the historical Amos. There is no doubt that something of Amos' personality comes across in the book that bears his name, but it is doubtful if we can reconstruct a biography to the extent here attempted.

Altogether this work of Hammershaimb follows the style of his other learned works. The proposed scale of the book does not enable him to discuss the issues at length, but it provides a sound basis of interpretation from which fresh thinking can be done.

Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, California

ZEV GARBER

Hoehner, Harold W. *Herod Antipas*. "Society for New Testament Studies; Monograph Series," Vol. 17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972. xvi + 437 pp. 1 map. \$22.00.

The work under discussion is a reworked doctoral dissertation accepted in 1968 by the University of Cambridge. Its origin as a piece of thorough research is internally betrayed first by the wealth of footnotes—almost 2000—which cover approximately 125 pages, or more than one-third of the text; and second, by a bibliography of 46 pages.

Hoehner's *Herod Antipas* is the first scholarly, book-length treatment of the sovereign who killed John the Baptist and under whom Jesus lived. Other forerunners of this work have been either chapter-length studies of this king in connection with publications dealing with all the Herods, or popular books such as those by V. E. Harlow (1954) and G. Schofield (1960).

The book is divided into three main parts, to which are added ten appendices, a bibliography, and indices. The first part deals with Antipas' youth and struggle for the kingdom; the second with the geography, population, and economy of his realm; and the third with the history of his 43-year reign. In this last part, the longest in the book, much emphasis and space have been devoted to Antipas' dealings with John the Baptist, Pontius Pilate, and Jesus Christ. The author examines the available evidence—Josephus, the Bible, classical statements, church fathers, etc.—from every conceivable angle, and brings into play each proposed theory that has been voiced in recent years. In most cases, after thoroughly examining all pros and cons, he generally leans toward acceptance of the gospel writers' narratives. However, Josephus, his main source for Antipas, does not always fare so well, and Hoehner is in most cases probably right when he questions Josephus' historical accuracy.

The appendices deal with a number of subjects in greater detail than was possible in the text. Hoehner, in the first appendix, isolates six different wills of Herod the Great, while other scholars usually recognize only three or four. Appendix III treats one of the most tantalizing and fascinating subjects of ancient history, the size of the population of Galilee and Perea, the two parts of Antipas' tetrarchy. Along with every sensible modern scholar he rejects

Josephus' figure of three million inhabitants for Galilee, and finally opts for about 200,000, or approximately 266 people per square mile. This figure seems reasonable. The population of Perea he estimates to have been between 125,00 and 135,000 in Antipas' time, which means that Antipas ruled over a realm of an estimated one-third of a million subjects. Several appendices are devoted to the thorny problems of chronology. Here, Hoehner will not find too many scholars who will agree with all his dates, especially with those given for John the Baptist's death—A.D. 31 or 32—and Jesus' trial and crucifixion—A.D. 33.

Having done no checking, I cannot say how reliable are the thousands of references which are presented in the footnotes and in the bibliography. Reading through the book, I was impressed with the lack of sense-destroying typographical errors which mar so many scholarly books. On p. 239, n. 2, however, a small but serious error was noted. In line 2 the second *of* should be an *or* in order to give meaning to the statement made.

Andrews University

SIEGFRIED H. HORN

Jenson, Robert W. *The Knowledge of Things Hoped For: The Sense of Theological Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. 243 pp. \$5.75.

The problem of the meaning, as distinct from the truth, of theological speech, is the peculiar and most radical problem of the theologian of our time. Jenson's concise, lucid, and scholarly treatment of this problem is most welcome. The "problem about God" has two roots: (1) the "intellectual policy" introduced by modern science, of demanding that any meaningful assertion about the world be open to correction by appeal to events, and the relation of assertions about God to this language-policy (p. 18); (2) the commitment of historical science to the idea of relativity. "It is the nature of historical study to put everything into a particular place in history" (p. 20). That involves that statements purporting to be universal are put in their place.

Jenson's study is both historical and systematic. A descriptive account is given of Origen's theology and the usage of the concept of "image" within it as the key to the solution of *his* problem—to preserve the distance between two levels of reality, and, at the same time, to show the possibility of contact between them. Without this meeting of the levels there could be no talk about God. By means of the image concept Origen can bridge the gap between being and non-being, God and man. But Christ is no Gnostic figure for Origen; the "image" spans the temporal as well as the ontological order. The history of Jesus Christ, to which witness is given in Scripture (to the interpretation of which Origen devoted his primary attention), is thus the clue to the future. The Law is a shadow of what is to come. The Gospel "teaches a shadow of the true mysteries of Christ" (p. 53). Origen does not have to be made into a theologian of hope. He simply needs to be claimed as one.

The claim about Thomas Aquinas is quite explicit: his language is eschatological in that it posits transcendence, and looks to the *eschaton* for the verification of its sentences. Since the knowledge of the essence of God

is denied to us in this life, fulfillment awaits in the future. Meanwhile our language attempts to specify ways in which God is not. The problem is to find words appropriate on both sides of the analogy between the creatures and God.

This is the problem neither Origen nor Thomas solved. In this book, description is followed by criticism and then reconstruction. The treatment in each case is competent, and leads to consideration of the future as providing clues for the alleviating of the problems raised: To speak of God means to look on the world as an utterance, "the complex kind of utterance we call a drama" (p. 122), within which the story of Jesus provides the clue to the future, since in him the future has happened. So a sort of eschatological verification emerges. Critical conversation with Bultmann, Ebeling, Fuchs, Ott, Moltmann and Pannenberg provides the background for Jenson's own interesting law-gospel dialectic, which requires the intervention of God for its resolution.

When the ongoing discussion in contemporary theology looks very much confused and when the confusion appears to be not simply between proponents of the same approach, but between differing ways of approach, it is gratifying to find a competent suggestion of possible meeting points. But as Jenson himself suggests, to have a future-oriented perspective does not commit one to "Theology of Hope" in what have now become its recognizable (and perhaps stereotyped) forms. That is another virtue of this book. Theology of hope will show itself to have a future and may itself be hopeful if it can show itself to be versatile. That, too, is to be hoped. Jenson's book will provide the background for any serious future discussions about the theme, and will show the way for further work which he envisaged but could not undertake in this work. No doubt, prospective doctoral candidates will find his historical treatments both sufficient and exemplary.

Notttingham, England

EDWARD W. H. VICK

Lyonnet, Stanislas, S. J., and Leopold Sabourin, S. J. *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice: A Biblical and Patristic Study*. "Analecta Biblica," 48. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970. xvi + 351 pp. \$6.50.

The present work is a composite of three separate pieces, Lyonnet's *De Peccato et Redemptione* (1957), translated by Fidelis Buck, his article "Péché" in *DBSup* (1964), and Sabourin's *Redemption Sacrificielle* (1961), which is presented in an abridged form in English. The latter serves as editor for the whole.

Part I deals with the idea of sin as viewed in the OT, Judaism, and the various sections of the NT. This closely worked out study, as well as Part II, is marred at times by the awkwardness of the translation such as "created man to his image" (p. 5), "preludes" used as a verb (p. 9), and "what rejoices the father" for "what causes the father to rejoice" (p. 37).

Part II is a treatment of the terminology of redemption including "salva-

tion," "liberation," "purchasing or acquisition," and "expiation." Lyonnet's main objective is to show that redemption does not necessarily imply purchase or price paid to someone but refers to liberation such as that of Israel from Egypt. "Purchase" and "liberation" are used in such a way that the latter can be considered as a definition of the former. The idea of purchase and acquisition emphasizes the supreme sacrifice and the tremendous cost to the Son and the Father in making this liberation possible. Lyonnet shows quite quickly also that the word "expiation" in the Bible does not have the pagan idea of propitiation, although "by removing sin expiation removes what provokes God's anger" (p. 122). Sin, not God, is the object of the verb "to expiate." In fact, God is the subject of the verb. In an extended discussion of Rom 3:25, he opts for "propitiatory" as a translation of *hilasterion*. It is questionable, however, to interpret the propitiatory as Christ on the basis that (1) it was the place where God communicated with his people; (2) Christ is the Word; (3) he it is "in whom God in these last days has spoken to us" (Heb 1:2).

In Part III Sabourin deals historically with the various interpretations of the word "sin" in 2 Cor 5:21: "For our sakes he made him to be sin who knew nothing of sin, so that in him we might become the justice of God." Three major interpretations have been set forth: (1) "made sin" means that Christ was treated as a sinner, bore the guilt and wrath of sin, was the very personification of sin; (2) God made Christ to be "sin," according to the incarnational view, happened when God made him assume human nature; (3) sin equals "sacrifice for sin." The first view that of the early Reformers and is generally maintained by evangelical Protestants. The second was made popular by Augustine, though he combined it with the third view. Sabourin favors the third view, but the implications drawn by him would be difficult for many Protestants to accept. On the basis that this passage reflects the Suffering Servant context, he feels that the idea of imputation and redemption as juridical and forensic must be excluded. He attempts to carry through this conception of sacrificial redemption throughout the NT. His view that "the greater and more perfect tent" in Heb 9:11, 12 is the new liturgy of redemption is questionable.

Part IV contains an excellent bibliography of sacrifice in the Bible and the ancient Near East.

A composite such as this cannot be treated as a whole since there is no real unity. Sabourin deals with one small aspect, the interpretation of 2 Cor 5:21, while Lyonnet makes a wide-ranging study of many various related ideas. It would have been better to publish Sabourin's section separately as a small monograph. Catholic features are seen in the use of the Apocrypha by Lyonnet and the emphasis on inherent righteousness as against imputed righteousness, and Christ as the representative for mankind as opposed to the substitutionary view, as presented by Sabourin. Nevertheless there is much to learn from both sections, especially from the historical portions provided by Sabourin.

Martin, Malachi. *Three Popes and the Cardinal*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1972. vi + 300 pp. \$7.95.

This book is directly concerned with 20th-century man as an unwitting participant in a fundamental crisis affecting the very form and life of human society as it has been known for some 2000 years. It is Martin's merit to examine and assess that crisis in terms of Roman Catholicism and the Roman Catholic Church as a preponderant part of world Christianity.

The book under review takes as its central springboard a moment in time when one man, a pope, saw emerging in his civilization what all of us see now: that religion in general and Roman Catholicism in particular have not only become detached from the civilization of modern man, but stand outside it. Aware of the changing human condition, John XXIII undertook a "great gamble" with gargantuan faith. He sought an infusion of the Spirit, and eventually failed.

Chronologically, the book spans roughly the generation between the opening of Pius XII's pontificate in 1939 and that of Paul VI at the beginning of the 1970's. All three popes, Pius, John, and Paul, mark the decline and fall of Roman Catholicism as a religious organization. Martin feels a deep distaste for the policies and triumphalist spirit of Pius XII, views Paul VI with a generally sympathetic eye, but deeply loves and admires John XXIII. One man, Augustine Bea, moves through the lives of all three. He was to be the Cardinal.

Confronted with a world torn by disputes, jealousies, fears, and clashing interests, John seeks a suitable means of binding the souls of *all* men closer together. He is held by the vision of a public authority, freely accepted by all, with world-wide power corresponding to the world-wide dimensions of the problems. Led to seek the creation of some dispositive event and convinced of the unique role of the Catholic Church in effecting the creation of such an international authority, he called the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council. Its summoning was John's "charismatic decision."

Thus, in Martin's fascinating analysis there is no room for Archbishop Heenan's interpretation of John XXIII as a "benevolent parish priest," an old-fashioned "garden of the soul" type of Roman pontiff. On the contrary, John's effort was of the nature of a true gamble. He made a desperate bid to achieve the apparently impossible: not to let his Church succumb to the circumambient socio-political evolution, but to launch a new spirit, to cleanse its baptismal waters, so that it would again be a beacon of light on a high hill at the crossroads of the nations. He gambled and he lost. The Spirit did not will to blow his way. The council failed because there was no outpouring of charisma. There was no "Event." Nothing overwhelmingly seized council-participants, council-onlookers, or anybody. Today, John's successor, Pope Paul VI, is paying the price of that lost gamble, governing a religious institution which, before the end of the century, will no longer be recognized as the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church of today, concludes Martin.

This intriguing and puzzling volume is not easy to assess. Martin is a widely read man. His vocabulary is extraordinarily rich. But he is not content simply "to tell it as it was." He seems to be driven by a sort of compulsion to play the prophet. On what evidence, for instance, can he say (p.

141) that "in all probability" Mary Magdalene had "gonorrhoea and syphilis"? It is precisely here that this book offered me the most trouble. History, to be sure, is by necessity interpretive. But how does one determine whether the fascinating narrative was woven from what the author knew had actually happened or from what emerged as the product of a fertile imagination? This is particularly the case with the numerous passages set within quotation marks for which no citation or reference to a source is given. In this respect I find the book lacking when compared with two recent works that cover much the same ground, viz., Carlo Falconi's *The Popes in the Twentieth Century* (1967) and Peter Nichol's *The Politics of the Vatican* (1968), not to mention Edward E. Y. Hales' *Pope John and His Revolution* (1966).

This is not to suggest that Martin should not have written this book. His presence at Rome during the council, his closeness to one of the principal actors in the great drama—Augustine Bea—, and his obvious literary talent constitute genuine credentials. The Irish-born former Jesuit's penetrating analysis of the current cultural and religious malaise is a carefully structured and skillfully written account of the "interim pope" who turned out to be one of the most appealing figures ever to wear the "fisherman's ring." In my judgment, the chapters "The Changing Dimension in the United States" (pp. 99-111) and "The Ethics of Power" (pp. 135-158) should become required reading for everyone concerned about the grave moral and social ills that now engulf all mankind. In writing his impressions, the author has rendered a distinct service to all those interested in the practice of the Roman Catholic religion. His book, however, may be best described as a memoir, the contribution of a witness and, to a minor degree, of a participant in contemporary ecclesiastical history.

Andrews University

RAOUL DEDEREN

Rosenbloom, Joseph R. *The Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll: A Literary Analysis*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1970. xiii + 88 pp. \$4.50.

Of the biblical documents found at the ruins of Qumran since 1947, the complete scroll of Is known as St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll found in Cave I is the most important. The present study is addressed primarily, and for the most part effectively, to the beginning student, but it is of considerable value to the specialist, since the work raises important questions shared by other scholars but interpreted differently by the author. The short volume condenses and clarifies ideas which have already been expressed in the writings of B. J. Roberts, P. W. Skehan, and E. Y. Kutscher. It is concerned with the literary relationship of 1QIs* with the MT Is not with the objective of restoring the original oracles of Is but to evaluate the knotty problems related to the textual transmission of biblical manuscripts. Influenced by the scholarship of M. Greenberg, M. Burrows, and E. Würthwein, the author observes that a given biblical MS went through three definitive

stages of development in addition to the oral stage: the selection of letters; the introduction of *matres lectiones*; and the establishment of systems of vocalization for secular and liturgical use. The Masoretes worked to stabilize the renditions and to uphold the authentic received text but vulgar readings reflecting the theological, linguistic, and social nuances of the scribe and his community developed. The presence of a number of variants of the Is text is not surprising since all the witnesses to it are removed from the original source in time. Furthermore, the author questions seriously the preservation of an original copy of the Is collection and posits the belief that the various academies of Masoretes preserved divergent master-texts. Thus a number of textual differences between the IQIs^a and MT Is are understood in the light of a different proto text. From another angle, Rosenbloom submits a theoretical model which can explain the similarities and differences between MT Is and IQIs^a. Succinctly summarized, the model suggests that both traditions are recensions of earlier text-forms. The MT Is reflecting a classical Hebrew text was revered as the official text, and in time was no longer comprehended by the people, thereby causing popular texts to emerge of which the IQIs^a is an important example. His basis for this observation depends on orthographical, morphological, and lexicographical evidence collated, arranged, and analyzed chapter by chapter in the first section of the book. Included in the second section are statements on the intent and purpose of the IQIs^a and its relationship to other variants.

It will be seen at once that the conclusions reached are of great importance and interest; whether they are completely satisfactory is a question which different readers will doubtless answer differently. One can easily agree that the IQIs^a is a closely related interpretive copy of MT Is, that theological, homiletical, and grammatical tendencies of scribes are responsible for variations, that the major objective of requiring a fence about the MT whose construction began shortly after the destruction of the second temple in 70 c.e. was to maintain a unified *textus receptus*, and that the *Sitz im Leben* of the IQIs^a was to make Is understandable to a cultural and social milieu of a first century audience which no longer communicated in biblical Hebrew. In this respect IQIs^a can be viewed properly alongside the other non-masoretic forms of the Bible, including the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Targumim, the LXX, the Peshitta, the Vetus Latina, and the other ancient translations. The author's concern with the essential questions of text, grammar, and exegesis makes his chapters a useful introduction to a literary study of the Is copies. His treatment of the causes of error in the IQIs^a arising from faulty eyesight, memory, and judgment, in addition to intentional theological changes, is learned and judicious. Most impressive, perhaps, is Rosenbloom's ability to cite for the reader the common and not-so-common pitfalls of Bible transmission. For example, in his exegesis of Is 1:3 and Is 4:2 where the poetic sense of the passages has been disturbed in IQIs^a, the author explains that this is characteristic of the Qumran scribe who by inserting commentary into a difficult poetic section, in contrast to prose narrative which is less difficult to comprehend, could often make the passage understandable. The possibility that the scribe inserted the explanatory phrases due to his ignorance of Hebrew poetry, as is asserted by most scholars,

is not ruled out entirely by Rosenbloom.

Within the requirements of the author's stated aims the work is well researched. The astute reader will become conscious, however, of a certain unevenness in the methodology employed. There is a strong tendency to view the text and language of the IQIs^a in the light of the MT without sufficient exposure to other variants, particularly the Peshitta and Targumim. Rosenbloom's generous use of the BHK must be suspected by contemporary scholars who echo Goshen-Gottstein's famous quip: ". . . that no single publication has had such a detrimental effect on the lower criticism of the Hebrew Bible as Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*" (cf. *JBL*, 69 [1950], 153). On more than one occasion the author's presentation lacks clarity. For example, in stating that the scribe of IQIs^a 61:7-9 is meticulous in his instruction, does he mean that he had a lapse of memory at IQIs^a 26:1 where knowledge of Hebrew grammar and syntax is noticeably lacking? Or are there multiple scribal hands at work on the MS as M. Martin has cleverly argued in *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols., 1958)? His knowledge of Rabbinics and to a certain extent the Masoretic traditions is almost exclusively from secondary sources and lacks sound academic and primary support. He gives the erroneous impression that English-writing scholars have done the spade work in the area since he does not refer to works in other languages. The general English-reading student while finding a select English bibliography an asset might find the total output slightly deficient. He would appreciate a more generous citation of texts, vocalization of phrases, a less abstract presentation, and indices of subjects and authors mentioned.

Despite these weaknesses, Rosenbloom's work is a notable achievement which can be used with profit by serious students of DSS.

Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, California

ZEV GARBER

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW

CONSONANTS

א	=	ʾ	ד	=	d	י	=	y	ס	=	s	ר	=	r
ב	=	b	ה	=	h	כ	=	k	ע	=	ʿ	ש	=	š
ג	=	g	ו	=	w	ל	=	l	פ	=	p	ט	=	ṭ
ז	=	z	ז	=	z	מ	=	m	צ	=	ṣ	ת	=	t
ח	=	ḥ	ח	=	ḥ	נ	=	n	ק	=	q		=	
ט	=	ṭ	ט	=	ṭ		=			=			=	

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֶ	=	a	ֵ, ִ (vocal shewa)	=	e	ֹ	=	ō
ֶ	=	ā	ֵ, ִ	=	é	ֹ	=	o
ִ	=	a	ֵ	=	i	ֹ	=	ō
ֶ	=	e	ִ	=	i	ֹ	=	u
ֶ	=	ē	ֶ	=	o	ֹ	=	ū

ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

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>	BQR	<i>Baptist Quarterly Review</i>
AER	<i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>	BRG	<i>Biblioth. Rerum Germanicarum</i>
AfP	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>	BS	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
AHW	<i>Von Soden, Akkad. Handwörterb.</i>	BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
AJA	<i>Am. Journal of Archaeology</i>	BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
AJBA	<i>Austr. Journ. of Bibl. Arch.</i>	BZAW	<i>Beihefte zur ZAW</i>
AJSL	<i>Am. Jrl., Sem. Lang. and Lit.</i>	BZNV	<i>Beihefte zur ZNV</i>
ANEP	<i>Anc. Near East in Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CAD	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
ANEST	<i>Anc. Near East: Suppl. Texts and Pictures, Pritchard, ed.</i>	CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts, Pritchard, ed., 2d ed., 1955</i>	CC	<i>Christian Century</i>
ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>	CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
AcO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>	CH	<i>Church History</i>
AnOr	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i>	CIJ	<i>Corp. Inscript. Judaicarum</i>
ArO	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>	CIL	<i>Corp. Inscript. Latinarum</i>
ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgesch.</i>	CIS	<i>Corp. Inscript. Semiticarum</i>
ARW	<i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>	CJT	<i>Canadian Journal of Theology</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>	CT	<i>Christianity Today</i>
AUM	<i>Andrews Univ. Monographs</i>	EQ	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
AusBR	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>	ER	<i>Ecumenical Review</i>
AUSS	<i>Andrews Univ. Sem. Studies</i>	EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>	HJ	<i>Hibbert Journal</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin, Amer. Sch. of Or. Res.</i>	HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>	HTS	<i>Harvard Theological Studies</i>
BibB	<i>Biblische Beiträge</i>	HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>	IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
		IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
		Int	<i>Interpretation</i>

JAAR	<i>Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.</i>	RechB	<i>Recherches Bibliques</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum</i>	RE	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
JAOS	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.</i>	ReIs	<i>Religious Studies</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	RHPR	<i>Revue d'Hist. et de Philos. Rel.</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux</i>	RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	RQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	RS	<i>Revue Sémitique</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	RSR	<i>Revue, Sciences Religieuses</i>
JPOS	<i>Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.</i>	RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SANT	<i>St. z. Alt. u. Neuen Test.</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>	SOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journ., Scient. St. of Rel.</i>	ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theol. Studies</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
Jud	<i>Judaica</i>	TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>	TG	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
MGH	<i>Mon. Germ. Historica</i>	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
MPG	<i>Migne, Patrologia Graeca</i>	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
MPL	<i>Migne, Patrologia Latina</i>	TR	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>	Traditio	<i>Traditio</i>
NKZ	<i>Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
NPfNF	<i>Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers</i>	TT	<i>Theology Today</i>
NRT	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NovT	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>	UF	<i>Ugaritische Forschungen</i>
NTA	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	VCh	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Num	<i>Numen</i>	VTs	<i>VT, Supplements</i>
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>	WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theol. Journal</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
PEFQS	<i>Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.</i>	ZAS	<i>Zeitsch. für Ägyptische Sprache</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	ZAW	<i>Zeitsch. für die Alttes. Wiss.</i>
PJB	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch</i>	ZDMG	<i>Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft</i>
PRE	<i>Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Pal. Ver.</i>
QDAP	<i>Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für Hist. Theologie</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
RAC	<i>Revista di Archaeologia Christiana</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für Kath. Theologie</i>
RAr	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitsch. für die Neutes. Wiss.</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>	ZRGg	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>	ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für Syst. Theologie</i>
		ZTK	<i>Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche</i>