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CONTENTS

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THE JOINT MADABA PLAINS PROJECT:
A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 1989 SEASON, INCLUDING THE REGIONAL SURVEY AND EXCAVATIONS AT EL-DREIJAT, TELL JAWA, AND TELL EL-ᶜUMEIRI (JUNE 19 TO AUGUST 8, 1989)

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Editor's Note. In this issue of *AUSS* we are pleased to present a report of the third season of archaeological work at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and at certain other nearby sites. The reports of the first and second expeditions appeared in *AUSS* 23 (Spring 1985): 85-110 and 26 (Autumn 1988): 217-252.

For technical reasons, in the present report we have varied the placement of the pictorial and diagrammatical plates from that which was used in the earlier two reports, where such plates were interspersed with the text. Herein all of the plates, except the frontispiece map, appear in a section at the close of the main text.

The next archaeological expedition in this Joint Madaba Plains Project is scheduled for the summer of 1991. Persons interested in participating may receive information by writing to the Institute of Archaeology, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI 49104-0990, U.S.A.

Kenneth A. Strand
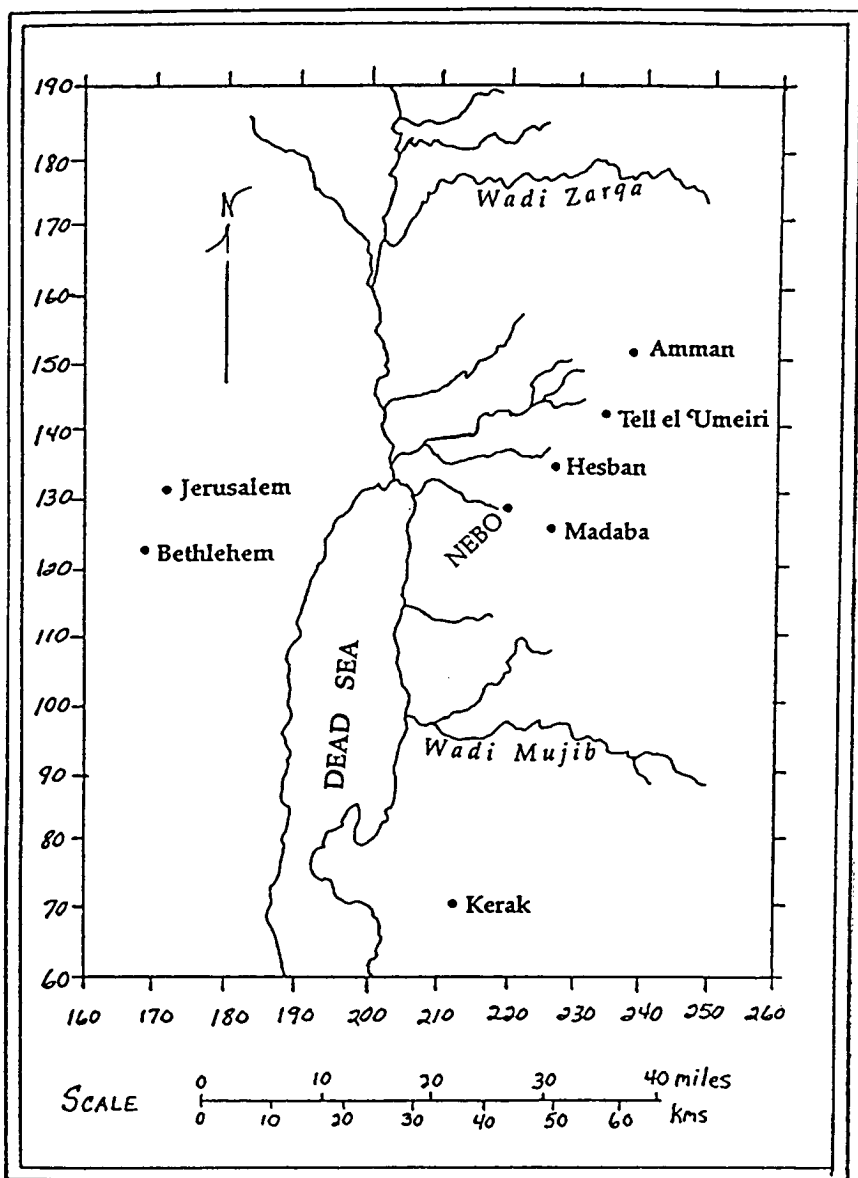
Frontispiece. Map of Palestine with the location of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri (see also Plate 1).

THE JOINT MADABA PLAINS PROJECT:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 1989 SEASON, INCLUDING THE REGIONAL SURVEY AND EXCAVATIONS AT EL-DREIJAT, TELL JAWA, AND TELL EL-ᶜUMEIRI (JUNE 19 TO AUGUST 8, 1989)

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During the summer of 1989 Andrews University sponsored a third archaeological expedition to Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and its vicinity (see **Plates 1, 2**). Organized as the Madaba Plains Project, this third season of excavation, soundings, and survey was jointly sponsored by Atlantic Union College (South Lancaster, MA), Canadian Union College (College Heights, near Lacombe, Alberta, Canada), Walla Walla College (Walla Walla, WA), and Wilfrid Laurier University (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada).[1] An international team of 130

archaeologists, students, and laypersons joined approximately 40
Jordanians in achieving the results described in this preliminary
report (**Plate** 3).[2] For a description of the overall goals of the
project, the site of Tell el-ʿUmeiri, its region and history, and
previous findings, the reader is referred to the reports of the first
and second seasons.[3]

Sally de Vries, must be particularly mentioned. Others within Jordan without
whom the excavation would not have been possible were Prince Raad ibn Zeid, who
has been a constant support, and Richard T. Krajezar, former superintendent of the
American Community School in Amman, who provided generous logistical support.
The Baptist School near Shmeisani, Amman, through its Principal, Wilson Tatum,
made virtually all of its very ample facilities available to the dig for headquarters; it
offered adequate space for sleeping, eating, working, meeting, and recreation.

[2]The directors for the project this season included Lawrence T. Geraty, Senior
Project Director; Larry G. Herr, Director of Tell el-ʿUmeiri Excavations; Øystein S.
LaBianca, Director of the Regional Survey; and Randall W. Younker, Director of
Hinterland Excavations. Douglas R. Clark was the Director of the Consortium.

Wallace Amundson and Bill Cash served as dig administrators at the Institute of
Archaeology at Andrews University during the initial organizing stages of the
project. Bernard Brandstater served as the camp administrator and chaplain in
Jordan. Sanford Peck was the camp handyman. Ernest Zinke was the dig physician,
assisted by nurses Rhonda Westman (camp), Esko Saarinen (tell), Ella Saarinen (tell)
and Shirley Stephens (survey). Liisa Hawes was of great help in providing childcare
in addition to helping out on the dig.

Leila Mashni served as head cook, assisted by Rhonda Westman. Kitchen staff
included Kay Battenfield, Wadie Mashni, Aneesi Mashni, Mark Sandborn, and April
Younker.

Pottery processing was supervised by Larry Herr. Pottery Registrar was Mary
Ellen Lawlor, assisted by Nancy Lawlor, Renee Lawlor, and Flora MacKay. Pottery
washing and restoration was supervised by Kathy Mallak. Gloria London was the
Ceramic Technologist.

Processing of small finds was supervised by the Object Registrar, Elizabeth
Platt, assisted by Beryl Bull, Anna Dohler, Kathy Mallak, and Siegfried Horn.
Objects were drawn by Nancy Rynes.

The Ecology Lab was supervised by Øystein LaBianca. Ramona Hubbard was
in charge of flotation. Preliminary bone identification was done by Øystein La-
Bianca, assisted by Jo Watson. Doug Schnurrenberger served as geologist.

The photography operation was supervised by Larry Coyle and Tony Squier,
assisted by Thor Storfjell. The photography staff included Judy Christiansen, Mike
Field, and Grant Lyman.

Drafting and surveying duties were supervised by Glenn Johnson assisted by
Noel Dant and Esko Saarinen.

Computer data entry was supervised by Bill Cash and Warren Trenchard,
assisted by Nelsona Dundas.

[3]See Lawrence T. Geraty, "A Preliminary Report on the First Season at Tell
el-ʿUmeiri (June 18 to August 8, 1984)," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 85-110; and Lawrence T.

The project's third season continued, as a major objective, the focus on the cycles of intensification and abatement in settlement and landuse within the analytical context of the food systems approach described in previous reports. The data derived from using this research design have been helpful, both in understanding larger anthropological questions concerning the causes of socio-cultural change and in dealing with more traditional questions pertaining to biblical geography and history.

The field strategy for obtaining our objectives included expanded excavation at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri; random, judgmental, ethno-archaeological, and environmental surveys; and excavations at two hinterland sites—Tell Jawa and el-Dreijat.

1. *The Regional Survey*[4]

As in previous field seasons, the hinterland within 5 km. of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri was studied by our multidisciplinary survey team. The underlying objective of this survey, as before, was to further our understanding of changes over time in the food system of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and vicinity by documenting the diachronic patterns in which food was procured, processed, stored, distributed, prepared, and consumed. The extent to which such changes reflect intensification of the food system in the direction of increased sedentarism and urban control of the hinterland or abatement in the direction of nomadism and tribal control of the hinterland is one of the most fundamental questions with which both the hinterland survey and the excavations in this project area have been concerned.

During the last three seasons, the survey's scope has shifted from extensive coverage of the entire project area to intensive scrutiny of selected sites or regions within this area. The emphasis during the 1984 and 1987 seasons was on exploration and mapping of new sites and dominant environmental, settlement, and landuse features, whereas the 1989 season emphasized in-depth examination and documentation of aspects of the ancient food system which, although discovered for the most part during the previous two seasons, were deemed worthy of more intensive investigation.

Geraty, Larry G. Herr, and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Joint Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report on the Second Season at Tell El-ᶜUmeiri and Vicinity (June 18 to August 6, 1987)," *AUSS* 26 (1988): 217-252.

[4]The regional survey was directed by Øystein S. LaBianca.

The 1989 survey consisted of five different teams, each with its own objectives, procedures, and staffs. These included the sub-surface mapping team, the random square team, the environmental team, the farmstead documentation team, and the ethnoarchaeological team.

Sub-surface Mapping[5]

The objective of the sub-surface mapping team, whose work was mostly experimental, was to determine the feasibility of using ground-penetrating radar in locating sub-surface archaeological features. More will be said about this in later reports.

Random Survey[6]

This season the random survey team added forty more randomly surveyed 200 x 200 m. squares to the sixty squares which had been completed during the previous two seasons of field work. This brings the total number of squares surveyed to one hundred, or approximately 5% of the 1,969 such squares within a 5 km. radius of Tell el-ʿUmeiri.

This survey has already heightened awareness of several important dynamics of settlement and landuse within the project area. The most significant, perhaps, is the discovery that pottery from the Roman and Byzantine periods and, to a lesser extent, the Iron Age, is present throughout the project area. This finding lends support to the impression, arrived at through excavations at Tell

[5]Field Supervisor for this team was Jon Cole of Walla Walla College. He was assisted by Gerald Sandness and Brad Matson.

[6]This team was headed by Gary Christopherson of the University of Arizona. He was assisted by photographer Mike Field, translators Ahmad Tabba and Karim Mubarak, and volunteers Beryl Bull and Jeff Clare. Christopherson was also responsible for developing a new set of survey recording forms and an accompanying survey manual which were crucial to our heightened emphasis on intensive examination of selected sites and regions. This system substantially improved what had been used during previous seasons, both by adding new categories and by bringing the survey's recording procedures into line with those used for recording the stratigraphic excavations at Tell el-ʿUmeiri and elsewhere in the project area. The system consists of a survey site sheet, of which normally only one is completed for each new site, and six site feature sheets, of which as many as are needed are completed for each site. Separate feature sheets are included for recording architectural, environmental, rock-cut, (pottery) scatter, road, cave/cistern, and tomb features.

el-ᶜUmeiri and elsewhere in central Transjordan, that the food (and social) system reached peaks of intensity during these two periods not equalled at any other time in history until now.

As in previous seasons, the random survey again contributed to the discovery of new archaeological sites. This season a total of 25 new sites were recorded, including several new sites which had concentrations of agricultural features. The rapid pace at which modern construction is obliterating the archaeólogical record within the project area was especially obvious to the random survey team since a number of the squares they set out to survey were found to be completely covered by new housing and streets. Also encountered almost daily by this team because of its extensive coverage of the project area was the number of new fences which have been put up over the past two years within the project area. Typically, these fences enclose newly planted orchards or drip-irrigated vegetable fields. They are another sign of the rapid pace of intensification.

Environmental Survey[7]

The environmental survey team was specifically assigned to examine the landuse strategies which prevailed during the high intensity Roman and Byzantine periods. The site which had been chosen for this in-depth examination was Wadi Bisharah, which is located approximately 2 km. due west of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri (**Plate 4**). Located adjacent to a large Roman/Byzantine town (Site 57) and a winery/church (Site 6),[8] yet small enough to study as a complete system, it was deemed the best candidate for studying man and his environment. Several features were mapped, photographed, and sherded by this team, including: (1) a series of variously intact embankments which ran perpendicular to the fertile wadi bottom; (2) sections of ancient terraces ascending from the wadi floor to the north and south; and (3) diversion dams and embankments constructed along several smaller tributary wadies. On the basis of pottery sherds found in and around these structures, a comparison could be made between present-day and Roman/Byzantine utilization of this wadi. This comparison suggests that when the ancient system was at its peak, the wadi and its surrounding slopes could

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[7]This team was headed by Doug Schnurrenberger of the University of Maryland. He was assisted by Ahmad Tabba, translator.

[8]This site is the same as Hesban Site 138.

have produced tenfold its modern production in vegetable and fruit crops. The fact that terraces are again being constructed along the slopes of this wadi and repairs are beginning to be made to the embankments along its floor is confirmation that the momentum today is again in the direction of intensification.

Farmstead Documentation[9]

The farmstead documentation team was assigned the task of carrying out in-depth documentation of the agricultural complexes located in previous seasons. Specifically, its task was to map, photograph, and draw the features which together support the identification of these sites as ancient farmsteads. The sites selected for such documentation were ones which represented good examples of the various categories of sites noted elsewhere by Younker.[10] These included large agricultural estates, smaller farmsteads, and agricultural camp sites. While the first two of these usually included clusters of buildings and agricultural installations, the third was typically represented only by an agricultural watchtower. A total of fourteen sites belonging to these categories was documented by this team. Most had been occupied both in the Iron Age and in Roman/Byzantine times. One of them, Rujm Selim (excavated in 1987), was also occupied during early Persian and Late Hellenistic times.

Ethnoarchaeological Survey[11]

The primary objective of the ethnoarchaeological team was to ascertain how sedentarization and nomadization take place at the level of the household and the local village. To this end interviews were carried out among three groups of local residents—Ajarmeh tribesmen who have occupied the region for several centuries, Christian families who arrived in the previous century, and Palestinian families who have arrived only in the past three or four decades. In carrying out this work the team was assisted by two artists and an

[9]Jim Battenfield of Grace Theological Seminary led the farmstead documentation team. He was assisted by Tim Woodard.

[10]These categories are described in the preliminary report of the 1987 season. See Geraty, Herr, and LaBianca, pp. 217-252.

[11]This team was headed jointly by Øystein S. LaBianca of Andrews University and Dorothy Irvin of Durham, North Carolina. Artists Eric Shults and Sali Jo Hand documented various ethnographic features.

interpreter. The artists helped elicit information about how caves were utilized by the Ajarmeh in the previous century.

Perhaps the most important insights gained from these interviews have to do with advancing our understanding of why and how single households and groups of families could convert back and forth along the nomadic-sedentary continuum through multiple millennia. Structural arrangements which have traditionally made such movement possible include the following: the nearly ubiquitous phenomenon of rural families moving into tents for the warmer part of the agricultural season and into houses or caves for the cooler parts, the widespread practice of raising a mixture of crops and pasture animals, the existence within most tribally organized populations of families along various points on the nomad-sedentary continuum, the maintenance by most tribal entities of tribal lands suitable to both pastoral and agricultural pursuits, and the flexibility of tribal ideology when it comes to incorporating or excluding members. It is by means of these fundamental structural mechanisms that it has been possible for families or groups of kinsmen to be fluid and to convert to either a more sedentary or a more nomadic way of life depending on prevailing economic, social, and political trends.

2. Hinterland Excavations[12]

A. El-Dreijat[13]

A previous report of the Madaba Plains Project mentioned a large "megalithic" structure, recorded by the regional survey, which was described as a "fort" in the sense of the biblical bîrāniyōt.[14] Because of the extensive discussion concerning the date and precise function of similar so-called "Ammonite towers," a decision was made to excavate it (**Plate 5**).[15]

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[12]Randall W. Younker of Andrews University directed the hinterland excavations.

[13]Field Supervisor for el-Dreijat was Lorita Hubbard, assisted by Square Supervisors Jennifer Groves, Linda Johnston, James Miller, Wendy Stewart, Greg Younker (1st half), Mark Carr (1st half), Paul Ray (2d half), Hilary Thompson (2d half); volunteers were Fred Cornforth, Rick Jordan, Eric LaBianca, Randy Low, Pearl Younker; Grant Lyman served as photographer.

[14]Geraty, Herr, and LaBianca, p. 224.

[15]See, e.g., Nelson Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine, Vol. III," *AASOR* (1939), p. 163; George M. Landes, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites,"

The site, presently known as el-Dreijat ("the stairs"), is located on a high hill approximately 2.8 km. southwest of Tell el-ʿUmeiri.[16] First identified by Fohrer as Site D,[17] it was later included by the Hesban Survey as Site 135.[18]

Prior to excavation, a survey of the site by the excavation team identified what appeared to be exterior walls approximately 2.5 m. wide, as well as two interior walls of similar thickness. Immediately to the southeast of the site, a large open cave was identified. According to local villagers, this cave is currently used during the winter months by a certain Umm Yusef as a pen for sheep and goats. Further south, on the crest of the hill, was a bell-shaped cistern, approximately 15.5 m. deep, which at the time of the excavation contained 4.5 m. to 5 m. of water. It was used by the shepherds in the region throughout the summer.

All of the exterior walls were built of massive unhewn and partially hewn chert boulders (ranging from 1.1 m. to 2 m. in diameter), with the chinks filled in with stones. Two major east/west interior walls were joined to the western exterior wall. These two interior walls appear to have at one time extended across the structure and joined the north/south wall on the eastern side. It is possible that major interior walls such as these supported a second

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BA 24 (1961): 74; Rudolph H. Dornemann, *The Archaeology of the Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Milwaukee, WI, 1983), pp. 123-124; and most recently, Khair Yassine, *Archaeology of Jordan: Essays and Reports* (Amman, Jordan, 1988), pp. 11-24.

[16]The site coordinates for el-Dreijat are 2328.1398 on the Jordan 1:25,000 series map. The elevation is about 932 m.

[17]According to Fohrer, the site was located at 2330.1400 on the 1:100,000 series map. Fohrer's identification of the site as an Ammonite fortress is evidently based on a couple of factors: the building measured 23.50 x 21.00 m.; sherding at the site produced mainly Iron Age pieces although Roman, Byzantine, and some modern were found. G. Fohrer, "Eisenzeitliche Anlagen im Raume sudlich von Naʿur" *ZDPV* 77 (1961): 60.

[18]R. D. Ibach examined the site in June, 1976. He stated that the rectangular structure measured 21.00 x 19.00 m at its lower courses. According to his report "the walls are two rows wide and are made of large boulders; several interior walls are visible. Nearby are caves and a large cistern." During his examination of the site, 132 sherds were collected, mostly body fragments. Of these, two were modern, the rest were Iron II, with one possible Iron I. Robert D. Ibach, *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods*, Hesban 5 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1987), pp. 28-29.

story. The complex was further subdivided into small rooms by numerous minor interior walls (**Plate 6**).

Iron II

Excavations revealed a much more complex use of the site than was anticipated at first. It appears that there were at least seven phases of occupation and activity.

Although no surfaces or architectural remains could be definitely dated to Iron II, the presence of several Iron II surface sherds and pockets of late Iron II material in Squares 2, 5, and 7 suggest that the site was initially occupied during this period. The similarity of construction with other Iron Age buildings also supports the possibility that at least part of the el-Dreijat structure (probably the main rectangular structure) was originally built during this time. It appears, however, that the site was cleared to bedrock during the later Persian/Hellenistic occupation, making a precise dating for the initial construction of the fort difficult (see below). Two cisterns or storage tanks in Squares 2 and 5 were probably cut during this earliest phase of occupation.

Late Persian/Early Hellenistic

The next phase of activity (Phase 6) seems to have involved some remodeling during the late Persian/early Hellenistic period. Pottery from this period was not only found in all 11 Squares, but also on several bedrock surfaces indicating that the Persian/Hellenistic occupants cleared the site down to bedrock in most areas (**Plate 7**). It was probably during this time that the Iron II pottery of earlier inhabitants was dumped into the abandoned cave/cistern in Square 6. Several inner walls in Squares 1 and 2 were probably constructed during this time to create rooms along the west side of the complex (**Plate 8**). Several other rooms in the northeast corner of the site (Square 6) were also added.

Hellenistic

While there is no clear break between Phases 6 and 5, there is clear evidence for a later Hellenistic occupation of the site. This was evident from several Hellenistic lamps, cooking pots, and other late Hellenistic forms. A circular installation in Squares 2 and 4, possibly used for storage, may have been originally constructed at this time.

Roman

There is some evidence for Roman activity on the site (Phase 4), although it does not appear that much of the structure was utilized. The circular installation may have continued in use during this period.

Byzantine

A Byzantine presence is suggested by sherds found in Squares 2, 3, 5, and 6, but all the sherds are small and worn. One of two coins found at the site comes from this period. It was a coin of Constans or Constantine (4th century A.D.). The other coin could not be identified.

Ayyubid/Mamluk

From the small number of sherds, 14 in all, it is possible that a temporary encampment occupied the site during the Ayyubid/Mamluk period. All the sherds, however, are painted and may have come from the same vessel.

Modern

According to the ceramic evidence, the most recent phase of activity on the site appears to be the result of modern Bedouin. This is suggested by the modern sherds found in Squares 2 and 6, as well as sherds collected elsewhere from the surface. In Squares 5 and 6 portions of a modern water jar were also uncovered. Most of the modern occupation, however, appears to be centered around the cave in the southeastern corner of the site and the blocked cave entrance to the west which was not excavated this season.

B. Tell Jawa[19]

During the 1987 season the survey team discovered that parts of Tell Jawa, a large, important site ca. 5 km. east of ᶜUmeiri, had been recently bulldozed, apparently in preparation for a new hous-

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[19]The Field Supervisor of Tell Jawa was P. Michèle Daviau. The Square Supervisors for the 1989 season were Nadine Brundrett (2d half), Antonius Haakman, Bruce Routledge, Julie Witmer, Michael Wood, and Hakam Ziaddi (1st half); volunteers were Nelsona Dundas, Isabelle Crepeau, Brenda Silver, and Adele Tempest.

ing development.[20] Surface sherding indicated that Jawa's occupation overlapped that of ᶜUmeiri's, at least during the Iron II period, meaning that any accurate understanding of ᶜUmeiri's role in the region would have to take into account its relationship with Jawa.[21]

While the core staff had discussed the need to eventually conduct a probe of Jawa, this new threat to the site forced us to act more quickly then we had planned. Therefore, this season a small team was assigned to open five squares on the south side of the tell where the bulldozer had stopped after exposing the outer face of what appeared to be an Iron Age city wall (**Plate 9**).

The five squares, opened in Field A (Squares 1, 2, 3, and 4 south to north, and Square 13 east of Square 3), transect three major parallel wall lines, including the outermost one which had stopped the bulldozer. The strategy was to expose these walls, determine their construction history and function (they appeared to be city walls), and explore remains of occupation inside the walls.

Early Iron II

The excavations revealed at least ten archaeological phases, dating mostly from the Iron II period. The earliest phase, exposed in Square 13, consisted of the intersection of two Iron Age stone walls. Both walls were covered with large (65 x 35 x 15 cm.) fallen mudbricks, apparently from the collapsed superstructure. Because the bases of these walls were not reached, their date and function are uncertain. However, the debris of the collapsed walls contained late Iron I?/early Iron II sherds making it probable that the walls were constructed either during that period (10th-9th centuries B.C.) or later in Iron II. A fill west of these walls produced Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron I sherds.

A small ash pocket on top of the debris of the two Iron Age walls apparently reflects a brief occupational phase (Phase 9) after the destruction of these walls.

[20]Tell Jawa is located at coordinates 1408.2382 at an elevation of 928 m. It encompasses an area of 2.08 hectares or 5 acres. Several scholars have identified the site with biblical Mephaᶜath (Josh 13:18; 21:37; 1 Chr 6:79; Jer 48:21), although our work leads us to doubt this identification (see discussions by P. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. 2, *Géographie Politique: Les Villes*, 3d ed. [Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1967]).

[21]The site was surveyed by Robert G. Boling for the Madaba Plains Project during the 1984 regional survey. He assigned it as Survey Site #29.

At least three subsequent Iron Age phases (Phases 8-5) were found in Squares 3, 4, and 13 just inside the city wall. They were particularly evident in Square 3 where two wall lines appeared to define two rectangular rooms of a large house. The lower portions of these walls were constructed of stone while the upper part was mudbrick. On the surface, associated with the lowest floor (Phase 8), was a collection of food-preparation objects and ceramic vessels of a domestic nature. The objects included a saddle quern, an upper millstone (both broken, but *in situ*), two pounding stones, and fragments of a *tabun* which apparently was located against one of the walls. Numerous bones (55 sheep/goat, 2 cattle), ashes, and flint fragments were also found on this surface. The pottery on this floor was from early Iron II (9th-8th centuries B.C.).

Middle Iron II

Later, probably during the middle of the Iron II period (8th-7th centuries B.C.) the floor of this room was resurfaced (Phase 7). Cooking pots, numerous animal bones (161 sheep/goat, 10 cattle), an upper millstone, and a stone pounder testify to the continued food preparation function of this room. A broken spindle whorl suggests that spinning was also carried out here. A probable contemporary phase was found in the room immediately to the east.

The latest surface in the western room (Phase 6) also had cooking pots, ash, small bowls, and animals bones (32 sheep/goat and 2 cattle). Large amounts of white plaster, possibly the result of rebuilding the inner casemate wall, had accumulated on the surface. Again, the "room" immediately to the east seemed to have a contemporary phase. It, too, contained remains of domestic activities including an accumulation of charcoal, 57 sheep/goat bones, 9 cattle bones, a chicken bone, 2 spindle whorls, a broken stone grinder, a stone pounder, and a polished and finely serrated shark's tooth!

To the north of these two "rooms" was a rather large building with at least two long rooms. Pottery found in the debris layers of this building suggests that it was contemporary with at least the last couple of phases of the rooms discussed in the preceding paragraph (Iron II—8th-7th centuries B.C.).

One of the season's most interesting finds, the head of a small figurine, came from the eastern wall of this large building (**Plate 10**). It depicts a male wearing a headdress similar to the Egyptian

atef crown and identical to those depicted on the well-known limestone busts displayed in the Amman Museum. Siegfried Horn has suggested that this headdress was the crown of the Ammonite king.[22] If so, this artifact would suggest that Jawa, which is near the border of Moab, was within the Ammonite sphere at this time. This conclusion is further supported by the pottery which is identical to that of nearby ᶜUmeiri, where a number of distinctive Ammonite inscriptions have already been found.[23] If Jawa is indeed an Ammonite city, Albrecht Alt's identification of Jawa with biblical Mephaᶜath would have to be modified, since the latter is clearly a Moabite town (Jer 48:21-24).

Late Iron II

Excavations indicated that during the latter part of the Iron II period (ca. 7th century B.C.) the city walls were rebuilt (Phase 5), although further excavation is needed to clarify their relationship to the domestic architecture found just inside.

These walls underwent further reconstruction (Phase 4) a short time later (late 7th, early 6th century B.C.). The city walls of this phase appear to be constructed in the casemate style. A doorway leads from one of the casemate rooms into the city. An ash layer seems to represent a cooking area just inside the city wall, although there were few bones. Botanical remains consisted of barley, wheat, lentil, and coriander. Pottery was late Iron II (6th century B.C.), although this cooking area could have existed subsequent to the abandonment of the town.

The Iron Age occupation at Jawa was apparently terminated during the 6th century B.C. Evidence for destruction or abandonment included the rock tumble that extended south down the slope from the city walls. In association with the rock tumble were the upper courses of the exterior portion of the casemate wall which was slumped inward (uphill). Initially it was thought the slumping should be attributed to an earthquake. However, the presence of 13 javelin points against the outside of the wall suggests the collapse could be related to an attack on the town (**Plate 11**). The

[22]Siegfried H. Horn, "The Crown of the King of the Ammonites," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 170-180.

[23]Our Ceramic Technologist, Gloria London, identified potter's marks on pottery from both Tell el-ᶜUmeiri and Tell Jawa that she believes could have come from the same potter.

clearest sign of this destruction inside the walls was a large amount of pottery smashed against a wall and the adjacent floor. This pottery, all late Iron II (ca. 6th century B.C.), included pithoi, store jars, jugs, and one complete juglet. Amid this debris were two more javelin points, identical in style to those found outside the city wall. It is possible, although far from certain, that this destruction is related to Nebuchadnezzar's 582/1 B.C. punitive campaign against the Ammonites and Moabites noted by Josephus.[24] It appears that other Ammonite sites were also destroyed about this time.[25]

After this destruction Jawa was not reoccupied. The final two archaeological phases consisted of topsoils and modern field walls. Some Roman/Byzantine sherds were found, but there was no sign that this part of the tell was occupied in those periods.

3. Tell el-ʿUmeiri[26]

The excavations at Tell el-ʿUmeiri took place in six Fields (**Plate 12**) and discovered remains from the Early Bronze Age III (ca. 2500 B.C.) to the early Persian period (ca. 500 B.C.), encompassing most of the OT period.

Early Bronze Age[27]

The earliest remains were found, as in previous seasons, on the southern and northern shelves, confirming once again that this

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[24]Antiquities of the Jews, X, ix, 7.

[25]Yassine has suggested that Stratum III at Tell el-Mazar, which he believes was in Ammonite hands at this time, was possibly destroyed by this campaign of Nebuchadnezzer. See Yassine, pp. 87-88. Another site which was possibly destroyed at this time is Tell Safut, although the excavator, D. Wimmer, does not attempt to tie the destruction to any known historical event. See D. Wimmer, "The Excavations at Tell Safut," in Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan III (Amman, Jordan, 1987), p. 281. Some scholars suggest that Heshbon, which too was apparently in Ammonite hands at this time (Jer 49:3) was also sacked during this campaign. Cf. L. Heidet, "Hésebon," in Dictionnaire de la Bible, ed. F. G. Vigouroux (Paris, 1903), 3:657-663; Werner K. Vyhmeister, "The History of Heshbon from the Literary Sources," in Historical Foundations: Studies of Literary References to Hesban and Vicinity, eds. Lawrence T. Geraty and Leona G. Running, Hesban 3 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1989), p. 9.

[26]Larry G. Herr of Canadian Union College directed the excavations at Tell el-ʿUmeiri.

[27]Field Supervisor for Field D, where most of the Early Bronze Age material was found, was Tim Harrison. He was assisted by Square Supervisors Lori Haynes, Joy

Early Bronze Age town covered the complete site. The most extensive remains came from the southern shelf where three broad terraces incorporated roads and domestic dwellings. Supported by a long wall built at the lip of a bedrock shelf, the domestic complex on the upper, northern terrace was excavated in 1987.[28] This season excavation took place on the middle terrace, also supported by a long wall, south of the 1987 excavation where the 1984 team had dug later remains.[29] Farther south, a small portion of a third, lower terrace was discovered, but erosion of the hillside cut away remains which extended more than 2.5 m.

The most coherent remains of Early Bronze III domestic complexes came from the middle terrace, excavated this season. A street ca. 1.5 m. wide ran north to south and separated two housing units (**Plate 13**). Along one wall was a line of stones, perhaps intended to hold fodder for a tethered beast of burden.

Neither of the housing units was completely exposed, but the one to the east produced three walled spaces with significant remains. The large room next to the street was a cobbled courtyard with two "L"-shaped bins, suggesting food processing and perhaps animal sheltering.

Connected by a stepped doorway to the east was a large storeroom that contained the remains of 28 storage vessels of various types, mostly jars (**Plate 14**). Protected by the debris from the superstructure of the house, which fell on top of the jars during its destruction, and preserved by the fire that ravaged the building, the vessels still contained carbonized seeds of the foods used by the ancient family that lived there. These included legumes (lentils and garbanzos), fruits (grapes and figs), and grains (wheat and barley). Two jugs may have contained oil. Many of the vessels were the bottoms of jars reused as large bowls; apparently, this was not a wasteful society.

South of the courtyard and storeroom was a narrow room used for cooking. Sunk into a bench, perhaps used as a shallow counter, was a circular, stone-lined hearth filled with ashes.

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[28]Geraty, Herr, LaBianca, p. 241.

[29]Geraty, p. 95.

On the northern slope, in Field G,[30] two squares were exca-
vated on the eastern line of a "V"-shaped topographic feature
descending the slope toward the water source (see **Plate 12**).[31] Al-
though the topographic features strongly suggest wall lines de-
scending the slope, the excavations uncovered no such feature.
Instead, 3 m. of unstratified dump sat on top of Early Bronze
tumble. No sign of a wall could be found, even when a backhoe
was brought in to section the line. The Early Bronze remains,
however, established that the town from that period extended far
down the northern slope.

The Early Bronze Age was the first period in Palestine when
people first settled in large groups, a process known as urbaniza-
tion. These settlements often had massive fortification walls sur-
rounding them. Our site seems to represent a modest expression of
this process. The housing complexes consisted of living rooms,
storerooms, courtyards, and animal shelters. Each complex was a
series of structures built around courtyards, unlike the coherent,
single-house structures of later periods. It is as if, in this early
period of urbanization, people had simply moved their farms tightly
together.

No fortification wall for the town has been found as yet, and
because the southernmost materials have been strongly eroded, it
would appear that none existed on the southern slope. However,
the town was apparently well planned, with housing units sep-
arated by narrow, straight streets and built on well-organized ter-
races climbing the slope of the hill. The finds suggest an orderly,
neat, and efficient use of space and resources for a population that
was perhaps the largest Tell el-ᶜUmeiri ever saw.

Middle Bronze Age

The site seems to have been resettled toward the end of the
Middle Bronze Age. The inhabitants abandoned the southern shelf,
and there was reduced intensity of occupation on the northern
slope and eastern shelf. However, excavations in Field B,[32] on the

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[30]Field Supervisor for Field G was Jim Fisher, assisted by Nadine Brundrett (1st
half) and Edward Badovinac (2d half).

[31]See also Geraty, p. 94.

[32]Field Supervisor for Field B was Doug Clark. He was assisted by Square
Supervisors Carolyn Draper, Julio Juarez, Gotthard Reinhold (1st half), Todd

western slope of the acropolis, probed ca. 1 m. into an earthen rampart containing potsherds from Middle Bronze Age IIC (**Plate 15**). The top layer of the rampart (no other layers have been found as yet) sloped ca. 30° and was made of beaten earth with a few thin lenses of crushed lime. The pottery included large quantities of chocolate-on-cream ware, a phenomenon which occurs at ᶜUmeiri whenever Middle Bronze pottery is found. This would suggest that this particular ceramic style was native to Transjordan.

Ramparts were constructed throughout Palestine in Middle Bronze II. Although more excavation is needed to determine the nature of the rampart, it would seem that the settlement at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri fits the times.

Late Bronze Age

For the first time at Tell el-ᶜUmeiri earth layers from the Late Bronze Age were uncovered in Field F,[33] the eastern shelf. Although no architectural remains could be isolated, the layers produced a Cypriot base-ring sherd and a well-preserved Astarte plaque figurine (**Plate 16**).

Iron I

This season it became clear that the casemate fortification system in Field B was Iron I, as we suggested in earlier reports (**Plates 17 and 18**).[34] An earthen rampart almost 2 m. thick was constructed immediately on top of the Middle Bronze rampart at the same time as the outer casemate wall to provide support against the weight of debris building up inside the wall and to help defend the city. All three layers of this rampart produced Iron I pottery. At the bottom of the rampart a revetment wall supported the rampart where a dry moat plunged about 4 m. into the bedrock. The rock and the clay that was excavated from the dry moat went to lay the

first layer of the rampart. The western slope was the most vulnerable to attack, and the occupants of the site apparently wanted a strong fortification system. This may be the first fortification system found in Palestine that included a casemate wall, a rampart, and a dry moat.

Excavations just inside the wall inside the casemate room produced a deep destruction layer ca. 2 m. thick. It was composed primarily of burned mudbricks and stones, but also included burned wooden roofing beams. The fire was so hot that it turned some of the wall stones to lime. Beneath the destruction debris in the casemate room were smashed storage jars, most of which had collar rims, typical of Iron I throughout Palestine (**Plate 19**). Several of these large jars contained the same potter's mark on the handles, but none sported precisely the same type of collar.

This was the end of Iron I in Field B. In earlier seasons, we had uncovered remains of an early Iron II storeroom over this destruction.[35] In Fields A[36] and F an ash layer overlay the stratigraphic boundary between Iron I and Iron II. It would thus seem that the destruction which ended Iron I at Tell el-ʿUmeiri was sitewide. It is possible that this destruction was caused by the army of King David attacking the Ammonites. It was Bath-Sheba's husband, Uriah the Hittite, who was killed at the walls of Rabbat-Ammon when David conquered that city (2 Sam 11). Although the pottery in the casemate room would seem to be somewhat earlier than the early 10th century B.C., when David lived, it is possible that such large storejars lasted for long periods of time.

In Field F, on the eastern shelf, a well-built terrace wall came from this period.

Iron II and Early Persian

Field A at the west end of the acropolis continued to produce extensive remains from at least two phases stretching from late Iron II into the beginning of the Persian period. Four new squares were opened to the east of previous excavations. After three seasons it

[35]Geraty, p. 93.

[36]Field Supervisor for Field A, the Ammonite Citadel, was John Lawlor, assisted by Square Supervisors Boguslav Dabrowski, Denise Herr, Carolyn Norman, and Jack Pichette; volunteers included David Brock, Alessandro Bruno, Ken Gardoski, Susan Kennel, Karis Lawlor, and Ernest Zinke.

now seems that at least three large buildings were occupied in the excavated area during the earliest phase.

Only two or three rooms of a large building with very thick walls have been found in the south. But the central building has been completely exposed. It was made up of four rooms, three long rooms abutting a broad room (**Plate 20**), a style typical in western Palestine during the Iron Age, but now becoming more frequent in Transjordan as Iron Age sites are excavated. The third building on the north was oriented at 90° to the four-room house and included a broad room with at least five long rooms abutting it. One of the rooms was formed with a row of pillars. This third house had doorways connecting all the rooms.

It would seem that at least the first two buildings were basement structures, that is, the walls were built into a large pit dug for the whole structure. Individual foundation trenches were not found for any wall, and Iron I layers were found immediately outside the buildings. Surfaces were found only in the northern building, where a typical domestic repertoire of objects, such as grinding tools, was found. However, the thick walls, the basements, and the large size of the two southern buildings suggest that they were used for non-domestic, administrative activities. Perhaps they should be connected with the royal seal found in this area in 1984.[37]

Other major structures from the same period were found in Field F on the eastern shelf. Two parallel walls (**Plate 21**) may have made up a small gate structure with a narrow passageway between them. Inside this possible gate was a large building constructed of a third parallel wall which cornered at both ends. Surfaces with the walls contained no objects.

A later phase of structures was built over the walls of Field A (**Plate 22**), seemingly ignoring the earlier walls completely. Unfortunately, the surfaces that went with these walls have been destroyed in the Middle Ages by agricultural activities on top of the mound, but the pottery associated with them was early Persian.

The many finds from Field A included figurines (**Plate 23**) and two seal impressions with the same inscribed name, *Be²erᶜammon* (see below).

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[37]For this seal see Larry G. Herr, "The Servant of Baalis," *BA* 48 (1985): 169-172; and Randall W. Younker, "Israel, Judah, and Ammon and the Motifs on the Baalis Seal from Tell el-ᶜUmeiri," *BA* 48 (1985): 173-180.

Early Roman

In 1987 a small, plastered pool or ritual bath with steps was excavated at the northern edge of Field A.[38] From the debris inside, pottery no later than the early Persian period had provided a tentative date for the structure, even though similar ritual baths are seldom found prior to the early Roman period. This season, when we removed part of the foundation of the structure, two early Roman sherds were found.

Middle Ages

Because such a structure is normally subterranean and no associated buildings or pottery of the Roman period have been found anywhere in the immediate region as might be expected, we suggest that the associated Roman building(s) have disappeared and that the present-day surface of the mound has been lowered considerably since Roman times. It may be suggested that agricultural activity combined with wind and water erosion has lowered the top of the tell by as much as a meter. This may account for the large quantities of pottery and objects found in topsoil in Field A: wind erosion removed the soil but left stones, pottery, and objects. Farmers removed the stones to the many large rock mounds scattered over the site.

Water Source

Excavations continued in only one Square in Field E,[39] the water source at the bottom of the tell on the north side. Earth layers from Iron I were cut by a plaster and cobble installation built during Iron II times (**Plate 24**). The Iron II remains were, in turn, cut by an early Roman plastered channel. Then, during Byzantine times, all structures were cut by a deep foundation pit for a tunnel leading to the well house. The Byzantine structure was used when the well was capped in the 1930s. None of the ancient remains except that of the Byzantine well is coherent enough to reconstruct the water structures.

[38]Geraty, Herr, and LaBianca, p. 234.

[39]Field Supervisor for Field E this season was Larry G. Herr, assisted by Lawrence T. Geraty and Warren Trenchard.

Seal and Seal Impressions

In the topsoil of Field A a seal inscribed on two sides was discovered. The name of the owner, *ʾlʾmṣ*, occurred on the obverse with a drawing of a bull's head. On the reverse was a bird perched atop a possible lotus, while the name of the owner and his patronym were inscribed around the iconography: *lʾlʾmṣ bn tmkʾl*. We can translate and vocalize the inscription "Belonging to ʾElʾamaṣ son of Tamakʾel" (**Plate 25**). Both names are found on other Ammonite seals and inscriptions as well as in the OT. The letters suggest a date in the early 7th century B.C.

Two seal impressions on jar handles were also found in the topsoil of Field A. Both impressions were made by the same seal and read *lbʾrᶜmn*, which should probably be translated and vocalized as "Belonging to Beʾerᶜammon." It is likely that the national name ᶜAmmon was used as the theophoric element.

Plates 1-25
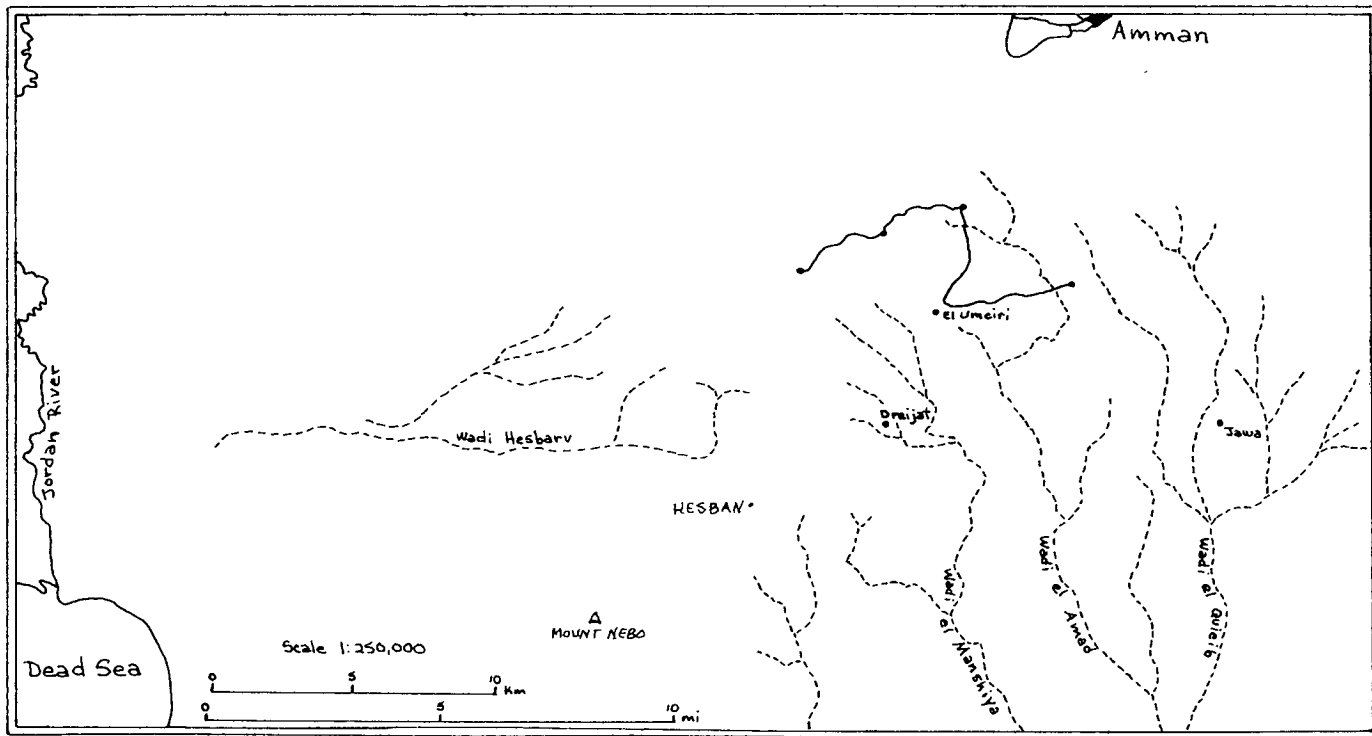
Plate 1. Map of Tell el-ʿUmeiri, Tell Jawa, Dreijat.

Plate 2. Picture of Tell el-ʿUmeiri.

Plate 3. Group picture of ʿUmeiri participants.

Plate 4. Picture of Wadi Bisharat.

Plate 5. Picture of Dreijat.

SCALE 1:80.

N
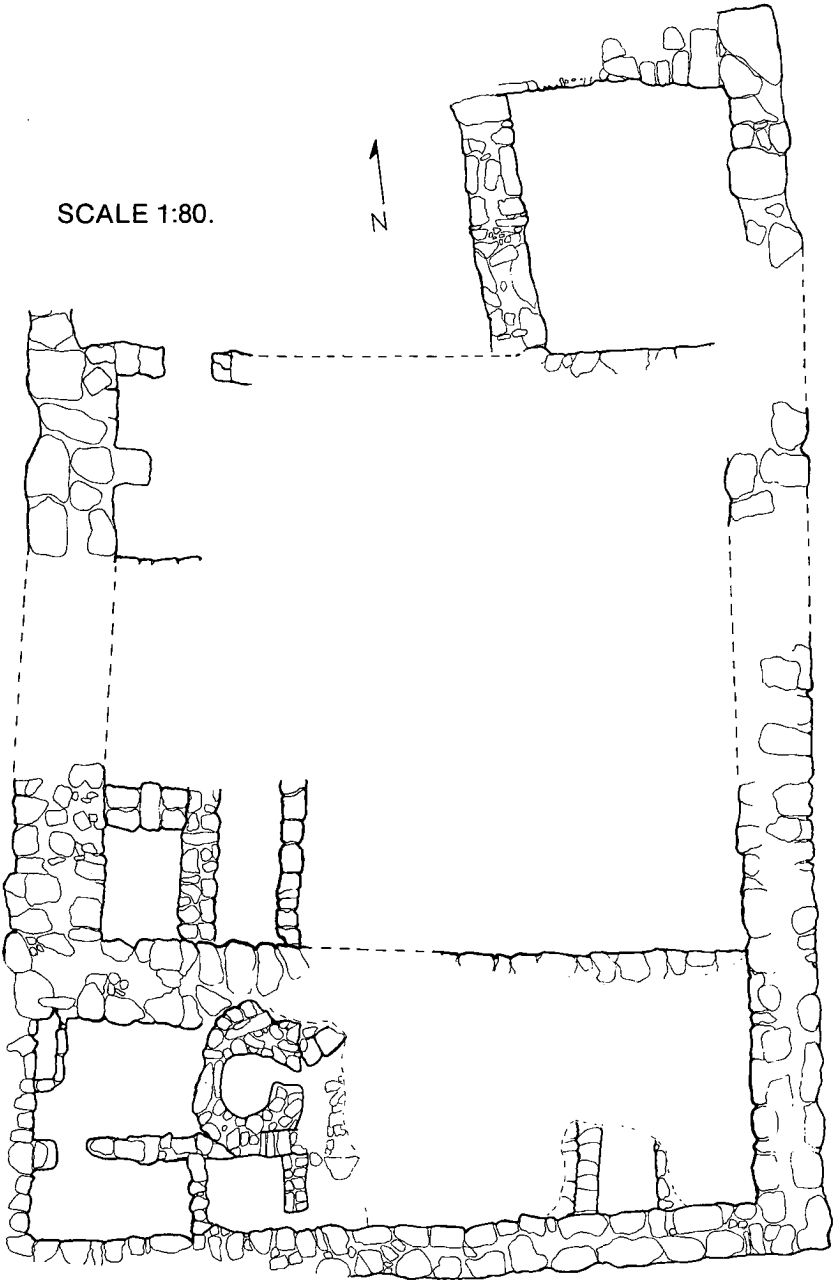
Plate 6. Plan of Dreijat.
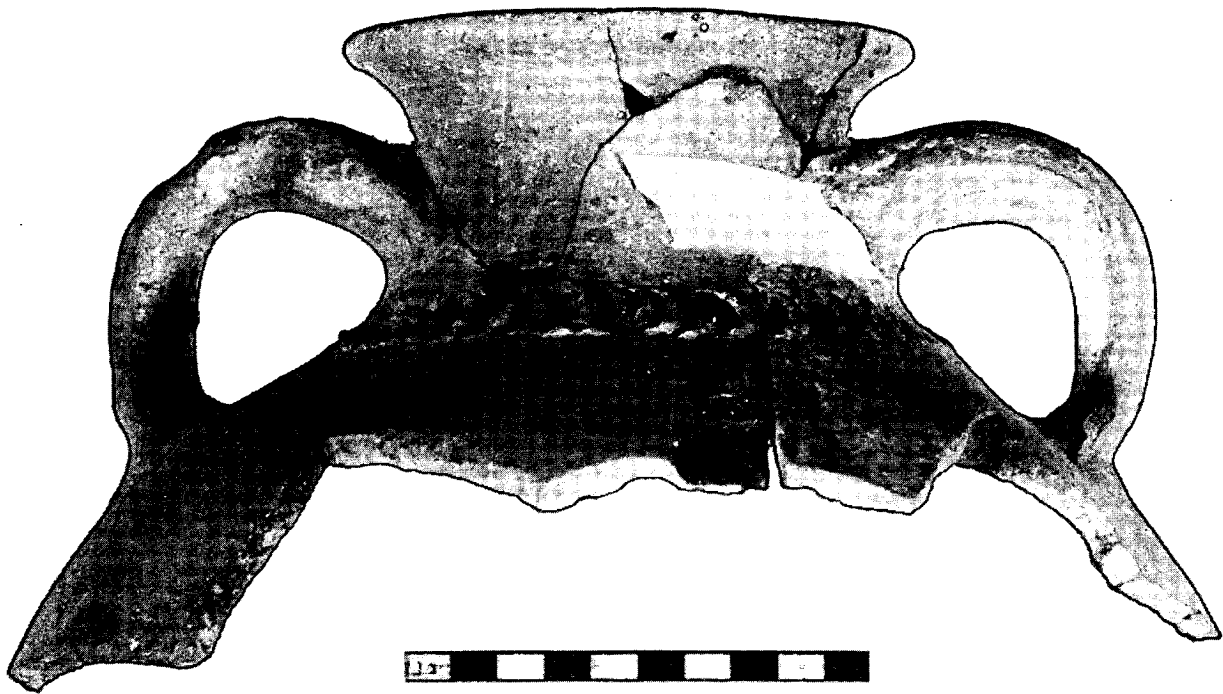
Plate 7. Dreijat pottery.

Plate 8. Excavated rooms in Dreijat.
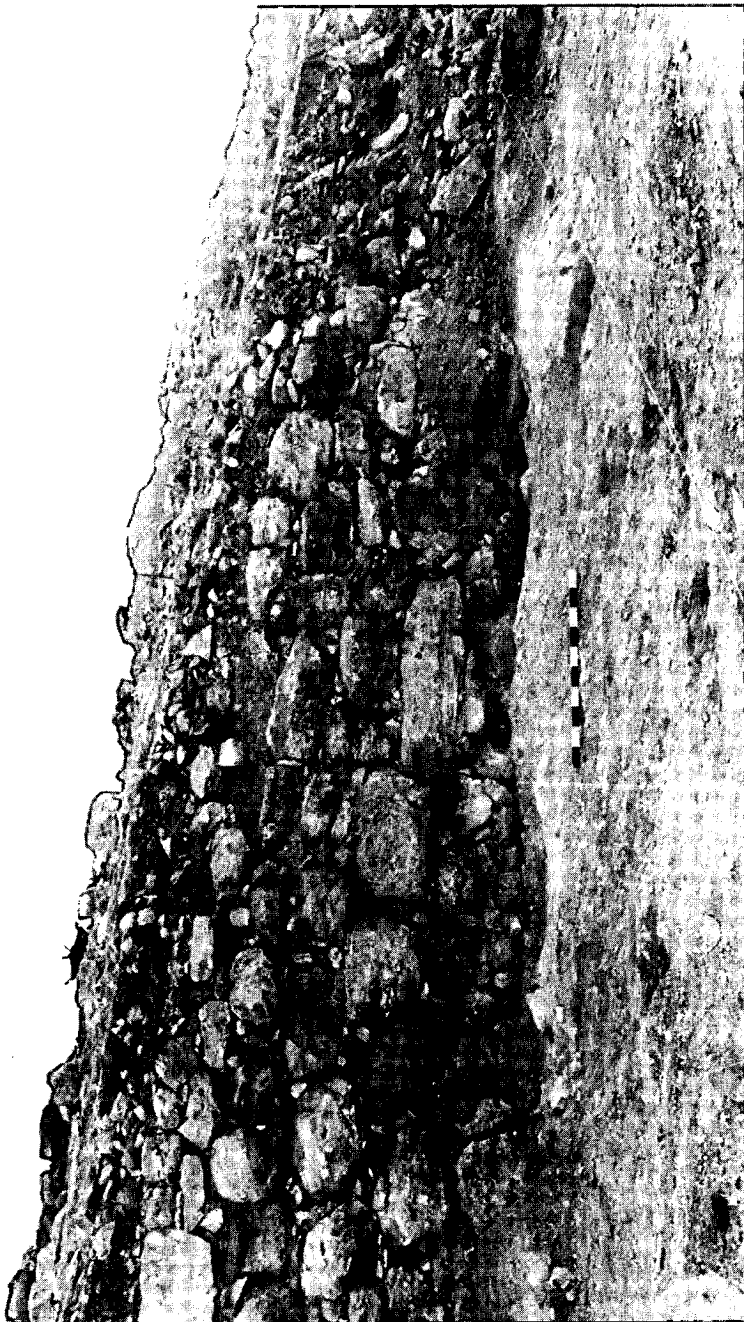
Plate 9. Bulldozed wall at Jawa.

Plate 10. Figurine of Ammonite King.

Plate 11. Javelin Point at Jawa.

TELL EL-'UMEIRI

DRAWN BY
    GLENN JOHNSON
    MERLING ALOMIA
    GILLIAN GERATY
    RASCHEL BARTON
    ROBERT LOOS
    LARRY HERR
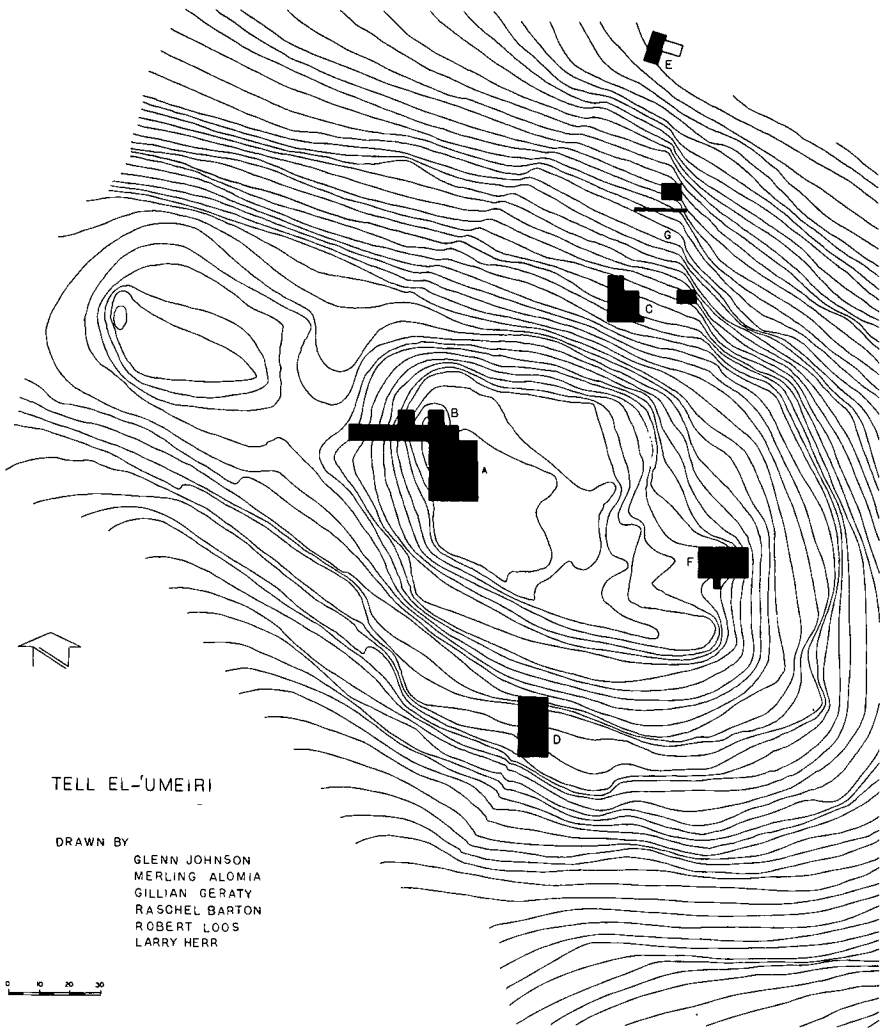
Plate 12. Topographical map of Tell el-ᶜUmeiri.

Plate 13. EB III street and domestic complexes in Field D.

Plate 14. *In situ* EB III vessels in Field D.

Plate 15. MB II rampart in Field B.

Plate 16. LB fertility plaque.
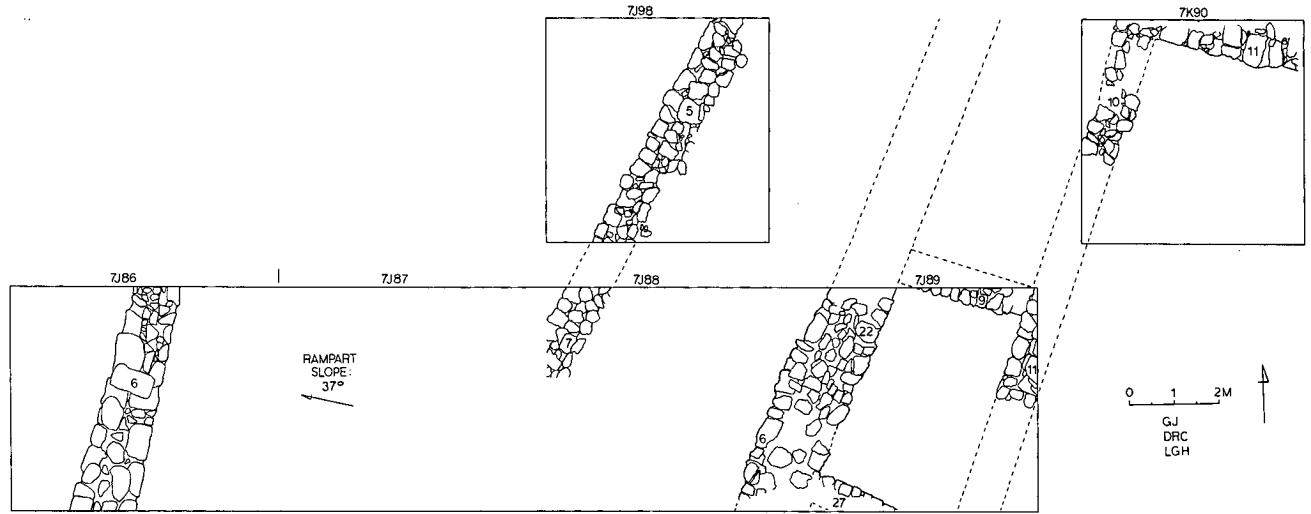
Plate 17. Plan of the Iron I casemate wall system after the 1987 season.
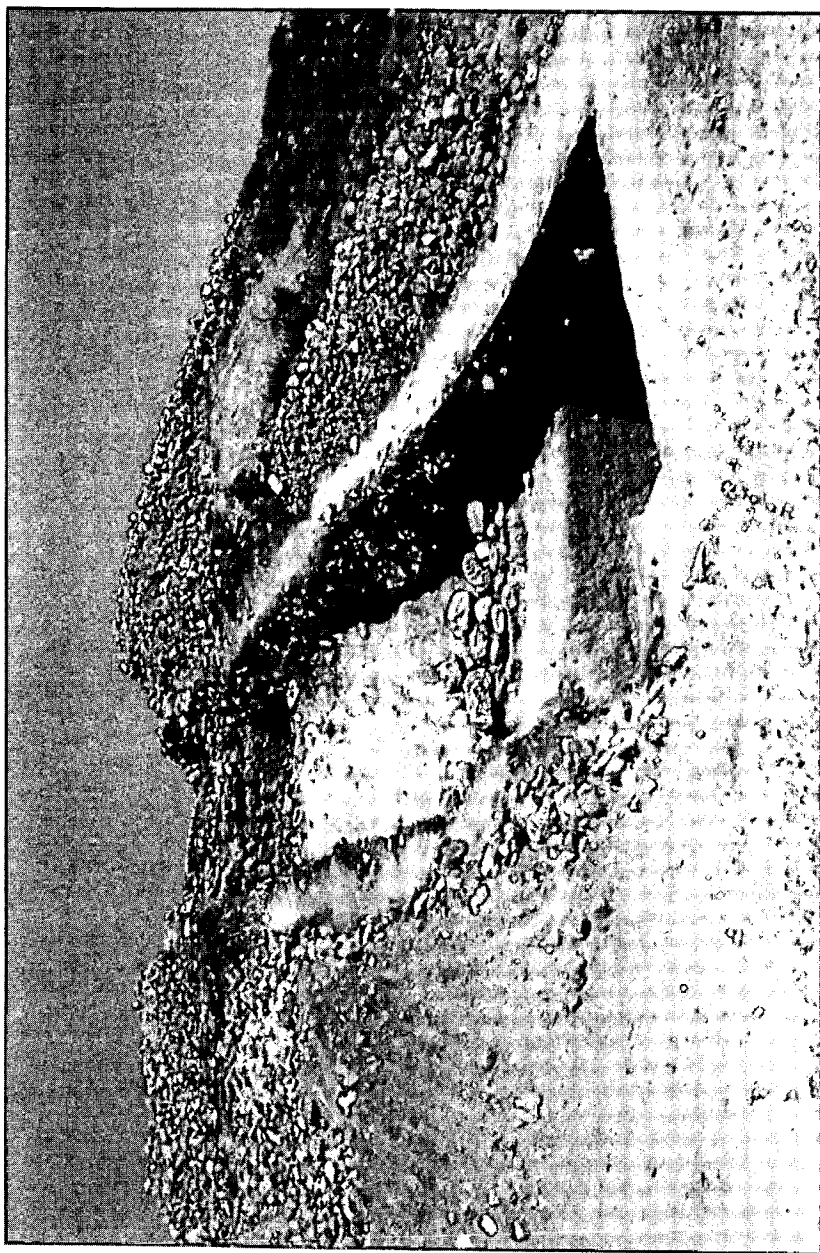
Plate 18. Iron I rampart sloping against the outer casemate wall.

Plate 19. Smashed collared-rim storejars in the Iron I casemate room.
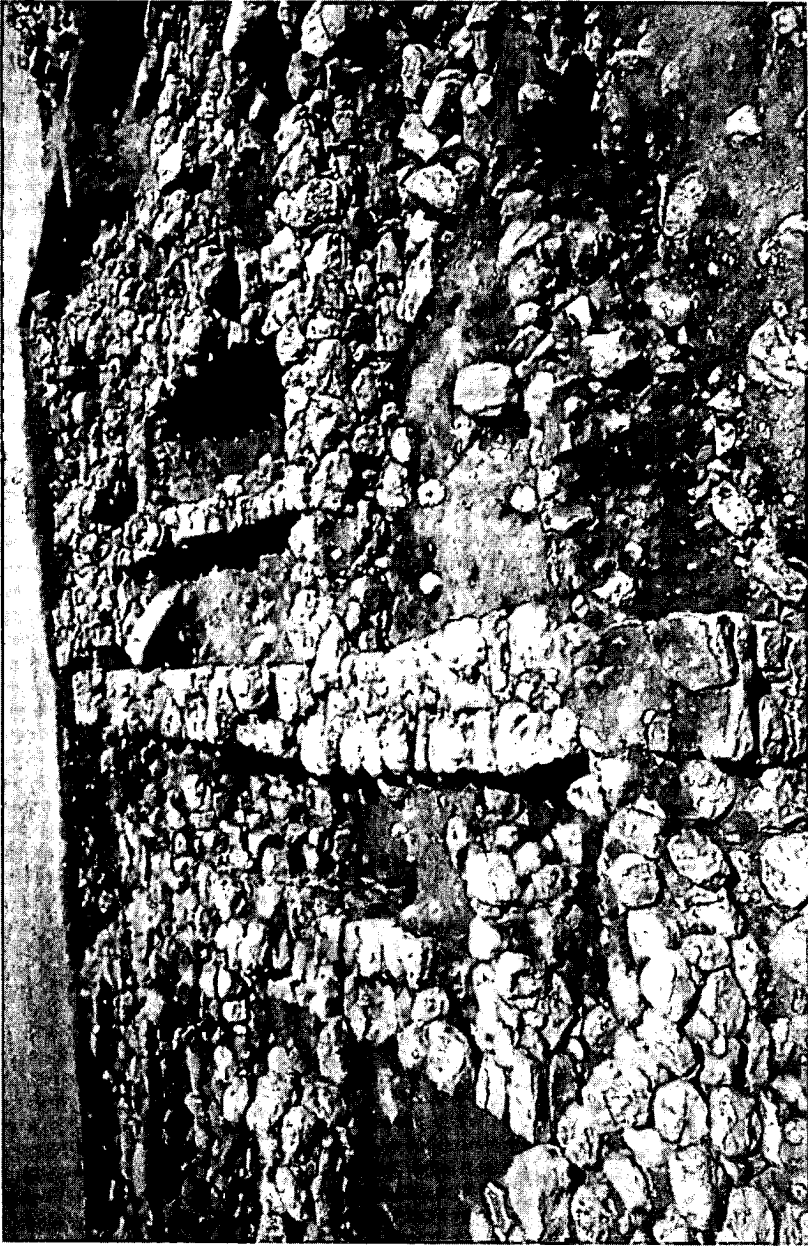
Plate 20. Walls of the late Iron II four-room house in Field A cut by walls of the later phase.
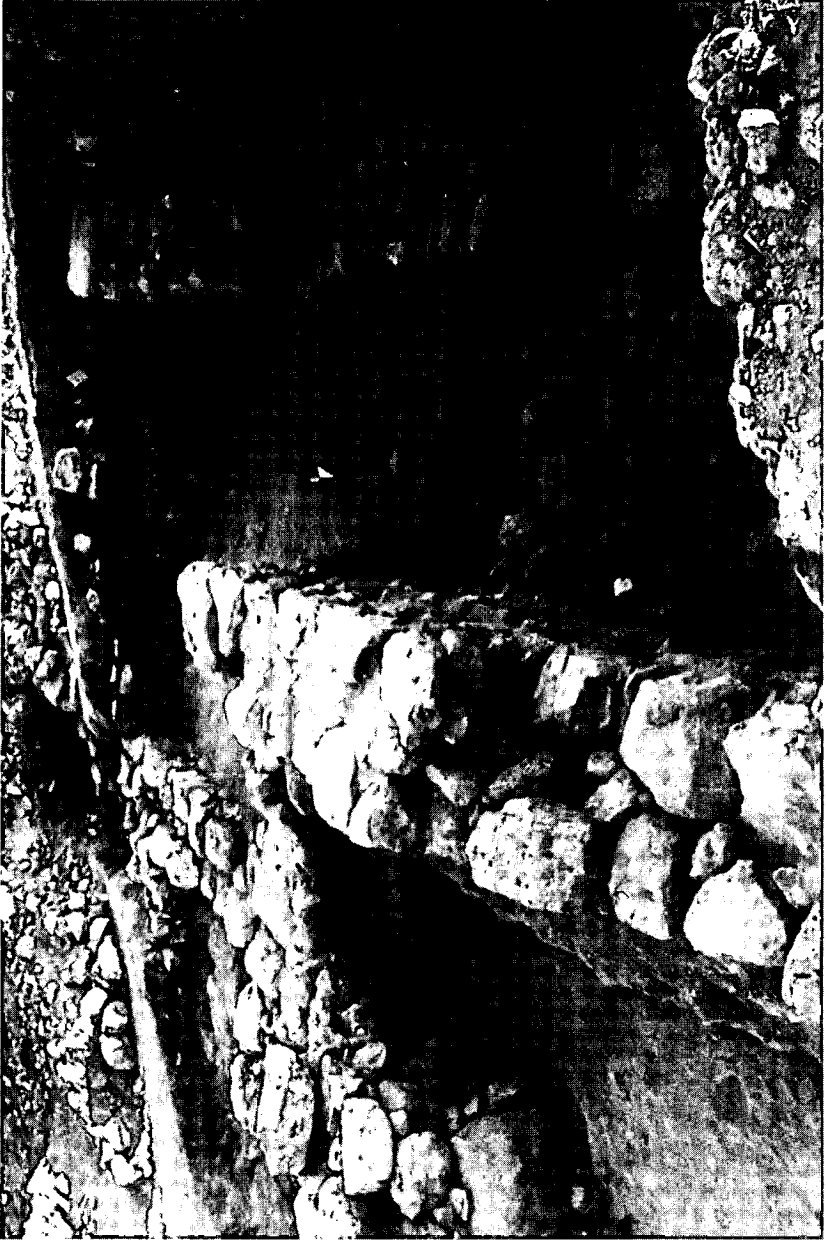
Plate 21. Parallel Iron II walls in Field F.

Plate 22. Walls of the Late Iron II House cut by walls of the later phase.
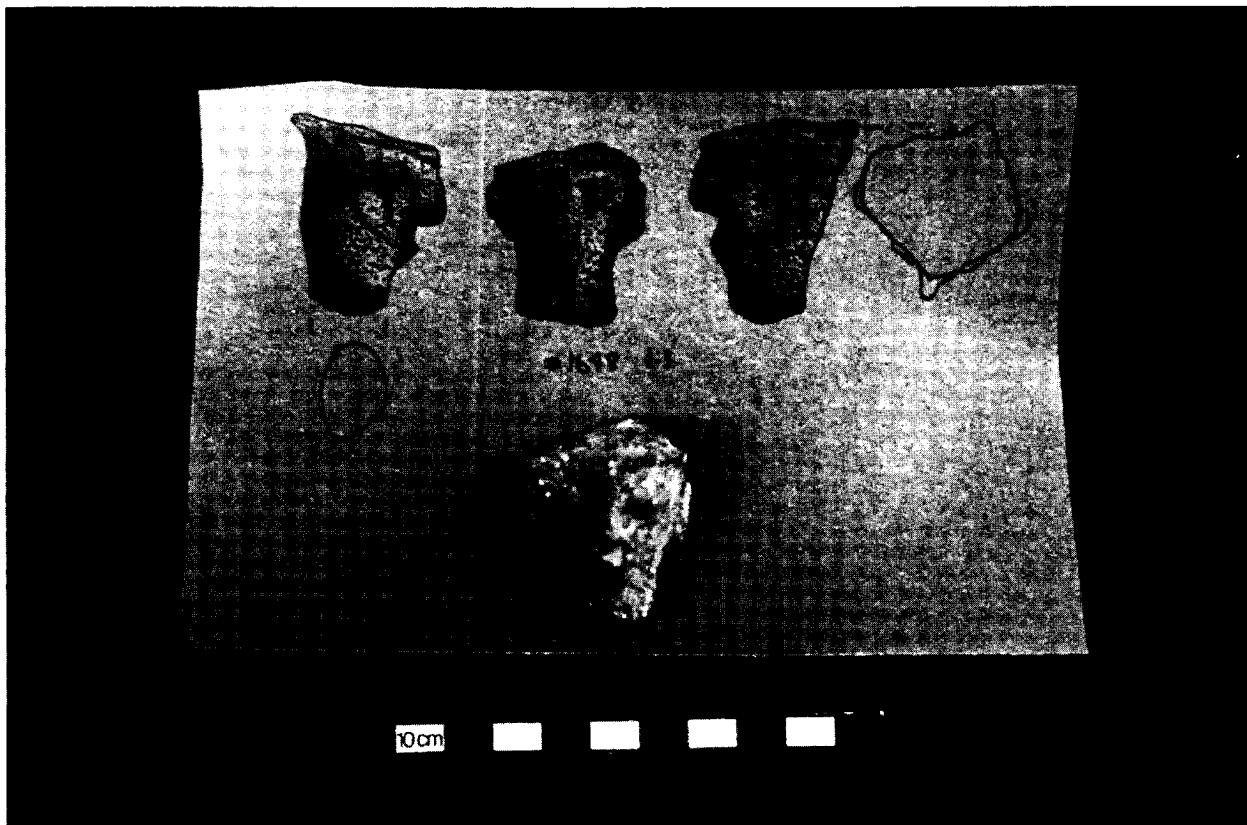
Plate 23. Figurine from Field A.

Plate 24. Iron II cobble and plaster structure at the water source cut by Byzantine foundation pit.
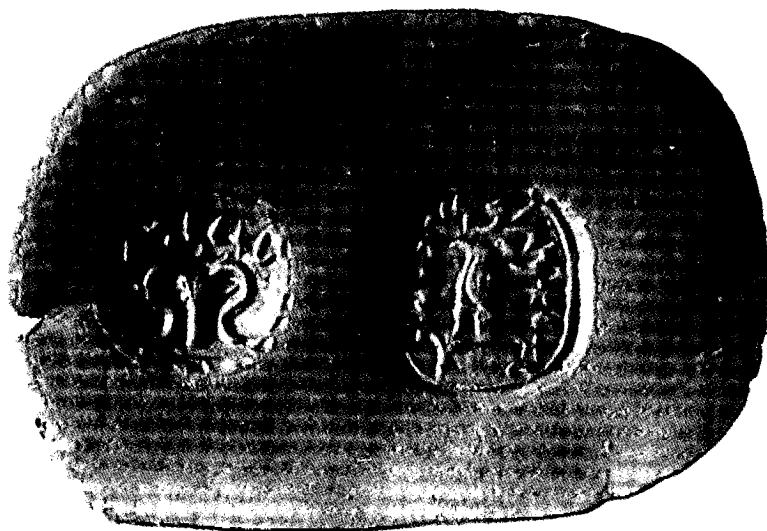
Plate 25. Seal of ꞌElꞌamas, son of Tamakꞌel.

A NOTE ON THE "SEAT OF MOSES"
(Matthew 23:2)

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Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether the "seat of Moses" mentioned in Matt 23:2 is to be understood literally or figuratively. F. W. Beare, for example, thinks that the saying is metaphorical and serves merely as a foil for what follows.[1] David Hill, on the other hand, takes the saying literally: The reference is to a real seat upon which the Jewish leaders sat.[2] Neither author, however, presents any substantial evidence to support his respective view. In this article I wish to call attention to certain evidence which seems to elucidate this verse. My conclusion is that the position of Hill is basically correct.

1. Archaeological Evidence

E. L. Sukenik, who has done much to make the possible context of Matt 23:2 clearer, gives several examples of "Chairs of Moses" found by archaeologists.[3] The first to be unearthed was that

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[1]F. W. Beare, *The Gospel according to Matthew* (Oxford, 1981), p. 448. See also R. T. France, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (Downers Grove, IL, 1985), p. 324; Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 5th ed., Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1981), p. 483; M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Matthieu*, Études Bibliques (Paris, 1923), p. 437; F. N. Peloubet, *The Teacher's Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew* (New York, 1901), p. 271.

[2]David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, The New Century Bible Commentary, (Grand Rapids, MI, 1972), p. 310. See also A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 6th ed. (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 663; J. C. Fenton, *Saint Matthew*, Westminster Pelican Commentaries (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 366; H. Benedict Green, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, The New Clarendon Bible (London, 1975), p. 189; K. Stendahl, "Matthew," in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, eds. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (London, 1962), p. 792; W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew*, AB (Garden City, NY, 1971), p. 278; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982), p. 453-454; P. Benoit, *L'Évangile selon Matthieu* (Paris, 1961), p. 139.

[3]E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (London, 1934), p. 57-61.

at Ḥammath-by-Tiberias. This seat was carved from a single block
of white limestone and measures some 94 cm. by 60 cm. As might
be expected, the chair was found with its back towards Jerusalem,
meaning that the one who sat upon it would be facing the
congregation.[4]

In 1962 a better preserved "seat of Moses" than that of
Ḥammath-by-Tiberias came to light at Chorazin. This seat, too,
was carved from a single block of stone. The chair stands 56 cm.
high and 73 cm. broad and originally had armrests and a back.[5] On
the front of the chair is an inscription which reads, according to
Sukenik's translation, "1. Remembered be for good Judah b. Ish-
mael 2. who made this στοά 3. and its staircase. As his reward
4. may he have a share with the righteous."[6]

A third example of this sort of chair comes from Delos. Both
Ant. 14.213,231 and 1 Macc 15:23 indicate that a Jewish community
was well entrenched there from early times. Belle Mazur has strongly
argued that the building uncovered at Delos is not in fact a syna-
gogue,[7] and her arguments have convinced, among others, Cecil
Roth.[8] Mazur points out that the building does not face Jerusalem
but rather faces to the Northeast.[9] This factor alone, however, does
not provide sufficient support for Mazur's contentions, for, as An-
drew Seager has noted, not all synagogues faced Jerusalem.[10] More
importantly, Mazur has failed to explain the numerous religious
inscriptions found in the building.[11] Sukenik treats the Delos build-
ing as a synagogue, and indicates that it is one of the earliest
known, perhaps dating back to the end of the second century B.C.[12]

[4]Ibid., p. 58-59.

[5]See the photographs accompanying J. Ory, "An Inscription Newly Found in
the Synagogue of Kerazeh," *PEFQS* 59 (1927): 51.

[6]Sukenik, p. 60.

[7]Belle Mazur, *Studies on Jewry in Greece* (Athens, 1935), pp. 9, 15-22.

[8]Cecil Roth, "The 'Chair of Moses' and Its Survivals," *PEQ* 81 (1949): 100-111.

[9]Mazur, p. 20.

[10]Andrew R. Seager, "Ancient Synagogue Architecture: An Overview," in *An-
cient Synagogues: The State of Research,* ed. Joseph Gutmann, Brown Judaic
Studies, no. 22 (Chico, CA, 1981), p. 41 and fig. 5.

[11]P. Jean-Baptiste Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum: Recueil des inscrip-
tions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jesus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère,* 2
vols. (Rome, 1936), 1:725-731.

[12]Sukenik, p. 40.

The marble seat found in the ruins may, therefore, be one of the oldest examples of a seat of Moses known.[13]

2. *Literary Evidence*

Whether these chairs were actually called "seats of Moses" is not entirely clear. The literary evidence is thin indeed, for aside from Matt 23:2 itself the expression "seat of Moses" seems not to be used in early sources. The earliest reference outside of the NT appears in *Pesikta de Rab Kahana,* which most authorities class among the earliest of the *Midrashim,* perhaps dating back to the fourth century A.D.[14] The *Pesikta* passage in question refers to a Palestinian scholar by the name of Rabbi Aha, who, when explaining the biblical description of Solomon's throne, said that it was "like the *Kathedra* of Moses " (כהדא קתדרא דמשה).[15] The suggestion made by M. Ginsburger that the reading of the *Pesikta* needs drastic emendation and that consequently the "seat of Moses" never existed[16] has not found favor among scholars. Moreover, in the light of the archaeological discoveries made since Ginsburger's article appeared, his suggestion does indeed seem unnecessary. It appears, then, that at least by the fourth to fifth centuries the "seat of Moses" was the name given to some artifact of Jewish life. Relying partly upon the reading of Matt 23:2 itself, we may not be too far wrong in suggesting that this was a chair found in the synagogue of the type unearthed at Chorazin, Tiberias, and Delos.

But was this seat reserved for the leaders of the Jewish community, and did these teachers sit upon it in a literal sense? Cecil Roth answers these questions in the negative, and his suggestions need careful examination. He points out that there exists in Rome a community of Jews which claims a continuous tradition going back to classical times, and that this community has a practice which may throw some light upon the problematic "chair of Moses"

[13]Ibid., p. 61 gives a diagram of the seat.

[14]See, e.g., Bernard Mandelbaum, "Pesikta De-Rav Kahana," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem, 1971), 13: 333-334 and J. Theodor, "Midrash Haggadah," in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1904), pp. 559-560.

[15]Solomon Buber, *Pĕsikta dĕ-Rab Kahăna* (1868), sec. 1, p. 12; William G. Braude and Israel J. Kapstein, trans., *Pĕsikta dĕ-Rab Kahăna* (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 17.

[16]M. Ginsburger, "La 'Chaire de Moise,'" *Revue des Études Juives* 90 (1931): 161-165.

mentioned in Matt 23:2.[17] There are times during the synagogue
service when the scroll of the law is not in use. The general custom
among Jews is that, when the scroll is not in use, it is held by an
individual who has been assigned this task. Roth points out that
this custom is not, however, followed in Rome. Instead, whenever
the scroll of the law is not in direct use, it is placed upon a "chair"
which has been especially designed for this purpose, having holes
drilled into the seat in which the staves of the scroll may be
inserted in order to keep the scroll in place.

Roth is fully aware, of course, that the present Great Syna-
gogue of Rome was built at the beginning of the present century
and that this particular seat can therefore hardly be used to illumi-
nate the practices of first-century Judaism.[18] But what is especially
to be noted is that the basement of the present building houses
several earlier examples of such chairs, the oldest of which bears an
inscription dated 1594.[19] All of these earlier chairs have similar
holes bored in them and were therefore probably used for the same
purpose.

Further evidence for Roth's hypothesis comes from the eigh-
teenth-century Jews of China. In 1704 a certain Jesuit priest by the
name of Jean-Paul Gozani visited a community of Jews at Kai-
Feng-Fu and published a description of their synagogue.[20] Among
other details, Gozani mentions that in the midst of their synagogue
was "a magnificent and highly elevated chair, with a beautiful
embroidered cushion." "It is," Gozani continues, "the chair of
Moses [chaire de Moise], on which on Saturdays (their Sundays) and
the most solemn days they place the book of the Pentateuch. . . ."[21]

This evidence does not stand alone, for Roth also notes that a
later Jesuit priest, Gabriel Brotier (ca. 1770), also recorded that it
was the practice of the Jews of Kai-Feng-Fu to place "the scrip-
tures" on the chair after it had been read to the people.[22]

[17]Roth, pp. 103-104.

[18]Ibid., p. 104.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid., pp. 105-106; see also M. Sulzberger, "Encore le Siège de Moise," *Revue
des Études Juives* 35 (1897): 110-111.

[21]Sulzberger, p. 110.

[22]Roth, p. 106. For a much more complete account of the Jews of Kai Feng Fu,
including a discussion of the "Seat of Moses" found in the synagogue (pp. 8, 13-15,

Roth's observations are important, though they may not be decisive. We cannot be sure that the Jews of the Kai-Feng-Fu synagogue themselves called this "chair" the seat of Moses. Both of the Jesuit priests may have been influenced in their understanding of the synagogue ornamentation by the passage from Matthew presently under discussion. It does, however, seem at least possible that in some Jewish communities some form of seat, possibly known as the "chair of Moses," was used, not as a place from which the law was read and expounded, but as a stand for the law-scroll itself.

Whether this was the practice in first-century Palestine cannot be determined with certainty. It would be unwise to base any understanding of Matt 23:2 on the data available from sixteenth-century Rome and eighteenth-century China. Further, Roth himself notes that the "chair of Moses" now evident in Rome, is scarcely wide enough to enable anyone to sit upon it comfortably.[23] This is not the case, however, with the much larger chairs found at Chorazin, Hammath-by-Tiberias, and Delos.

Finally, on an exegetical level, Roth's suggestion that the words of Matt 23:2 are symbolic and that the phrase "they sit on Moses' seat" merely points to intellectual arrogance [24] must be viewed with suspicion, for, if such is the case, what is meant by the words "therefore do all that they tell you"? Is the meaning of Matthew 23:2 really that "the scribes and the Pharisees are intel-lectually arrogant, therefore you should obey them"? Is it not more probable that at one time the "chair of Moses" was a seat upon which sat teachers who were in some way considered authoritative expounders of Torah?

3. Conclusion

In light of the available archaeological and written evidence we conclude that the best understanding of the "seat of Moses"

40, 43, 128), see William Charles White, *Chinese Jews: A Compilation of Matters relating to the Jews of K'ai fêng Fu*, 2d ed. (Toronto, 1966), and Michael Pollak, *Mandarins, Jews, and Missionaries: The Jewish Experience in the Chinese Empire* (Philadelphia, 1980).

[23]Roth, p. 104.

[24]Roth, p. 110.

found in Matt 23:2 is that it refers to an actual seat upon which the leaders of the Jewish congregation sat. This ties in well with the most probable exegetical understanding of the verse. Indeed, it may be that Matt 23:2 in its context within the chapter is itself the best evidence to support a literal understanding of the phrase "chair of Moses."

THE ᶜIZBET ṢARṬAH OSTRACON

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More than a decade has passed since the five line ostracon from ᶜIzbet Ṣarṭah was recovered from an Early Iron Age grain silo at the site.[1] The fifth line of this text was soon identified as an alphabet.[2] The preceding four lines have remained undeciphered, however, and they are generally considered to be a random distribution of letters from scribal practice of the alphabet.[3]

Only one scholar has been able to make some sense out of any of the letter combinations. A. Dotan, from his partial translation of the text, interpreted it as recording the gift of some garments from one person to another.[4] The conclusions reached about the nature of this text here differ considerably from those of Dotan, but his ground-breaking study provided an important advance in understanding that served as a point of departure for this present study.

Dotan's specific contributions include the identification of three occurrences of the verb ʾāṭāh, "to come," in the first, second, and fourth lines; the identification of the word or name for Baal in the second line; and the suggestion to interpret the first word in the

[1]For the original publication of the text, see Moshe Kochavi, "An Ostracon of the Period of the Judges from ᶜIzbet Ṣarṭah," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 1-13.

[2]Aaron Demsky, "A Proto-Canaanite Abecedary Dating from the Period of the Judges and Its Implications for the History of the Alphabet," *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977): 14-27.

[3]Javier Teixidor, "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique: 1978-1979," *Syria* 56 (1979): 353-354; Joseph Naveh, "The Greek Alphabet: New Evidence," *BA* 43 (1980): 25; Frank Moore Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *BASOR* 238 (1980): 9; Émile Puech, "Origine de l'alphabet: Documents en alphabet lineaire et cunéiforme du IIᵉ millénaire," *RB* 93 (1986): 170-172. This is still the position that Demsky holds after reviewing a decade of studies on this text in his "The ᶜIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon Ten Years Later," in *ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah: An Early Iron Age Site near Rosh Haᶜayin, Israel*, ed. Israel Finkelstein, BAR International Series, vol. 299 (Oxford, Eng., 1986), p. 192.

[4]A. Dotan, "New Light on the ᶜIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon," *Tel Aviv* 8 (1981): 160-172.

59

second line as the Hebrew word for "garment," k^e_tonet_. While this last suggestion does not appear to be precisely correct, it still has pointed the way to a more specific identification of that word, a word which has turned out to be very important for understanding the nature of the contents of this text.

1. *General Content of the Text*

My further study of this text has led to the development of alternate readings for some of the letters previously identified and to the identification of letters in the inscription not previously noted in other studies. Grouping these letters together according to their most logical word divisions has yielded the translation and interpretation of this text presented below.

Line-by-line Context

The first line of the text tells of the advance of a group of people from Shiloh to a field at Aphek. Since they came from what is known biblically to have been an Israelite site, it is reasonable to identify this group as Israelites. This identification is confirmed by the fact that the text was found at a site which is Israelite in terms of location and archaeology, as well as by the contents of the fourth line of the text.

The second line identifies a second party as Kittim, or Sea Peoples, which historically included Philistines. Because of the close correspondence of these two groups and their actions to the events described in 1 Sam 4, this text thus far already provides presumptive evidence that it refers to the same events as those described in that biblical passage. According to the rest of the second line, these Kittim took away some unnamed object, presumably the Ark of the Covenant according to biblical parallels, and took it to a series of sites. Three of those sites are named in this line, and two of them are also recognizable in the narrative of 1 Sam 5.

The short third line provides the name of another place, this being the site to which the Ark was returned when it came back to Israelite territory according to 1 Sam 6. The fourth line appears to refer back to events contemporary with those narrated in the first line.

Taken together, these contents of this text correlate quite directly with those described in 1 Sam 4-6. This connection leads to

the conclusion that this ostracon provides a contemporary witness to the events described in that biblical passage.

Preliminary Considerations in Reading the Inscription

Preliminary evidence indicates that this text was intended to be read. Some of the letters from the line of the alphabet were used several times in the lines above it, while others were not used at all. Still other letters were used several times in the same order. Lexical reasons provide the best explanation for this selectivity. In terms of layout, the long second and fourth lines extend across the sherd and down its right margin. The shorter first and third lines extend only part way across the sherd from the left margin. This format indicates that these lines were written from left to right, just as the alphabet was. Since the lines of ancient inscriptions customarily read from top to bottom, these lines should be read in that same direction.

Several letters in this text can easily be confused. *Beth, lamed,* and ʿ*ayin* are all circular letters with different kinds of dots and lines in their circles. *Qoph* and *reš* both have circular heads and vertical tails. *Mem* was thought to be missing from the alphabet, but a new identification for it is proposed below. This identification for the *mem* has led to a new identification for the *nun.* Distinctions between similar-looking letters have to be made on the basis of form and function, i.e., the shape of the letter and the sense which it brings to its word and context. No conjunctions or articles appear in this text as translated here, which is in accordance with its early date.

Several photographs and line drawings of the inscription have been published.[5] The best and most useful photographs of the inscription are the earliest one, published with M. Kochavi's preliminary report on ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah,[6] and the most recent one, published by Aaron Demsky in I. Finkelstein's final report on the excavations at that site.[7] Since the sherd was lighted from different angles when these photographs were taken, some letters stand out

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[5]Photographs of the inscription appear with Kochavi's article mentioned in n. 1 above, and with the articles of Naveh, Cross, and Demsky cited in n. 3. An additional photograph of the inscription, taken by M. Weinberg, appears in Robert W. Suder, *Hebrew Inscriptions: A Classified Bibliography* (London, 1984), p. 104.

[6]See the Plate 1 in the Kochavi study of n. 1.

[7]See the plate that accompanies Demsky's work cited in n. 3.

better than others in each of the pictures. I have compared the
published photographs and line drawings of the ostracon with the
sherd itself as it is displayed in its cabinet in the Israel Museum in
Jerusalem. (See **Figure 1** for my own line drawing.)

2. *The Text and Translation*

Transcription

Slash marks represent the break between the two halves of the
ostracon. Circles above letters indicate that they have been damaged.

1) ʾ, L, Ś, D, Y, ʾ, T, Y, N, / ʾ, P, Q, M, Š, L
2) K, T, T, M, L, Q, Ḥ, ʾ, T, L, ʾ, Z, R, / D, G, N, B, ᶜ, L, ʾ, Š,
   D, D, G, T
3) Y, ᶜ, R, M, Q, R, Y, H
4) R, ᶜ, R, G, L, M, Ḥ, P, N, ʾ, T, L, H, G, / D, Z, Q, N, M, S,
   W, S, B, ʾ, ᶜ, L, ʾ, Ḥ, L, Q, B, R, N
5) ʾ, B, G, D, H, N+W, Ḥ, Z, Ṭ, Y, K, L, M, / S, P, ᶜ, Ṣ, Q, R,
   Š-Ś, T

Word Divisions

ʾ*Aleph* and ᶜ*ayin* have been vocalized here to point toward the
words in which they function.

1) ʾl śdy ʾtyn / ʾpq mšl
2) kttm lqḥ ʾt lʾzr / dgn bᶜl ʾšdd gt
3) yᶜrm qryh
4) rᶜ rglm ḥpn ʾt lhg/d zqnm sws bʾ ᶜl ʾḥ lqbrn
5) The alphabet

Translation

1) Unto the field we came /, (unto) Aphek from Shiloh.
2) The Kittim took (it and) came to Azor, / (to) Dagon lord of
   Ashdod, (and to) Gath.
3) (It returned to) Kiriath-Jearim.
4) The companion of the footsoldiers, Hophni, came to tel/l
   the elders, "a horse has come (and) upon (it was my) brother
   for us to bury."

3. *Commentary*

The Alphabet

Any attempt to translate this text requires that comparisons be
made between the alphabet of the fifth line and the letters in the
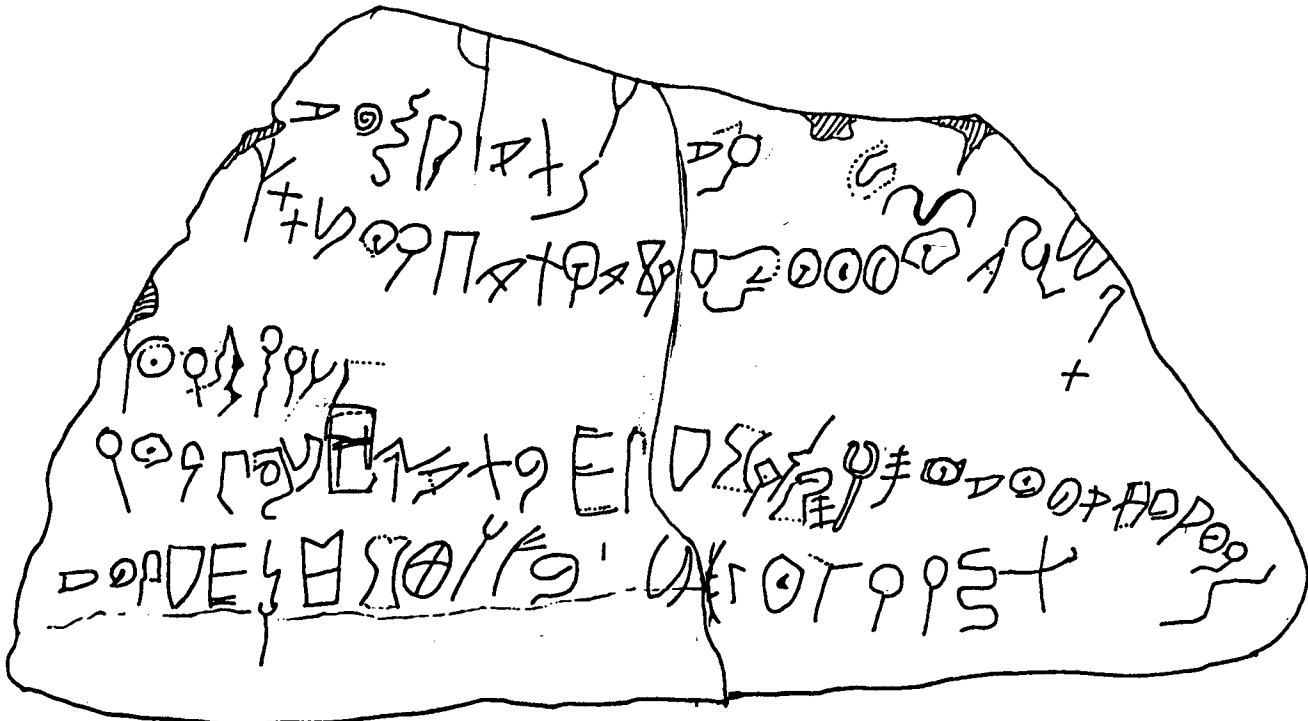
Figure 1. Drawing of ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon (by William H. Shea).

four preceding lines. Thus, analysis of this inscription should start with the alphabet as a key to its decipherment. Most of the letters in the alphabet are clear. *ʿAyin* and *pe* are reversed in comparison to their later alphabetic positions, but examples of this kind of reversal can be found in other Hebrew texts. No parallels for the reversal of *ḥet* and *zayin* are known, however, so this feature of the alphabet should be attributed to the individual scribe who incised this text.

More serious is the matter of the *waw*. F. M. Cross has pointed out that the scribe substituted another letter in its place, and he suggested a *mem* for the letter substituted.[8] The photographs demonstrate, however, that the vertical stroke of this letter angles sharply to the left at the mid-point of its upper half. This is consistent with the form of a *nun* in other early alphabets, and this letter functions well as a *nun* in the lines above.

Since a *nun* has taken the place of the *waw*, one might assume that no *waw* was present in this alphabet, but that is not the case. The half of the alphabet to the left of the break was written above an incised horizontal line. The only letter which extends below this line extends down from the same position as the *nun*. It has a small circular head right at the line and a vertical tail that extends down from it. This is consistent with the form of the open-headed *waw* of other early alphabets, and this letter functions well as a *waw* in the lines above.

When the scribe came to the *mem* he recognized that he mistakenly had written the *nun* in the place of the *waw*. So he went back and wrote the *waw* in the same position, but below the line. When he came back to where he left off, he could only write a *mem* because he had already used the *nun*. Thus the last letter before the break is a *mem*, not the *nun* with which it has previously been identified. From that point on he continued to the end of the alphabet in the customary order, with the exception of the reversal of the *ʿayin* and *pe*.

Line 1: *ʾl śdy ʾtyn / ʾpq mšl*

      "Unto the field we came, / (unto) Apek from Shiloh."

Copyists agree upon the first four letters in this line. The *ʾaleph* is clear. A circular letter which could be either a *beth* or a

[8]Cross, pp. 9, 10.

lamed follows. A *beth* here would produce the word *ʾab*, "father," but this is hard to relate to the rest of this line. With a *lamed*, *ʾel* could be taken either as the word for God or the preposition "to." Since the verb which follows in this line is in the first person plural and since the rest of this line and the text focus upon human activity, the preposition is more likely here than the word for God.

The third letter in this line has been identified previously as a *šin/śin*. Although the fourth letter is somewhat irregular, it still is comparable to the triangular *dalet* of the alphabetic line, and it has been identified as a *dalet* since this text was first published.[9] The letter following the *dalet* has been copied previously as either a *taw* or *ḥet*. It does have a vertical leg on the left, but it does not have a vertical leg on the right, so it cannot be a *ḥet*. It does not have any crossbars, so it cannot be a *taw*. To identify this letter it should be noted that it extends out further, to the edge of the sherd, and just before it reaches that margin it gives off a short stroke which curves upward to the left. This forked head on a vertical stem identifies this letter as a *yod*.

This second word in line 1, should be read either as *šdy* or *śdy*. *šdy* could represent the patriarchal epithet for God as *šadday*, but the same reasons against translating the initial *ʾel* as El or God are against this proposal too. Thus, this word should be read as *śdy* with a *śin*. *śadeh* is the Hebrew word for "field" and that is the way this word should be translated here. While the final *e*-vowel of this noun was more commonly written with *he*, there is at least one early instance in which it was written with a *yod* (Deut 32:13). The *yod* present here may serve that same function.

The *ʾaleph* and *taw* which come next are reasonably clear and have been identified as such by previous copyists. Dotan correctly identified this combination as representing the verb *ʾāṯāh*, "to come."[10] This verb occurs twice more in this text, written directly below this form, in the second and fourth lines. The upper half of the letter which follows the *taw* was incised with a vertical stroke which angles upward to the right and forks as it approaches the edge of the sherd. Thus it is to be identified as a *yod*. Another letter extends down to the left from the lower end of the *yod*. This is the

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[9]Kochavi, p. 5.

[10]Dotan, pp. 162-163, 167.

notched form of a *nun* which is lying on its side. This *nun* matches
well with the horizontally-oriented *nun* that occurs as the last letter
in the fourth line. The lower pole of the *yod* and the upper pole of
the *nun* were written so closely together that they appear to be
ligatured. Given that close connection of the *yod* as the superior
letter and the *nun* as the inferior letter, the *yod* should probably be
read first.

The whole of this verb reads as *ʾtyn*. The *ʾaleph* and *taw*
represent the verbal root. The *yod* is interpreted here as reflecting
the final radical of this doubly weak Lamed He verb. The *nun*
should be taken as the sufformative of the first person plural in the
perfect tense. This first person plural verb should therefore be
translated, "we came."

The three words to the left of the break in the sherd thus
comprise a complete phrase or sentence consisting of a preposi-
tional phrase followed by a verb: "Unto the field we came." Geo-
graphical information from the second half of the first line indicates
that the first-person subject of this verb should be understood as
Israelites. They stand in contrast and opposition to the opposing
group identified by name at the beginning of the second line.

There is sufficient space between the *yod* and *nun* and the
break in the sherd for another letter to have been written here.
Some traces appear in this space, but they do not make up an
identifiable letter. If another letter had been written here it probably
would have been either a *lamed* or a *mem* used prepositionally.
Since neither of these letters, or any other letter, can be detected in
this space, it has been left blank. Nevertheless, the idea of a prepo-
sition should still be understood as functioning here, even though
it was not written out.

The phrase which follows appears to contain two toponyms,
the second of which is preceded by a prepositional *mem*. The first
should thus be understood as preceded by a prepositional *lamed*,
even though it was not written out; it can be understood as being
taken over from the preposition *ʾel* written at the beginning of line.
Occurrences of prepositions being understood later in a line after
being written out earlier appear also in the second line; here three
toponyms occur, but the first is the only one preceded by a written
prepositional *lamed*.

Two letters have been recognized previously following the
break in this line, a clear example of an *ʾaleph* followed by a

circular letter.[11] This circular letter has generally been identified as an ʿayin, but it contains no dot like the other ʿayins of this text. It also has a tail which angles down toward the left and then bends toward the horizontal to reach the break in the sherd. There is a dot in this letter at the point where the tail takes off from the circle. The round head of this letter makes it either a qoph or a reš. Given the size of that head and its fit with its context, this letter should be identified as a qoph. But ʾaleph and qoph alone do not make up a good Hebrew word, so another letter must be present here. That other letter is located just above the right side of the ʾaleph. There a short horizontal line runs over to the left upper quadrant of the circular head of the qoph, and at that point it angles sharply downward. This letter resembles the pe in the alphabetic line, but it has been rotated 90° to the right. This pe shows up best in the photograph published with Demsky's report.

Located as it is, overlapping the ʾaleph and the qoph, this pe should be read between them. Thus this word is ʾpq, which can be equated directly with the place name of Aphek, the location where the Philistines encamped and where they fought the Israelite troops according to 1 Sam 4:1. With the idea of the preposition from the beginning of this line being understood here, this toponym indicates that it was "unto" Aphek that "we [the Israelites] came." The idea of the field from the beginning of this line should also be understood here, the two parts of the first line being parallel. In one case it was unto the field that the Israelites came, and in the other case it was unto Aphek. Thus, this field should have been located at Aphek, and that is what 1 Sam 4:1-2 indicates to be the case: Verse 1 states that the Philistines encamped at Aphek, and verse 2 says that the Israelites fought them on a field (śadeh) there.

A short distance to the right of the qoph in Aphek appear the traces of a letter which consisted of a large outer loop and a smaller, more-angular inner loop. The lines of these two loops extend down to the left, where they meet. This letter comes closest in form to the mem in the alphabetic line, and it also resembles the mem in zqnm in the fourth line. This letter is more readily visible

[11]An ʾaleph followed by a circle is the way in which these letters have been copied as early as Kochavi's original report on the text (1977) and as recently as Puech's study (1986). See the line drawings found in Kochavi, p. 5 and Puech, p. 171.

in the Kochavi photograph than it is in the Demsky photograph.
This letter functions best here as the preposition "from," prefixed
to the following word.

A large gull-wing-shaped sign follows next, beginning just to
the right and below the end of the lower stroke of the *mem*. It is
quite clear in the Demsky photograph, but hardly shows up in the
Kochavi photo. The central V of this sign is especially deeply
incised in a shallow groove in the sherd. Its form makes it a *šin*,
horizontally oriented. A circular letter is visible in the Demsky
photograph located directly below the right wing of the *šin*. Its
circular stroke ends by turning in to the center of the circle and
there it ends in a dot. This is either a *beth* or a *lamed*. Its form
resembles the *lamed* more, and a *lamed* makes better sense here.
Located below the *šin*, this *lamed* protrudes halfway down into the
line below. This intrusion explains why the words to its right and
left on the next line are so widely separated.

The word identified here is *šl*. Since it occurs in a prepositional
phrase that begins with "from," the people represented by the
action of the verb in this line came "from" *šl*. Such a context calls
for a place name. As a place name, *šl* correlates well with the name
of Shiloh. This was the place from which the Israelites brought the
Ark to the battle at Aphek according to 1 Sam 4:4. The final vowel
in the name of Shiloh was written twenty-one times in the OT
with *he* and 10 times with *waw*. Here that final *o*-vowel is not
represented in writing, and its absence is compatible with the early
date of this writing system.

All of the words of this line have now been analyzed and
translated. With the preposition from the beginning of the line
understood as recurring at the beginning of its second phrase, this
line as a whole can be translated, "Unto the field we came, (unto)
Aphek from Shiloh." This indicates that on the occasion referred
to a group of Israelites travelled from Shiloh, where the Ark was
tabernacled in the hill country, to a (battle-) field located near to
Aphek in the coastal plain. The same sort of movement is recorded
in 1 Sam 4:3-5.

Line 2: *kttm lqḥ ᵓt lᵓzr / dgn bᶜl ᵓšdd gt*
> "The Kittim took (it and) came to Azor/, (to) Dagon lord of Ashdod, (and
> to) Gath."

Previous copyists have read the first three letters of this line as
ktn. Dotan identified this as the Hebrew word for "garment,"

ktn(t).[12] The *kaph* and *taw* are clear, but what was formerly taken as a *nun* should now be taken as a *mem*, according to the discussion of the alphabet above. A second *taw* is also present here, located just below and to the right of the first *taw*. It shows up clearly in most photographs. The crossbars of these two *taws* were incised more deeply than their vertical strokes. The word present here is, therefore, *kttm* or Kittim.[13] This noun is the subject of the verbs which follow.

Originally this word was used for people who came from Cyprus, but it came to be used as a general designation for any westerners who came to Syro-Palestine by sea. Here it fits well as a general designation for the group of Sea Peoples to which the Philistines belonged. Other Sea Peoples like the Tjekker from Dor may have accompanied the Philistines on this foray into Israelite territory.

The letter which follows the *mem* is circular, and it contains a stroke which angles down toward the left. This could be either *beth* or *lamed*, but *lamed* brings better sense to the text. The next letter has a large circular head open to the left and a tail that angles down to the left. This is either a *qoph* or *reš*, with *qoph* fitting better in the context. Kochavi took this letter as a *qoph* in his initial publication.[14] The lower right corner of the next letter is damaged, but its square-boxed nature still is evident. It has been identified as *ḥet* since Kochavi's original publication.[15]

This word reads *lqḥ*, the verb "to take." The object that was taken should be understood as implied with the toponym at the end of the previous line. The purpose for mentioning the toponym

[12]Dotan, p. 165.

[13]In a referee's note from a journal, one of my critics has held that the reduplicated *taw* in this word is an embarrassment for my identification of this word as Kittim. Because geminated consonants were not supposed to have been written out twice in this script, it would have been better for me if I had not found the second *taw*! There are two main problems with this view. First, the *taw* written out twice is simply an epigraphic fact of this text, and the only question about these letters is what word they belong to. They still fit best with Kittim. Second, even though these *taws* were used in a way different from the practice of scribes who wrote other inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible later, this script was still in a developmental stage at this time. It is unwise to restrict the freedom of a scribe producing an inscription like this to experiment with his own way in which to represent gemination.

[14]Kochavi, p. 5.

[15]Ibid.

of Shiloh was to indicate that the Ark came with the Israelite troops from that place (cf. 1 Sam 4:4). The Kittim then "took" it: In other words, they captured the Ark and took it away. An object pronoun should be thought of as suffixed to the verb with an unwritten o-vowel. The same verb is used six times between 1 Sam 4:11 and 5:2 to describe what the Philistines did with the Ark.

Another clear occurrence of the verb ʾt follows, as Dotan noted.[16] The subject of this verb should also be taken as the Kittim mentioned at the beginning of this line. The u-vowel of the third person plural was not written out here. A circular letter with a horizontal stroke follows the taw of ʾt. The form of this letter identifies it as a lamed. Used prepositionally it indicates that the Kittim went, with the Ark, "to" some place. A place name should follow this preposition, and that is indeed the case. The site named after this preposition identifies it as the first of three locations to which, according to this text, the Philistines took the Ark.

1) ʾzr = Azor

The ʾaleph with which the first place-name begins is clear. This is followed by two opposing triangles which make up an hourglass-shaped sign comparable to the zayin in the alphabet. The letter to the right of the zayin has a triangular or rounded head and a tail that extends down to the left. This could be either a qoph or a reš, with a reš making better sense here. These letters make up the name of Azor, a place not mentioned in the Bible. It is mentioned, however, by Sennacherib as one of the coastal plain sites which he conquered during his campaign of 701 (Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banai-Barqa, and Azuru).[17] It has been identified with Yazûr, near Joppa. This ostracon now takes our knowledge of Azor in textual sources back four centuries before the time of Sennacherib.

The literary reference to Azor here fits well with what is known of the site archaeologically. Although Yazûr itself has not been excavated, it has been the subject of surveys and clandestine digging, and some of the tombs west of the tell have been excavated. "Remarkably fine Philistine assemblages" were found there and they include "a complete range of Philistine pottery, from the earliest types to the later debased, assimilated vessels." On the basis

[16]Dotan, pp. 162-163, 167.
[17]*ANET*, p. 287.

of "the very elaborate decoration of many of the pieces [which are] unique to Azor," it is thought that the site probably had "a local pottery workshop blessed with talented potters."[18]

The archaeological evidence from Azor demonstrates the thoroughly Philistine character of this site in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., the period during which the battle of 1 Sam 4 was fought at Aphek. It would thus have made a useful location from which the Philistines could have launched their operations for a battle at Aphek. It would also have provided them with a useful way station as they returned to their homeland from Aphek. As the first major stopping point after the battle, some of the dead Philistine soldiers may have been buried there.[19] Thus, this text's mention of Azor is quite compatible with the nature of the contemporary settlement according to the archaeological evidence.

2) *dgn bʿl ʾšdd*
     "(to) Dagon lord of Ashdod,"

The first letter to the right of the break is a rounded but still triangular *dalet* pointing downward. It is located above the *dalet* in the next line, and it can be compared with the two *dalet*s which point inward from the sherd's edge at the end of this line. Two horizontal lines extend to the right from this *dalet*, a longer one above and a shorter one below. The superior line curves up gradually to the right, and the inferior line angles back sharply at its left end. These lines have been noted and copied by previous

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[18]Trude Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 54-55.

[19]T. Dothan has summarized the evidence from the tombs found here by noting, "The rich Iron Age cemetery located on a *kurkar* hill (area D) next to Tel Azor and east of the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway, was excavated by M. Dothan during two seasons (1958, 1960). Forty-five tombs, dating from the twelfth down to the ninth century B.C. were excavated" (ibid.). The most common type of Iron I burial at Azor was in a simple pit with the body on the back oriented on an east-west axis. Most of these burials can be dated to the twelfth or eleventh century according to the typical Philistine pottery found with them. One jar burial was identified here. Brick tombs were also employed, built below the ground in the form of a coffin. The small amount of Philistine pottery found with them dates their use to the eleventh century. A cremation consisting of charred bones in a large storage jar was also found here, and it has been dated to the second half of the eleventh century. This makes it the earliest example of cremation known from Palestine west of the Jordan River. Dothan takes the sudden appearance of cremation here as evidence for the arrival of a new ethnic element in the area (p. 57).

students of this text, but they did not observe that these two lines
are connected by a curved loop on the right. Thus, this sign looks
like a fishhook lying on its side, with its short barb pointing
upward. Rotating this sign to the vertical position identifies it with
the *gimmel* in the alphabet.

Another horizontal letter appears immediately below the *gim-
mel*, and it curves down to the right. It appears like the outline of a
bowl on the left, with its handle extending to the right. Although
it is not as sharply notched as some of the other *nuns* in this text, it
closely matches the *nun* in the verb in the first line and the *nun* at
the very end of the fourth line, both of which are also lying on
their sides like this *nun*. The *dalet* and *gimmel* of this word can be
seen better in Kochavi's original photograph, while the *nun* can be
seen better in Demsky's more recent photograph. This word should
be read as *dgn*, which can be compared quite directly with the
name of the god Dagon.

The word to the right of *dgn* contains the letters of the word or
name of Baal—i.e., *bʿl* or *baʿal*—as noted by Dotan.[20] It consists of
three circular letters in a row. The first and third contain charac-
teristic lines which identify them as *beth* and *lamed*, respectively,
while the middle circle is dotted, which makes it an *ʿayin*. Thus
this word reads clearly as *bʿl*. This could be either a reference to a
specific god by name or epithet, such as Baal (Hadad), or it could
simply be the title "lord." Since the name of the god Dagon
precedes this word and the name of the city of Ashdod appears to
follow it, it fits best as the title "lord," referring to Dagon as the
divine sovereign over Ashdod.

The next word in this line was written up to and along the
edge of the sherd. The first, third, and fourth letters of this word are
reasonably clear, but its second letter is more faint due to damage.
A v-shaped letter clearly identifiable as an *ʾaleph* pointing to the
right appears in the space following the *lamed* of *baʿal* and the
lamed of Shiloh that intrudes from the line above. Beyond this
there are two clear examples of the triangular *dalet* that point
inward from the edge of the sherd. They show up better in the
Kochavi photograph than they do in the Demsky photograph.

The more faint letter that intervenes between the *ʾaleph* and
the first *dalet* was written with a line that starts out curved but ends
up angular. It extends from the point of the *ʾaleph* to the point of

[20]Dotan, p. 165-166.

the *dalet*. This form fits best with the *šin* of the alphabet. It shows up better in the Demsky photograph than it does in the Kochavi photograph. These four letters, ʾ-*š-d-d* make up the name of the city of Ashdod, the place to which the Philistines took the Ark according to 1 Sam 5:1-7.

The three words in this phrase can now be analyzed as Dagon, the name of the god involved, his title as lord, and the place name of Ashdod, the city over which he presided as divine lord. The first two of these words stand in apposition to each other, and the last two stand in a construct relationship. The preposition that is understood with this phrase is taken over as a continuing idea from the *lamed* which precedes the name of Azor.

As the northernmost coastal city in the Philistine pentapolis, this was the first city in the Philistine heartland to which the captured Ark was taken. That Dagon was the lord or chief god of that city is confirmed by his status in 1 Sam 5:1-7. Thus the Ark was taken by the Philistines to the temple of their chief god in this city. Both the OT record and the ostracon indicate that the Ark was taken, not just to the city of Ashdod, but especially to the god of that city; but 1 Sam 5 goes further by describing the nature of the conflict between the two gods Yahweh and Dagon that took place there. The ostracon may imply as much, for it indicates that subsequently the Ark was taken on to another Philistine city.

3) *gt* = Gath

The angular head of another letter appears along the edge of the sherd, to the right of the second *dalet* in Ashdod. It runs down a ridge in the sherd. The trace of a short stroke extends downward to the left from its upper pole, giving it an angular head. This form is identified as a *gimmel*. Below this *gimmel*, on the same ridge in the sherd, the crossed strokes of a *taw* can be seen quite clearly. The name of this place was, therefore, *gt* or Gath. As one of the inland cities of the Philistines, Gath was the next city after Ashdod to which the Ark was taken according to 1 Sam 5:8-9.

Line 3: *yʿrm qryh*
    "(It returned to) Kiriath-jearim."

This short line, which extends in from the left margin of the sherd, contains eight letters. The first letter in this line has a head that forks to the right and a vertical tail. It is to be identified as a

yod, as Cross recognized.[21] A circular letter with a dot in it appears under the right limb of the forked head and is thus an ʿ*ayin*. It shows up best in the Demsky photograph. The third letter in this line has a round head and a vertical tail, which could represent either *qoph* or *reš*. A *reš* fits better with what follows.

The tail of the *reš* has a short stroke which crosses it horizontally, giving the letter the appearance of an Egyptian *ankh*-sign. At its right end this horizontal stroke continues by angling upward in an irregular zig-zag fashion, indicating that it is part of a succeeding letter. The downward stroke of this letter begins at an apex above the level of the head of the *reš*. From that point it descends vertically to the right with four more short strokes arranged in a zig-zag pattern. Even though it is irregular in shape, this letter comes closest in form to that of the *mem*. It resembles the *mem*s in the first and fourth lines of the text more than it does the *mem* in the alphabetic line. Thus far these four letters compose the word *y*ʿ*rm* which can be vocalized readily as *y*ᵉ*ʿarim*. This is the Hebrew word for "forests," and it was used on occasion in compound place names, such as Kiriath-jearim.

The second word in this short line begins with two letters with circular heads and vertical tails. They could represent any combination of *qoph* and *reš*. Proportionately they resemble the *qoph* and *reš* in the alphabetic line in that order, and the combination of *qr* brings the best sense to this name. Immediately to the right of the second circular head a forked head appears. It angles somewhat to the right, and its short tail angles down toward the left. Even though its tail is short, this form identifies this letter as a *yod*.

To the right of this *yod* a slightly curved vertical stroke extends down to run beside the left leg of the *heth* in the line below. A short horizontal stroke extends out to the right from the midpoint of this vertical stroke and it runs with the top crossbar of the *heth* below. At the upper end of this vertical stroke, another more faint horizontal stroke extends out to the right. On the right, at the inferior pole of this vertical stroke, it runs into the middle crossbar of the *heth* below. What we have here, then, are two box-shaped letters partially superimposed upon each other. The inferior box of the superior letter is basically superimposed upon the superior box of the inferior letter. It is clear that these two letters are similar in form. The one difference between them is that the lower letter has a

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[21]Cross, p. 9.

vertical leg on the right, while the superior letter does not. That makes the letter in the line above a *he* and the letter in the line below a *ḥeth*. This *he* in the third line fills out the word *qryh*, "town." It was also used on occasion in compound place names like Kiriath-jearim to identify the town referred to.

The two words which make up this name are *yʿrm qryh* or Jearim-qiryah. These are the elements found in the name of Kiriath-jearim, but written in reverse order. Because of this order, *qiryh* appears in the absolute form ending in *-ah*. Instead of "the town of the forests," we now have here an appositional form which means, "the forests: the town." In spite of this reversal the place referred to is still clearly identifiable.

Why, however, did this scribe write this name this way? He should have had some purpose for doing so. A knowledge of biblical geography and history aids in answering this question. The second line of this text lists three Philistine sites to which the Ark was taken. This third line, on the other hand, names a Judahite site to which the Ark was returned. When the sites listed here are compared with those that appear in 1 Sam 4-6, we can see that this list has skipped over both Ekron, the last Philistine site where the Ark stopped (1 Sam 5:10-6:11), and Beth-Shemesh, the first Judahite site to which the Ark was returned (1 Sam 6:12-20). The ostracon list goes instead directly to Kiriath-jearim, the second Judahite site to which the Ark was brought (1 Sam 6:21). In contrast to the brief and adverse visit of the Ark to Beth-Shemesh, the Ark was housed at Kiriath-jearim for twenty years (1 Sam 7:2). It appears to be that it is this more permanent state of residence which the writer of this inscription wished to emphasize by naming Kiriath-jearim as the point to which the Ark returned.

But if the long stay of the Ark at Kiriath-jearim explains why that site was chosen to refer to the return to the Ark, the reason why the words of this place name were reversed remains unexplained. In order to answer this question a comparison should be made with the contents of the preceding lines of the inscription. Those lines contain long statements which contain subjects, verbs, and prepositional phrases. This third line, on the other hand, contains only a place name. But that place name cannot stand alone grammatically. It too should have a verb, subject, and preposition to accompany it. These, however, were not written out here and should be understood from some previous expressions in the text. They cannot come from the second line, for that line describes

Philistine activities. They should, therefore, be understood as coming from the first line, which is Israelite by content. According to biblical parallels the subject of the third line should be "some Israelites,"; the verb should be "to come, or bring"; the object should be the Ark; and the preposition present should be "to, unto." All of these were previously expressed or implied in the first line, but there the action went in the opposite direction, taking the Ark down from the hill country to the battlefield. Here the action is in the reverse direction, from the coastal plain back up toward the hill country. To represent this turn-about, the writer appears to have utilized the clever literary technique of chiastically reversing the elements in this compound place name. In this way all of the action of the first line can be understood as having been reversed here, without writing it all out; it is indicated by simply reversing the order of the two words in the place name.

A second reason why these names may have been reversed could have to do with a grammatical function in Hebrew known as the *he* locale, or directional *he*. By adding a *he* onto the ends of place names, Hebrew could express the idea of motion toward them. In this case reversing the grammatical relationship between these two words by reversing their order restored the *he* to the absolute form of the second word. In this particular case, that *he* could serve double duty. It functions normally as the feminine ending on the word, but it also provides the particular letter which provided the idea of directional movement. With the elements in this compound place name reversed in a chiastic order and the second ending with a potential *he* locale, this text has expressed the idea of the movement of the Ark of the Covenant back into Israelite territory in a very short, cryptic, but sophisticated way.

Line 4: *rᶜ rglm ḥpn ʾt lhg/d zqnm sws bᵓ ᶜl ʾḥ lqbrn*
    "The companion of the footsoldiers, Hophni, came to tel/l the elders,
    'a horse has come (and) upon (it was my) brother for us to bury.'"

The first three lines of this text traced the travels of the Ark from the beginning to the end of the episode that is covered also in 1 Sam 4-6. The fourth line of this text then turns back to consider an important event which took place at the pivotal point when the Israelites lost the Ark to the Philistines. It apparently does so because this event explains how the Ark was lost. The preceding lines have explained what happened, this line provides the explanation as to how it happened.

Previous copyists have begun this fourth line with a circular sign that has a dot in it. This identifies it as an ʿayin. The photographs demonstrate, however, that there is another, previously unrecognized, letter to the left of this ʿayin. It has a small circular head and a vertical tail, which identifies it as either a qoph or reš. A reš followed by an ʿayin, makes up the word rᶜ or rēᵃᶜ,, "friend, companion, comrade, fellow," and because of that meaning the reš is preferred over a meaningless qoph. This word appears to be in a construct relationship with the word which follows it. That word is interpreted below as the plural noun for "footsoldiers." Thus the individual referred to here should be thought of as a companion of those footsoldiers, but not a soldier himself. The individual involved is identified by the personal name which follows after the word for "soldiers."

The first letter of the next word has a round head and a tail that extends down from it. This is either a qoph or a reš, with a reš fitting better here. The next letter has an angular head with a downstroke on the left and thus is a gimmel. The third letter is circular, with its lower limb folding underneath from the right. It is therefore a lamed. Thus far, this word is rgl or regel, "foot," or, with an unwritten i-vowel, raglî, "footsoldier," which fits this context better. The looped form of the mem that comes next is clear, and it functions as a masculine plural ending on this noun.

The letter following consists of the closed boxes of the ḥet. A short letter with a sharp angular head occurs to the right of this ḥet, and this form should be identified as a pe. An irregularity in the head of this pe has been noted in the line drawing of it by Cross.[22] This is not an irregularity, but rather it is part of the letter written above it. The angular jog of a nun has been fitted over the head of the pe like a cap. One limb extends from this point to the left to touch the right leg of the ḥet while the other limb extends out to the right to parallel the upper horizontal stroke of the ʾaleph below.[23] Thus the stance of this nun is horizontal, like the nun with the verb in the first line.

These three letters make up the word ḥpn. This fits best as the personal name of Hophni, one of the two priestly sons of Eli (1 Sam 4:4). The final i-vowel in his name was not written here. Along with his brother Phinehas, Hophni brought the Ark from

[22]Ibid., p. 8.

[23]The left-hand limb of the nun shows up better in the Demsky photograph, while the right-hand limb shows up better in the Kochavi photograph.

Shiloh to Ebenezer, and both brothers eventually died in the battle fought there. At the point in time referred to by this statement, however, Hophni was still alive.

The *'aleph* and *taw* which follow this name are clear, and they have been identified previously by Dotan as the verb *'āṯāh*, "to come." This is the third occurrence of this verb in the text. In context this verb may be taken as a third person masculine singular, with Hophni as its subject.

The next letter is circular and contains a stroke that angles down toward the left inside the circle. That identifies it as a *lamed*. It is taken here as a preposition prefixed to an infinitive. Previously the letters on both sides of the break in this line have been read as *he* and *dalet*. These readings appear to be correct, but they require an additional letter to make up a word. Another vertical stroke appears to the right of the crossbars of the *he*, near to and parallel to the break in the sherd. This almost makes the preceding letter look like a *ḥeth* instead of a *he*, but the faint and damaged traces of a head which curves over to the right from this vertical stroke appear in the Demsky photograph. This resembles the *gimmel* in the alphabetic line. This word should read, therefore, as *hgd*, the Hiphil infinitive *hg(y)d* from *ngd*, "to tell, report" (cf. 1 Sam 4:13).

The sign to the right of the *dalet* consists of two vertical strokes that bend toward each other in the middle. Cross has identified this letter as a *zayin*.[24] The circular head of the next letter fits into the concavity of the right-hand stroke of the *zayin*. Its tail angles downward to the left. This is either a *qoph* or a *reš*, and *zq* makes more sense here than does *zr*. A stroke with an angular bend extends upward to the right beyond the circular head of the *qoph*. This is the shape of another *nun*. Together these three letters make up the word *zqn*, "elder."

Below the *nun* of *zqn* a letter appears that is composed of two strokes. The first stroke slopes downward toward the left. The second extends downward at an angle, bends to the vertical, and bends again to the horizontal on the left to join the other stroke as it comes down from above. While this letter is irregular in form, it comes closest to the *mem* in the alphabet. Here it functions as a plural ending to the noun for the "elders." According to 1 Sam 4:3 the elders were the ones who requested that the Ark be brought from Shiloh to Ebenezer. It is unlikely that elders accompanied the

[24]Cross, pp. 10, 11.

Israelite troops into battle. Rather, while waiting in the camp at
Ebenezer, they received the news that Hophni brought from the
battlefield.

Three short damaged horizontal strokes appear to the right of
the *mem*. From them a tail curves downward to the left. Although
it is badly written in the alphabetic line, this form is characteristic
of the *samek* in other early alphabets. The letter to the right of the
samek has an open circular head and a tail that angles downward
to the left. It appears to have been written with double lines, and it
corresponds in form to the *waw* of the alphabet. To the right of
this *waw* is another letter with three crossbars intersected by a
vertical stroke. This is another example of the *samek*. The word
here, therefore, is *sws* or "horse." Since horses were not incor-
porated into the fighting forces of Israel at this time (2 Sam 8:4), it
may be expected that this horse came from Philistine quarters in
the battle.

To the right of the second *samek* is a small damaged circular
letter. Its inner stroke extends down to the left, which corresponds
to the *beth* in the alphabet. To the right of the *beth* is a very clear
ʾaleph. Together these two letters make up a form of the verb
b(w)ʾ, "to come." The subject of this verb is the horse just men-
tioned. The dotted circle of an *ʿayin* comes next, and this is fol-
lowed by a circular letter that is open at the bottom from right to
left like a *lamed*. These two letters make up the preposition *ʿl*, "on,
upon." The reference is to the object located upon the horse that
had come to Israelite lines.

The next word of the inscription identifies the object which
the horse carried. A rather clear example of an *ʾaleph* is followed
by traces of the boxes of the *ḥet* which previous copyists have
noted. This reading provides the word *ʾḥ* or "brother." This may
be taken as a reference to Hophni's brother Phinehas without
using the personal name. Since Hophni gave his report in the first
person, the pronominal suffix "my" (*i*) should be understood as
suffixed to this noun even though it was not written out here.

The picture that develops from this description is one of the
body of Phinehas slung across the back of a horse which the
Philistines sent to the Israelites, undoubtedly to demoralize them. ·
Hophni reported this adverse turn of events to the elders back at
base camp. Since Phinehas was dead and Hophni apparently re-
turned without the Ark, the Ark probably had been lost by this
time in the battle. Neither of the two priestly brothers were in

possession of it, and that is the main point of this statement. Hophni returned to camp more to report the loss of the Ark than the death of his brother, but the description of one event is obliquely couched in the description of the other. Though Hophni was still alive at this time, he was soon to return to the battle and fall there too (1 Sam 4:11).

The final word of the fourth line begins with a clearcut case of a *lamed*. It is interpreted here as being prefixed to a noun or to an infinitive. A circular-headed long-tailed letter follows as the first letter of that word. It can be taken as either a *qoph* or a *reš*, and a *qoph* fits better with what follows. Next comes a circular letter with a short stroke extending into its left lower quadrant. Its form is that of a *beth*. The last letter of this word has an almost triangular head. Its tail curves around under the head instead of extending straight out. In spite of these irregularities, this letter should be taken as either a *qoph* or *reš*, and a *reš* makes better sense here.

These letters form the root *qbr*, which can either be a noun ("grave") or a verb ("to bury"). The word appears to be suffixed by the bent-axis letter which was incised along the lower margin of the sherd from its corner. This is a *nun*, not the *šin* as it has been previously identified. The *nun* represents the first person plural possessive pronominal suffix, "our." As a noun it would refer to the fact that Phinehas' body was returned "for our (family) grave." As an infinitive the verb would indicate that his body was returned "for our burying." While the nominal interpretation is more likely, I have translated this phrase as a verb because it reads more smoothly in English. Either interpretation is acceptable and the net result is essentially the same.

5. *Summary*

Language

Analyzed here this text contains 81 letters in its first four lines, followed by the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet in the fifth line,[25]

[25]One of the more recent studies dealing with this inscription has not been available to me: namely, the part that it plays in B. Sass, "The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its development in the Second Millennium B.C." (Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1985). According to Demsky's brief statement about this work, Sass has agreed in a majority of cases with Kochavi's reading of the letters in the

a total of 103 letters on the ostracon. This reading provides a text which appears to be essentially complete. According to its lexicography, morphology, and syntax, it was written in good classical Biblical Hebrew. As is expected from its early date, this text does not employ any articles, conjunctions, or vowel letters, with the possible exception of two *yods* in *śdy* and *ʾtyn*.

Seven verbs occur in the text: two infinitives and five perfects. The perfect tense of the narrative accords well with its character as a recital of recent, but past, events. Forms corresponding to all seven of these verbs are found in Biblical Hebrew. All of the nouns of this text are found in Biblical Hebrew. Five of the six place names identified are found in Biblical Hebrew. The one personal name mentioned in the inscription occurs in 1 Sam 4.

Not only are the words of this text found in the OT, eleven of them are found specifically in 1 Sam 4-7. The closeness of these lexical relationships illustrates the close literary and historical ties between the two sources. Each of the words has been discussed above as they appeared in the inscription, and they can now be listed together in a table:

Ostracon	Word/Name		1 Samuel
	Hebrew	English	
Line 1	*śdy*	field	4:2
	ʾpq	Aphek	4:1
	šl	Shiloh	4:3, 4
Line 2	*lqḥ*	took	4:11ff.
	ʾšdd	Ashdod	5:1-8
	gt	Gath	5:8-9
Line 3	*yʿrm qryh*	Kiriath-jearim	6:21
Line 4	*rglm*	footsoldiers	4:10
	ḥpn	Hophni	4:4, 11, 17
	lhgd	to tell	4:13, 14
	zqnm	elders	4:3

inscription and in a minority of cases has concurred with Cross' reading. Demsky lists the readings of seventeen letters taken from Sass' thesis by line and letter number. I concur with most of Sass' identifications, but two of them appear to be incorrect according to their interpretation here. His *he* as the twenty-third letter in the fourth line should be instead as *heth*, possibly a typographical error; and no *zayin* is present as the eighth letter in the first line. Cf. Demsky, "ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon," p. 191.

The order of the vocabulary of the ostracon follows the vo-
cabulary of the biblical text through the first three lines of the
inscription because the two narratives run parallel there. The fourth
line of the ostracon then returns to treat an earlier event in the
narrative in more detail. In so doing, its vocabulary reverts to the
earlier vocabulary of the biblical passage. Comparing these two
vocabularies illustrates the fact that the text of this inscription
divides into two main sections. The first three lines constitute the
first main section, and the fourth line comprises the second main
section.

Literary Structure

The three main statements of this inscription all contain forms
of the verb *ʾāṯāh*, "to come." The action and structure of these
statements revolve around the occurrences of this verb and have
even been inscribed in line with each other vertically on the sherd.
In addition, this verb should be thought of as understood, though
not written out, in the short third line. The use of this verb is
striking in view of its absence from 1 Sam 4-6.

In Biblical Hebrew the verb *ʾāṯāh* was used in poetry, but not
in prose. This does not necessarily mean that the text before us was
written in poetry, but it may suggest that this was a conscious
literary product of some quality. It was not just random practice
scratchings of a semi-literate school boy. Another feature which
may stem from the quality of this effort is the identification of
Israel's opponents as Kittim, when the ordinary designation of
"Philistines" would have been adequate (cp. Num 24:24).

Each of the three lines in the first main section of the text
manifests its own special literary technique. The first line employs
parallelism of thought between its two statements, so that the
preposition from the first must be understood as taken over in the
second. The way in which the place names were used in the second
line manifests some creativity. The central phrase "Dagon lord of
Ashdod" is flanked or framed by the single-word place names of
Azor and Gath, thus emphasizing the place where the divine con-
frontation took place. The intentional inversion of the two ele-
ments in the place name in the third line also represents a
sophisticated literary technique. In the fourth line which makes up
the second main section of the text, the technique of using a direct

quotation from Hophni is present. Thus each line of this text employs a particular literary technique, demonstrating the high literary quality of the text.

Another way in which the literary artistry of this text is demonstrated is through the indirect and oblique way in which it refers to its central subject, the Ark. The Ark itself is never mentioned by name in the text, but it is always in the background of the events that are described. One can only see this through comparison with the biblical account, but when that source is taken into account this point is evident. The first line of the inscription tells of movement from Shiloh to Aphek, and this was when the Ark was brought there. The second line tells of Philistine movement away from the battlefield to Azor, Ashdod, and Gath. These were sites to which the Philistines took the Ark after they captured it. The third line mentioned the site of Kiriath-jearim, which was the place where the Ark was kept after it was returned by the Philistines. The fourth line tells of the death of Phinehas, an event which probably occurred at the point in the battle when the Ark was lost. Thus the Ark is the unspoken or unwritten, but continuing, focus of this text to such a degree that it could be described as "The Indirect Story of the Ark."

Date

The events referred to in the text of the ostracon parallel those in 1 Sam 4-6. Since the inscription reads like a contemporary record of the biblical events, the date for the biblical episode can be applied to the time for the writing of this text. From its historical and chronological relations in the Bible, the Battle at Aphek can be dated approximately to the second quarter of the eleventh century, so a similar date can be applied to this text.

This date is a century lower than is commonly applied to this text on the basis of paleography. But dating it in this way follows proper paleographical procedure. Scripts must be dated by inscriptions connected with known and recognizable historical events that can be dated from other sources, not the reverse.[26] The fact that this

script looks older than the date for the event which it describes simply means that this archaic script was in use longer than previously recognized.[27]

History

In terms of historical details, all of the statements made in this brief text can be seen as either confirming or complementing parallel statements made in 1 Sam 4-6. In general, this inscription can be seen as providing convenient summary statements of major events that are elaborated in more detail in the OT passage. They are also given in the same order (with the exception of line 4), as can be seen from the following outline:

Tell Fekherye et sa bilingue assyro-araméene (Paris, 1981). For a popular discussion of its contents, see idem, "A Statue from Syria with Assyrian and Aramaic Inscriptions," *BA* 45 (1982): 135-141.

While some of the letters in the Aramaic script look old enough to be dated to the eleventh century, we know from the historical contents of the inscription that it should be dated to the ninth century. On the problems of paleography in this text, Millard and Bordreuil have written, "When compared with the earliest Phoenician inscriptions (11th and 10th centuries B.C.) and the other specimens of Old Aramaic, this inscription has a very archaic appearance. There are letter forms unparalleled after the early 10th century B.C. (e.g., *mem* with vertical zig-zag head, triangular tailless *daleth*), and one is without analogy after the 11th century (the 'inverted' *lamedh*). Thus a first glance might lead to dating late in the 11th century B.C. on paleographic criteria. Our analysis of every letter has convinced us this first impression is misleading. . . . Together these features imply that we are faced with a local derivative of the Phoenician alphabet, perhaps adopted as early as 1000 B.C., and which continued in use and produced its unique characteristics. . . .

"Paleography alone is too uncertain a means for dating the Tell Fekheriyeh inscription; its sources are too meager. In this case we have the evidence of the Assyrian text and script, suggesting a date after 900 B.C., the historical context that is required for the statue, and our argument for the identity of Hadad-yisʿi's father with the eponym of 866 B.C. to weigh beside the vagaries of the Aramaic script. The mid-9th century B.C. date seems inescapable" (Millard and Bordreuil, "Statue," p. 140).

[27]J. Naveh's precaution is pertinent here. He notes that the writer's "confusion of letters and his mistakes seem to be so serious that I would not recommend the drawing of paleographic conclusions from any of the forms produced by him. We cannot know which letter forms are based on the contemporary scribal traditions and which are the products of either the writer's poor training or his bad memory." Joseph Naveh, "Some Considerations on the Ostracon from ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah," *IEJ* 28 (1978): 35. While I would not see as many mistakes in this text as Naveh does, his precaution about its paleographic dating is well taken.

The Ostracon	The Event	1 Samuel
Line 1	The Battle	4:1-10
Line 2a	Ark Captured	4:11
Line 2b	Removed to Azor	-
Line 2c	Removed to Ashdod	5:1-7
Line 2d	Removed to Gath	5:8-9
Line 3	Returned to Kiriath-yearim	6:21
Line 4	Ark lost; priest killed	4:11-19

Only the fourth line of the text functions in a different way and order from the account in the biblical text, but even here the function is complementary. One difference relates to the report: The inscription refers to a more immediate giving of a report, that which Hophni brought to the elders back at camp, whereas 1 Sam 4:13-17 refers, instead, to the more full and final report given to Eli and the residents at Shiloh after the battle was over. In both instances the same verb, *hgd*, is used to describe the giving of those reports, even though the time and location were different. A second item of contrast is the detail which the ostracon adds that the Philistines passed by, or stopped at, Azor on their way back from the battle. The biblical record of the travels of the Ark begins with its arrival at Ashdod in Philistia.

With this text focusing indirectly upon the fate of the Ark, a number of facts can be inferred about the Ark in the eleventh century B.C. First, it is evident that such an object was in existence in Israel that early. Second, it can be confirmed that by then, in the period of the Judges, it was headquartered at Shiloh. Third, it can be determined that on one occasion during this period the Ark was temporarily lost to the Philistines, that they carried it to a number of points in their own territory, and that they subsequently returned it. Both from the standpoint of this inscription and 1 Sam 4-7, this was a most remarkable course of events, in which the most sacred object of the Israelites was temporarily lost from their possession.

In terms of the larger picture of international relations in the early eleventh century B.C., this text confirms that a major threat on the political horizon of Israel was the Kittim or Sea Peoples, more specifically the Philistines. By referring to events surrounding the defeat of the Israelites by the Philistines on this occasion, this text provides evidence for the idea that the Philistines had the upper

hand in relations with Israel at this time. This was a problem that the Israelites were not able to solve completely until the time of David.

Supplementary Note

In a recent study of the origins of the alphabet, Brian E. Colless has also taken another close look at the alphabet on the ꜥIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon ("Recent Discoveries Illuminating the Origin of the Alphabet," *Abr-Naharain* 26 [1988]: 30-67). Colless has not attempted a translation of the upper lines on the sherd, but he has made some progress in identifying the letters of the alphabetic line.

In the last position before the break in the sherd he has correctly identified a *mem* (with a question mark) and no *nun* preceding it. More importantly, he has noted that two letters were written in the fifth position from the beginning of the alphabet; one above the line, and one below the line. The letter below the line he has correctly identified as a *waw* (with a question mark) and the letter above the line he has suggested as a *mem*. This particular *mem* is unnecessary and anomalous, however, inasmuch as Colless already has a *mem* in this line, thus making this *mem* epigraphically inaccurate.

Closer inspection would have revealed that the letter above the line is a vertical notched *nun*, as I have proposed above. In summary, Colless has achieved the same results that I have here set forth from my examination of the alphabet on the ꜥIzbet Ṣarṭah Ostracon, except that the first of his two *mems* should be read more accurately as a *nun*. His conclusions about this line appear on p. 62 of his article.

BOOK REVIEWS

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988. 366 pp. $29.95.

Recently I visited the archaeological site of Lachish. As we detoured around the eroding excavation trenches, the archaeologist leading us pointed to one relatively undisturbed section of mound and said that it contained the levels from the Persian occupation period. "There's not been as much interest in digging them," he commented. "They're too recent."

The two centuries of Persian control in Palestine have attracted less attention than other eras not only from archaeologists but also from biblical scholars. Compared to other segments of Israelite history, they are still a blank to a great extent. Introductions on the Intertestamental Period usually skim over the Persian empire and concentrate on the Hellenistic era and the Maccabean revolt. Part of the problem is that we have less scriptural evidence for this period than for some others, but the books of Ezra and Nehemiah do provide a significant body of literary data that has not been studied as it deserves to be. Perhaps this lack of attention is because the difficult problems inherent in the two books have frustrated many scholars. Yet what happened during those years shaped NT Judaism and thus early Christianity.

Joseph Blenkinsopp, John A. O'Brien Professor of Biblical Studies at the University of Notre Dame, has partially rectified this lack with his contribution to Westminster Press's distinguished Old Testament Library series. As he writes in his introduction, "With all of its problems, some insoluble, Ezra-Nehemiah is the indispensable source for our knowledge of that period which links the world of Israel with that of emergent Judaism" (p. 38). He believes that "Most of the issues being debated and the battles being fought [during NT times] must be traced back to the formative period of the two centuries of Persian rule. . . ." (ibid.)

Blenkinsopp sees Ezra and Nehemiah as part of a larger work consisting of 1 and 2 Chronicles and believes that they should be interpreted within that context (p. 48). Thus he holds a position that rejects the recent trend to separate Ezra-Nehemiah from Chronicles. In support of his case he shows the common interests and parallels between the work of the Chronicler and the content of Ezra-Nehemiah (pp. 47-54). Also, Blenkinsopp places the two books within the context of the known political and social history of the Persian Empire (pp. 60-69 and throughout the commentary section) and suggests how this placement should shape our interpretation of the issues and intent of the two companion books.

Although Blenkinsopp takes the historicity of the events portrayed in Ezra-Nehemiah seriously, he feels that the books follow the approach of the Chronicler as a whole by retelling history "in such a way as to allow for a future" for God's people (p. 37). Unlike modern historians, the biblical writers did not worry about such details as keeping their chronology straight and their data consistent, but sought first of all "to sustain the life and energy of the community to which they belonged." (Cf., e.g., Blenkinsopp's discussion of the chronology of Ezra and Nehemiah [pp. 140-144]. Although he concludes that the evidence indicates that Ezra was first in chronological order over Nehemiah, he believes that the books were edited to place Ezra after Nehemiah because of the importance of his office as priest and mission as lawgiver [p. 144].) The narrative of events is always shaped by theological intent, and readers must always keep that in mind as they attempt to reconstruct those events.

In the commentary sections, Blenkinsopp seeks to refute such common assumptions as that post-exilic Judaism was a religion in decline and oriented inward rather than outward. Instead, he reminds us, post-exilic Judaism struggled with issues that would determine the form of NT Judaism and the Christianity that would emerge from it.

The author has both an extensive general bibliography and specialized bibliographies preceding each section of the commentary.

Blenkinsopp's work is a worthy contribution both to the Old Testament Library series and to scholarship on the too-often overlooked books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Hagerstown, MD 21740   GERALD WHEELER

Boylan, Anne M. *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988. xii + 225 pp. $26.50.

Sunday School is a revision of Anne Boylan's dissertation. The author rightly sees the Sunday school as a neglected piece of American history, one that stands close to the center of the mainstream of cultural transmission in the nineteenth century. "Like the common school," the author writes, "the Sunday school taught more than the lesson plans revealed" (p. 4). Along with specifically Christian knowledge, "students absorbed the values and precepts of evangelical Protestantism. More important, they imbibed their teachers' expectations and learned the behavioral manifestations of religious conversion" (p. 5).

Boylan claims that her work is not a history of the Sunday school. Despite that disclaimer, the book is packed with historical data and is

certainly historical, even if it does not give a step-by-step account of the rise and growth of the institution. The author presents her material within a sociological framework that views the Sunday school as "yet another example of how nineteenth-century Americans devised institutional solutions to the complex task of socializing the young" (p. 165). Thus the Sunday school's rise and popularity are treated in the context of the rise of revivalistic religion in the Second Great Awakening—the Sunday school being one of many institutions to set forth Protestant morality in an evangelical culture that linked the success of the republican experiment with the progress of religion. Rejecting a Marxist interpretation of social control that highlights the manipulation of the masses for the good of society, Boylan frames her findings in the more positive posture of the "dynamic, modernizing drive behind the reformer's programs and lives" (p. 3).

Sunday School takes its readers from the origin of the Sunday school in the 1790s as an agent of secular education for the lower classes on Sunday; up through its widespread adoption as an ecumenical, evangelical agent to bring about millennial fulfillment in the 1820s and 1830s; and into its mature status as an institutionalized and bureaucratized denominational entity emphasizing sectarian training later in the century. In parallel fashion, the purpose of the Sunday school is traced across time from the teaching of the ABCs, to the transmission of religious knowledge, to the goal of converting the young and leading them into church membership.

Boylan's book consists of five main chapters: (1) "The Origins of Evangelical Sunday Schools," (2) "Sunday Schools and American Education," (3) "Sunday School Organizations," (4) "Sunday School Teachers," and (5) "Conversion and Christian Nurture: Children and Childhood in Sunday Schools." The material within each of these topical chapters is generally set forth in a chronological pattern. The main disadvantage of such a design is redundancy—a disadvantage that Boylan has not escaped. In fact, her book seems to have more redundancy than one would expect— even in a topical treatment. Perhaps more careful editing could have streamlined the volume and made it more readable. Other shortcomings are that the book lacks human interest and tends to have a plodding style. In short, this revision of a doctoral dissertation still reads too much like a dissertation.

In spite of its literary shortcomings, Sunday School is a major contribution to the research literature on a neglected topic in American cultural and religious history. It not only sheds light on the history of the Sunday school as an institution, but it helps us to understand American social development better. As such, it makes a vital contribution to our understanding of the place and role of religion in American culture.

Andrews University   GEORGE R. KNIGHT

Carson, D. A. *When Jesus Confronts the World: An Exposition of Matthew
    8-10.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1987. 154 pp. Paperback,
    $7.95.

When Jesus Confronts the World is an outgrowth of a series of
sermons that D. A. Carson, Professor of NT at Trinity Evangelical Divinity
School, preached at the Eden Baptist Church in Cambridge, England,
during the academic year 1986-87. The material has here been put into
appropriate form for publication and, I suspect, expanded considerably
beyond what was included in the original oral messages.

Carson has distinguished himself through a number of major publica-
tions, among them his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew in the
Expositor's Bible Commentary series. That commentary treats many techni-
cal matters that appropriately have been skipped over in the present
publication; but this book of sermons incorporates, likewise appropriately,
illustrative material, hymn poetry, homiletical and hortatory thrusts, etc.,
which would have been out of place in an exegetical commentary—even
one with an expository emphasis.

In his preface, Carson has aptly pointed out his deep conviction that
"those of us whose privilege and responsibility it is to study the Scriptures
owe the church whatever help we can give at the popular level, quite apart
from the responsibility of producing work that attempts to influence teach-
ers and scholars" (p. 9). I would, however, go a step beyond Carson's
important observation, for in my view the six sermons comprising the
volume here under review provide for the seminarian, for the parish
pastor, and for the teacher of prospective gospel ministers an outstanding
illustration of what sermons should be like. Thus, aside from its manifest
inspirational value, it also can serve well as a pedagogical tool. It can do
so both for the crafting of individual sermons and for the construction of a
meaningful series or sequence of homilies.

Carson's six sermons cover a relatively brief section in Matthew—
chapters 8-10. The choice of this section for sermonic material is itself
intriguing, for most expositors and homileticians would undoubtedly have
preferred rather to provide a series on the preceding section, the more
familiar Sermon on the Mount.

The book's chapter titles (also the sermon titles) are as follows: "The
Authority of Jesus (8:1-17)," "The Authentic Jesus (8:18-34)," "The Mis-
sion of Jesus (9:1-17)," "The Trustworthiness of Jesus (9:18-34)," "The
Compassion of Jesus (9:35-10:15)," and "The Divisiveness of Jesus (10:16-
42)." The scripture passages included with these titles indicate how the
text has been subdivided, but each of these subdivisions also contains
multiple scenes or incidents.

For each sermon, Carson first gives the text in full, next sets forth a
general introduction, then treats the scripture passage under either three or
four subtopic headings, and finally draws the conclusion. The several
subtopics under which the scripture passage of a sermon is treated may fol-

low a subsectioning of the passage, as in "The Mission of Jesus"—9:1-8, healing of the paralytic; 9:9-13, Jesus' call of tax collector Matthew to discipleship; and 9:14-17, Jesus' statements about not sewing unshrunk cloth on an old garment and not pouring new wine into old wineskins. These three vignettes answer the basic question of "Why Did Jesus Come?" (p. 68) by pointing out, respectively, that Jesus' coming to forgive sin and transform sinners was "foundational to the rest of his ministry" (p. 68), that this "central ministry" meant that Jesus "came to call the despised and disgusting elements of society" (p. 74), and that as "part of his effective dealing with sinners, Jesus came to set up a new structure that could embrace the profound reality he was introducing" (p. 81). On the other hand, the sermon subtopics may deal with the scripture passage as a whole, as in the case of "The Trustworthiness of Jesus," wherein four facets of this trustworthiness are set forth. Or there may be a combination of the two types of approach, as in "The Authentic Jesus."

Space forbids calling attention to the vast number of valuable insights presented in this volume. Not only does Carson's series of sermons represent an important organizational acumen that is vital to good communicative style, but also this sermonic material provides an excellent demonstration of how to make homiletical applications of biblical material in a meaningful way to contemporary society and in a manner which also is inspirational and practical on an individual basis.

One point wherein I would disagree with Carson (among hundreds where I would agree with him!) is his suggestion that Jesus' statement about coming to fulfill the law "does not mean to intensify it, or to show its deeper legal and moral significance, or the like, but quite literally to fulfill it" (p. 24). Was not the whole tenor of Jesus' ministry such as to enhance the moral concerns revealed in the OT, while at the same time removing the ceremonialism and accretions that had become characteristic within Judaism by the beginning of the Christian era? The "crucial conclusion" which Carson derives is that "Jesus is presented in the Bible not as an auxiliary figure who complements other notables such as Moses and David and Jeremiah, but as the focal point of God's revelation." This is a statement with which I heartily agree, but which does not require Carson's premise concerning Jesus' manner of fulfilling the law. Indeed, according to scripture, the Decalogue was not given by Moses but by God himself (Exod 19-20; cf. Deut 5:22).

The present volume has a paucity of footnotes, no bibliography, and no index; but in a work of this type, such helps need not be expected. In any case, this book is indeed a helpful one and can be recommended to seminarians, pastors, active laypersons, and all who would like a penetrating approach to the topic of what happens when Jesus confronts the world and when he confronts each of us individually.

Andrews University   KENNETH A. STRAND

Chilton, Bruce, and McDonald, J. I. H. *Jesus and the Ethics of the Kingdom*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1988, xii + 148 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

This collaborative effort was written for the Biblical Foundations in Theology series, whose announced aim is "to bridge the gap between biblical scholarship and the larger enterprise of Christian theology" (ix). The authors are to be commended for the manner in which they have been able to integrate their efforts into one coherent and stylistically unified whole. Whether they successfully attained the series' goal is less clear.

Two developments in NT studies serve as the framework within which the argument of this book is presented. One is the debate as to how best to understand the relationship between eschatology and ethics in the teaching of Jesus. On this issue, the authors contend that modern presentations have understood Jesus either as a preacher of the Kingdom who has little to say about how to live in the world until the Kingdom arrives in full power (thus rendering his message intellectually stimulating but practically irrelevant) or as the proclaimer of an ethic of Love who wished to effect the brotherhood of all human beings, but failed to communicate the transcendence of God.

The second debate the authors wish to enter centers on how best to understand the parables of Jesus. It is in this area that the book's argument is more directly involved. Here Chilton and McDonald place themselves in the tradition of Jeremias, Linnemann, Via, and Crossan, from whom they eclectically chose their building blocks. Basically, they wish to build on the understanding of parables as metaphorical narratives that create an existential "crisis" and are in themselves a "language event." Proponents of these views, however, present the parables as Christological claims, but this is precisely what they are not (p. 29). The parables came to be the basis for later Christology, but they were not the means for its expression. In order to be understood correctly, the authors argue, the parables are to be understood as "performances."

The parable as performance is offered by the authors as the solution to the proper balance between eschatology and ethics in the teaching of Jesus. Performance, however, has to be understood in its bivalent unity. "At one end is the divine performance of the Kingdom, an inceptive reality which attracts hope. At the other end is human performance, an enacted response which itself elicits action. Hopeful action and enacted hope characterize the parable as a whole" (p. 24). According to this view, Jesus in his preaching and other activity performed the transcendent power of the Kingdom within the immanent circumstances of daily life and elicited from some among his audience the response that continues to perform the Kingdom within daily life, thereby creating communities of disciples. Thus the parables unify the transcendent power of God's future (escha-

tology) with the life of communal discipleship here and now (ethics). Another way in which the authors view this is to say that, acting upon his vision of the Kingdom, Jesus performed both motifs and themes. By analyzing a few parables and other selected sayings, the authors argue that the "eschatological motifs are cognate with the ethical themes" (p. 114). In order to properly understand the ethical teaching of Jesus, therefore, it must be recognized that "explicitly moral instructions, most notably the commandment to love in its various forms, arise out of an underlying understanding that God is eschatologically active" (p. 114). This is offered as the formal solution to the problem which modern theology has so far, according to the authors, left unsolved.

This book's argument must be recognized as a worthy contribution to the discussion of an important theological issue. Still, as is bound to be the case with any book which claims to have recovered "the *ipsissima vox Jesu*" (p. 115), it raises many questions in the mind of the reader. First of all, it must be asked whether the authors have really argued their case on the basis of the evidence. In some ways the book presupposes Chilton's earlier *God in Strength: Jesus' Announcement of the Kingdom* (1979) and McDonald's *Kerygma and Didache* (1980). The way in which the argument is built here, however, does not give the reader a sense that the exegesis done is sufficient to the argument or that enough of the evidence in the Gospels has been considered. That the parables are pervasive in the ministry of Jesus and that all the parables are parables of the Kingdom are stated but not demonstrated.

Also problematic at the core of the argument is the very notion of "performance," which is stretched to the limit in all directions, and in some cases to the breaking point. At one point it would seem that performance for these authors is what "feeling" was for Schleiermacher—that original unity that exists before thought and act are separated, making possible the connection between transcendence and immanence. Also confusing is the authors' choice of the notion of *praxis* as a way to describe the human performative response to the divine performance. This term does have a rather well-known technical history in Marxist thought and in Liberation Theology. To introduce it here, without any connection to its technical usage, seems rather disingenuous. The authors stress the need for the communal setting of all performance and tip their hats in a passing way to Liberation Theology with a reference to Ernesto Cardenal. But their presentation leaves this reader asking whether the Kingdom Jesus performed had any universal significance. Certainly that is the case with regard to the Kingdom the Gospels talk about.

One may also wonder whether Chilton and McDonald's foray into James Fowler's theory of the six stages in the development of faith is at all helpful. At best it seems to be distracting, and at worst counterproductive. If no one is to enter the kingdom unless he or she becomes like a

child/servant, does this mean that this saying represents the first stage in
faith development? Finally, the absence of Amos Wilder among the main
protagonists in the modern debate about the relation of eschatology and
ethics is most puzzling.

The value of the book is linked to its argument that the teaching of
Jesus is performance, rather than its presentation of Jesus' teaching. For
that point, *Jesus and the Ethics of the Kingdom* merits serious reading.

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Dumbrell, William J. *The Faith of Israel: Its Expression in the Books of
the Old Testament.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988. 286
pp. Paperback, $12.95.

There are various types of texts through which the beginning college
or seminary student can be introduced to the OT. There are surveys of the
OT that mix in a lot of different types of material; technical introductions
that treat especially the matters of date, author, and composition; and
historical surveys that trace the course of Israel's development. *The Faith
of Israel* fills a need by taking a distinctly religious approach to OT
introduction. It treats the different theological themes of the OT books as
they appear. Since the OT books are ultimately religious in their outlook,
this is a natural and logical approach that has been neglected in previous
introductions.

As far as format is concerned, there are no footnotes or endnotes, but
the author does use in-text referencing. The book also contains a modest
bibliography. There are no maps, illustrations, or photographic plates,
but there is a brief outline of each book at the beginning of each chapter.

The Faith of Israel follows the order of the books in the Hebrew
canon. This may cause something of a problem for the beginning reader in
that he or she ends up reading about David and Solomon in the last
chapter of the book. Since the beginning student most likely will be using
an English Bible for parallel reading (and a considerable amount of that
probably will be necessary), its more historical order might have been
preferable.

Proportions of text allotted are generally in balance. Major prophets
like Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are dealt with in about thirteen pages of
text each, while most of the minor prophets are treated in about three
pages. In an occasional case, however, there is an imbalance. The call of
Abraham in Gen 12:1-3 takes up three pages, while the entire books of
Joshua and Judges receive only three pages each. The call of the patriarchs

reflected in the experience of Abraham is a very important theological theme of the OT, but the gift of the land reflected in Joshua is also important. At least a modest disproportion seems to be involved here.

While it is necessary to pay attention to the theological themes that the ancient writers concentrated on, it is also of value to face the questions that modern readers have about those themes. As a particular example of this, the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings may be pointed out. One of the major issues for the modern reader in studying these books is the subject of war. Why did the people of God in ancient times engage in all of the wars that they recorded? While Yahweh as the leader in holy war is occasionally mentioned in Dumbrell's discussion of these books, a more thorough discussion of this background subject would have been helpful to the modern reader.

Because of the number and volume of the subjects that need to be covered in a short space, the text of this book is quite concentrated and the author's prose is condensed. Occasionally this leads to ambiguity in phraseology. Likewise, a few technical terms, such as "ontology" and "fideistic," have crept in without adequate explanation for beginning students. In general, however, the author's writing is clear and usually free of technical jargon.

A theological introduction to the OT is probably the most difficult type to write because it is more open to variation and choice in terms of the theological themes treated than is the case with the more technical and historical introductions. While there is always room for differences over topics, I would say that the author has done well in selecting themes. Beyond that, he has handled them judiciously from a conservative viewpoint.

While the tone of some of the above remarks may appear somewhat critical, these remarks are not intended to cast this book in a negative light. They have been offered simply to indicate some places where this reviewer feels that Dumbrell's volume could be improved. In teaching introductory courses on the OT to beginning seminary students, I did not find a text that was fully satisfactory in meeting the needs of my students. If I were still teaching that type of course, I would use this volume as a text. I appreciate its distinctly religious approach, the quality of the writing, the author's selection and treatment of theological themes, and his conservative approach. Like all introductory texts, however, this book encounters the problem of having too much to cover and too little space in which to do it. But the present volume has addressed that difficult task as well as most, and it has done so from a new, different, and particularly relevant point of view—the religious faith found in the OT.

Biblical Research Institute   WILLIAM H. SHEA
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Grudem, Wayne, *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament and Today.*
      Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1988. 351 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

      Wayne Grudem, a Baptist minister and currently Associate Professor
of Biblical and Systematic Theology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity
School, has expanded and popularized his doctoral dissertation into a very
helpful paperback. The book is organized into fourteen rather short chap-
ters (they vary from three to twenty pages), followed by three appendices,
eighteen pages of content footnotes, and a brief bibliography (two and
one-half pages). The readability is enhanced by his straightforward state-
ment of a problem at the beginning of each chapter, followed by several
suggested solutions, which are then followed by Grudem's solution. Norm-
ally, each chapter includes a summary and an "application for today."
However, for some unexplained reason, chapters one and two omit the
summary. It almost appears that the author thought about including a
summary paragraph after he had completed the first two chapters.
      According to Grudem, Pentecostals believe that the gift of prophecy
continues today and is the sure word of God, whereas the "cessationists"
believe that the gift disappeared after NT times and has not reappeared.
Grudem, however, stakes out a middle position, which he believes preserves
what is important to both of these arguments and yet is faithful to the
teaching of the NT.
      The essential point in his thesis is a redefinition of the NT concept of
prophet or prophecy. Grudem shows how the OT prophets had about
them the very authority of God, since they routinely delivered God's word
to Israel (e.g., "The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah"). Thus to disobey
the prophet was to disobey God. On the other hand, if there was a person
with such authority in the NT, it was an apostle, not a prophet. Paul
repeatedly asserts that his words have the authority of God behind them
(e.g., "I have received of the Lord what I have delivered unto you"). When
the book of Revelation was called a "prophecy," it was not because the
author was considered a prophet, but because he was an apostle.
      In contrast to the authoritative words of the apostles, the words of NT
prophets were subject to evaluation and a "weighing" of the value of what
was said (I Cor 14:29). Accordingly, the prophecy of the Corinthian be-
lievers was an impression that God brought to mind that was then put
into human words. Grudem thus comes up with two distinct kinds of NT
prophecy—the authoritative prophecy of the apostles and the "ordinary"
or "congregational" prophecy of various believers. Throughout the NT,
most of the prophesying was of the "congregational" variety and thus,
according to Grudem, did not have absolute authority. This type of proph-
ecy may be likened to the counsel of mature Christians, but it was not to be
thought of as being on a level with scripture. The source was God and it

was spontaneous, so it was not like a sermon, which results from the study of scripture. But since it came to just one individual and was subject to evaluation, no charismatic "prophecy" should be raised to the level of scripture, nor even used as the authoritative interpretation of scripture. Furthermore, since "ordinary" NT prophecy lacked the authority of the OT prophets, a person should not preface his/her remarks by a phrase like "thus says the Lord," which would indicate an authority equal with scripture. Instead, the person should say: "I feel the Lord has impressed me with." If a prophecy is from God, its evaluation by other members of the congregation will in time corroborate that fact, and the message will hit home in the hearers' hearts by means of the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

Numerous cautions notwithstanding, Grudem allows that the experience of prophecy should continue, since the only passage that refers to the cessation of the gift is in 1 Cor 13 and seems to suggest that the gift will continue until the close of the age, i.e., when the Lord returns. But he does not believe that the gift was ever thought of as an office in the church structure. Instead, he suggests that "prophet" came to be a more informal designation that arose out of an experience rather than out of an election or appointment. Accordingly, it was appropriate for Paul to say, "If one *thinks* himself to be a prophet," but it would have been incongruous for him to say, "If one *thinks* himself to be an elder." Therefore, by NT times, prophecy had become a function rather than an office.

In his chapter on prophecy and teaching, Grudem goes to considerable effort to show that teaching, since it involves authoritatively expounding the written word of God, is of greater authority than prophecy. His effort appears to be instrumental—so that he can then explain Paul's permission for women to prophecy (1 Cor 11:5), but not to teach (1 Tim 2:12). But since Paul said that prophecy builds up, encourages, and edifies the church (1 Cor 14:3, 4)—all of which could just as well apply to teaching—Grudem's distinction between the two gifts remains unconvincing. In fact, Grudem's depreciation of prophecy so that women can do it seems more than a little labored. For example, he repeatedly makes the point that prophecy is based on a revelation, whereas teaching is expounding scripture. But it is hard to follow his logic to the conclusion that prophecy, therefore, has less authority than teaching, so women can prophesy but must not teach. Similarly, Grudem goes on to decry "spectator Christianity"—the lack of participation (he specifically mentions women) in all church activities, including prophecy. Yet he fails to acknowledge that his interpretation of Paul, which excludes women from full participation, continues the notion of subservience and thus of "spectator Christian women." It is simply not clear how Grudem can advocate "full participation by women in worship" (p. 223) when he has just made the point that male headship means that women cannot be given authority

to evaluate prophecy or to teach. He speaks as if everything is perfectly clear, but leaves to the reader the task of resolving what sounds like a rather paradoxical position.

In spite of using a few texts loosely, Grudem has done a good job of highlighting and explaining many facets of a spiritual gift that is more understandable because of his research. In fact, it is a work that must now be reckoned with by anyone who makes a serious study of NT or contemporary charismata.

Andrews University   WILLIAM RICHARDSON

MacArthur, John F., Jr. *The Gospel According to Jesus*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1988. 300 pp. $14.95.

In *The Gospel According to Jesus*, John MacArthur examines the contemporary evangelical debate over the nature of the gospel in the light of the teachings of Jesus as outlined in the four Gospels. Must Jesus be accepted as Lord or only as Saviour? Is regeneration a necessary corollary of justification? The content of the book is divided into three main parts. The first section explores the significance of Jesus' dealings with individuals, such as Nicodemus, the Samaritan woman, and the rich young ruler. The second examines Jesus' illustrations of salvation, such as the parables of the soils, the wheat and the tares, and the hidden treasure. The third focuses on Jesus' key theological terms, such as repentance, faith, salvation, and discipleship. MacArthur concludes from all this that "no one can be saved who is either unwilling to obey Christ or consciously rebellious against the lordship of Christ" (p. xiv). Thus he proclaims what some have come to call "lordship salvation."

In this conclusion, MacArthur takes issue with the gospel teaching of such evangelical scholars as Zane Hodges, Charles C. Ryrie, and Lewis Sperry Chafer. He argues that they encourage people to claim Jesus as Saviour while deferring a commitment to obey Him as Lord. Beyond that, he suggests that the recent foibles of "televangelists" can be blamed on a cheap-grace theology that divorces behavior from faith.

MacArthur laments that contemporary Christians have been conditioned to believe that because they recited a prayer, walked down an aisle, or spoke in tongues, they are saved and should never question that salvation. Jesus, by contrast, asserts that no past experience, not even prophesying or casting out demons, should be viewed as evidence of salvation where there is no ongoing life of obedience (cf. Matt 7:21-23). The gospel is more than just a plea to make a decision or to pray the sinner's prayer; it is a call to follow Jesus in submissive obedience.

The Gospel According to Jesus is aimed at the people in the pew and their pastors rather than scholars. Thus the title is somewhat misleading.

One expects a book that outlines the significance of the gospel concept in the sayings attributed to Jesus in the NT. In fact, however, the book is theological/homiletical in orientation. As homiletics, it is often superb. As exegesis, it has its excellent moments, and MacArthur's conclusions are consistent with the general tenor of the "gospel" as portrayed in the NT. But he exhibits a lack of awareness of the best in current NT scholarship. As a result, his arguments are sometimes grounded on questionable assertions. For example, on page 39 he writes that "the Pharisees were hyper-legalists who externalized religion." This leads him to conclude that Nicodemus believed in salvation by works. While one could get such an impression of the Pharisees from a casual reading of the NT, recent studies in early Judaism suggest that this is at best an oversimplification.

A far more serious weakness is the author's assumption of the essential correctness of the dispensational hermeneutic of the NT. This limits the book's value to readers who share similar presuppositions. Right or wrong, dispensationalists read the NT differently from those who reject dispensational assumptions. Thus, as correct as MacArthur's conclusions may be, the nondispensational reader must always ask to what degree the argument stands or falls on the author's presuppositions. One is left wondering if the distortion of the gospel that MacArthur decries is not inherent in the dispensational system itself (see *AUSS* 22 [1984]: 373-376). Perhaps it is MacArthur who is inconsistent in accepting dispensationalism while denying its implications for the gospel.

The above is not intended to discredit MacArthur's book. While it · contains many insights that can be appreciated by a wider audience, its limitations must be noted. As an in-house response in a dispensationalist debate, it is primarily valuable for a lay audience that has been affected by the teachings of MacArthur's opponents. For most readers, another recent Zondervan publication, *Justification by Faith* by Alister McGrath, is much to be preferred. Full of sound scholarship, McGrath's book offers much more convincing support for MacArthur's conclusions.

Andrews University   JON PAULIEN

Mustard, Andrew G. *James White and SDA Organization: Historical De-velopment, 1844-1881.* Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, vol. 12. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988. vii + 320 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

Andrew Mustard's dissertation portrays James White as one who "overcame his bias against organized religion to become known as 'the father of church order among Sabbatarians'" (p. 190). He was the "driving force" (p. 1) behind Seventh-day Adventist church organization. Both the

theological undergirding of SDA church polity and the grass-roots promo-
tion of it were predominantly the work of White.

White drew his principles of church government from scripture,
especially the NT. Against opponents who held that "every detail of
church order" must have an exact NT precedent, he countered that "all
means, which according to sound judgment, will advance the cause of
truth, and are not forbidden by plain scripture declarations, should be
employed" (pp. 188, 268).

Consequently, SDA church polity developed on two basic principles: a
clear sense of mission was wedded to pragmatic methodology. The benefits
of structural and doctrinal unity coupled with "numerous conversions to
the faith" were to White sufficient evidence that the organization he had
promoted was a "perfect success" (pp. 173, 171).

Approximately two-thirds of Mustard's work deals with historical
developments. The final one-third examines theological and philosophical
factors that influenced the emerging SDA ecclesiology. Among other
topics, SDA polity is compared with that of Congregationalists, Presby-
terians, Baptists, and Methodists.

Mustard's research is readable, well documented, sprinkled with quot-
ables from James White, and appears to be exhaustive for the period under
study. In addition to his main topics, Mustard also deals significantly with
related issues, such as the "shut door," the evolution of the doctrine of
ministry and church officers, and the comparison of the effective centraliza-
tion of authority in 1863 with the exercise of "kingly power" which
developed in the denomination's General Conference during the 1890s.

Another recent dissertation, soon to be published, extends the work of
Mustard by considering the years 1888-1903. Barry Oliver ("Principles for
Reorganization of the Seventh-day Adventist Administrative Structure,
1888-1903: Implications for an International Church," Ph.D. diss., An-
drews University, 1989) agrees with Mustard that SDA church polity has
historically been structured on the twin bases of mission and pragmatism,
but argues the need for a more thoroughly theological basis for church
administrative structure.

Both studies represent careful historical analysis and will be useful to
pastors, church administrators, and others interested in SDA church
history.

Berrien Springs, MI 49103   JERRY MOON

Wenham, Gordon J. *Genesis 1-15*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 1.
    Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987. liii + 353 pp. $24.95.

This volume may be classified as a middle-of-the-road conservative
commentary on Genesis, well informed by up-to-date studies in literary

criticism, rhetorical criticism, and comparative Ancient Near Eastern literature. As such, it is one of the best works currently available on Genesis. The division at chapter 15 is somewhat curious, in that most multivolume works on Genesis divide the book before the beginning of the Abraham cycle in chapter 12 or after its ending at chapter 26. The text follows the usual Word Commentary format. The introductory sections cover especially the old and new literary criticism, theology, and comparative Ancient Near Eastern materials. The bibliographies are comprehensive, compact, and current.

In his review of the older literary criticism, Wenham compares and contrasts the documentary, supplementary, and fragmentary hypotheses for the development of Genesis and the Pentateuch. The documentary hypothesis, advocated especially by Wellhausen in the last century, deals with a series of fairly extensive documents or sources (JEDP), which were successively combined and edited together. The supplementary hypothesis presents one major source to which various accretions were added. The fragmentary hypothesis holds that Genesis originally came from a large number of smaller fragments of tradition (as opposed to the larger JEDP sources) that were successively edited together. While the documentary view prevailed for a long time, literary critics have been moving (especially since 1970) in the direction of the supplementary and especially the fragmentary views. Under the influence of this shift, the role of J in Genesis has expanded, and the roles of E and P have shrunk.

The new literary criticism has been more interested in viewing the stories of Genesis as literature in their own right, rather than dissecting out their sources. This approach treats the patriarchal stories more as holistic narratives with particular literary techniques, and it traces the development of themes through the Pentateuch. Studies undertaken from this point of view have concentrated upon the text in its final form and are thus synchronic, while the older literary criticism may be classified as more diachronic. While the study of Genesis from the standpoint of the older literary criticism continues, greater emphasis is currently being placed upon approaching it from the standpoint of these newer techniques. Tension between these two approaches and ferment within each of these schools of thought have led to the situation which Wenham has characterized by paraphrasing Judges: "There is no king in OT scholarship. Everyone is doing what is right in his own eyes!" (p. xxxv).

Given this current state of affairs, Wenham urges caution in trying to dissect out the sources of Genesis. His own view tends in the direction of the supplementary hypothesis. He discards E completely, but still allows for P along with J. However, he dates P much earlier than it previously has been dated. This applies especially to Gen 1-11, for which there are ancient Near Eastern parallels, but it can also be seen to a lesser extent in the patriarchal stories.

On specific passages, Wenham sees the first creation account as con-cluding at 2:3, not 2:4a, as is commonly assumed; and he notes the chiastic inclusio which is created in this way. He also notes that the account of the fourth day is constructed chiastically. Gen 1 is not poetry, but it is not normal narrative prose either; rather, it is a particularly exalted style of prose that approaches poetry. As such, it makes a fitting introduction to Genesis, the Pentateuch, and the Bible as a whole. Wenham examines the four main ways in which Gen 1:1 has been translated and interpreted and concludes that it serves as a main clause describing the first act of creation. *Ruah 'elohim* is translated as "Wind of God" in v. 2, and this is seen as a "concrete and vivid image of the Spirit of God" (p. 17).

Wenham emphasizes a number of points about the dating formula used repeatedly in Gen 1 which indicate that it refers to 24-hour periods. He also cites five areas that G. F. Hasel has noted in Gen 1 that appear to attack rival cosmologies of the ancient world. The commentary avoids getting involved in the Bible-versus-science debate and wisely, for com-mentary purposes, sticks to exegesis and theology.

Wenham has been one of the leading proponents of the pallistrophe or chiastic interpretation of the literary structure of the Flood story in Gen 6-9 (*VT* 28 [1978]: 336-348). He presents that position again here. The position advocated in this commentary has already come in for some criticism (Emerton in *VT* 38 [1988]: 6-15), but it appears that Wenham has the better of the argument. This literary structure has, of course, strong implications for literary criticism. If accurate, then separate strands of J and P cannot be dissected out from such an integrated narrative. The Atrahasis Epic is quoted extensively as a parallel to the biblical flood story. Wenham takes a position between what he describes as the minimalist and the maximalist positions in terms of what the biblical writer knew of the Babylonian account. Contrasts between the two stories are spelled out in detail.

An interesting chiastic structure has been identified in the Tower of Babel story, with the statement "the Lord came down" located at the center of the story. As for the variant figures for the ages of the post-diluvians in Gen 11, Wenham favors the MT over the LXX and SamPent as providing the most original data.

Wenham concurs with the majority of scholars in seeing the migration of Abraham in Gen 12 as a test of faith. Chapter 12 is one of the most important in Genesis because it looks back to the primeval history, it introduces the story of Abraham, and it also looks forward to the later patriarchal history and the history of Israel down into the Davidic mon-archy. Wenham's location for Sodom and Gomorrah along the south-eastern shore of the Dead Sea is up to date archaeologically. The archaic nature and historicity of the account of the warfare in Gen 14 are defended. On Abraham's faith being counted to him for righteousness in 15:6,

Wenham observes: "Here, however, faith counts for righteousness: it is the response of believing obedience to the word of God, not righteous deeds, that counted for righteousness. To be sure, such faith, when genuine, issues in righteous deeds, but that is not what the text says: faith counts for (instead of) righteousness" (p. 335).

Wenham's commentary is a well-done study of the first portion of Genesis. While one would not necessarily endorse all of the opinions reviewed above, it can safely be said that they are carefully thought out in a conservative context and judiciously presented, as are the rest of the materials in this volume. It is also a book that can bring both pastors and scholars up to date on current discussions about the text of Genesis. It is recommended as very useful for both groups.

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BOOK NOTICES

KENNETH A. STRAND

Inclusion in this section does not preclude subsequent review of a book. Where two prices are given, separated by a slash, the second is for the paperback edition.

Aden, LeRoy, and J. Harold Ellens, eds. *Turning Points in Pastoral Care: The Legacy of Anton Boisen and Seward Hiltner.* Psychology and Christianity, vol. 4. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 256 pp. Paperback, $14.95. (The Psychology and Christianity series is copublished by the Baker Book House and the Christian Association for Psychological Studies.)

The editors of this volume contend that contemporary pastoral counseling has been shaped largely by Anton Boisen and Seward Hiltner, and hence have brought together a series of fourteen essays produced by students and/or colleagues of these two pioneers in Christian pastoral care.

Aland, Kurt and Barbara. *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism.* 2d ed., revised and enlarged. Trans. by Erroll F. Rhodes. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989. xviii + 366 pp. $32.50. (E. J. Brill of Leiden has the marketing rights in the United Kingdom, Europe, and Japan.)

Since its first publication in German in 1980 this work by Kurt and Barbara Aland has gained recognition as a standard comprehensive introduction to all main facets and concerns of NT textual criticism. That first German edition was put into English translation in 1983. This second edition in English appeared in late 1989, almost coinciding with the publication of its German counterpart upon whose text the trans-

lation is based. This new edition updates the information in the earlier one, adds supplementary essays on "The Evaluation of Manuscript Texts" and "Categories and Text Types," and includes revised plates, tables, and charts.

Blaskow, Judith, and Carol P. Christ, eds. *Hearing the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality.* San Franciso, CA: Harper & Row, 1989. 352 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

This anthology of spiritual voices represent writings from a broad spectrum of women that include non-Americans, native Americans, and Afro-Americans. Among the contributors are Maria Falk, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Rosemary Radford Reuther, Luisa Teish, Alice Walker, and many others.

Bondi, Richard. *Leading God's People: Ethics for the Practice of Ministry.* Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 160 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

How do pastors of today meet the challenge of leading a Christian congregation to higher standards of life and action without cutting themselves off by moving excessively away from the "safe center" of the congregation's stance? This is the sort of dilemma that has given rise to Bondi's publication, wherein he draws on insights from narrative theology, meaningful ministry, and character ethics.

Bradshaw, Brendan, and Eamon Duffy, eds. *Humanism, Reform, and the Reformation: The Career of Bishop John*

Fisher. Cambridge, Eng., and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1989. 256 pp. $44.50.

Ten studies devoted to John Fisher, famous Bishop of Rochester and a cardinal during the reign of Henry VIII, comprise this volume. These studies seek to bring out the complex relationships which Fisher represented in the political, intellectual, and religious milieu in which he found himself.

Brunn, Emilie Zum, and Georgette Epiney-Burgard. *Women Mystics in Medieval Europe.* Trans. Sheila Hughes. New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1989. 233 pp. + 7 illus. and 2 maps. $24.95/ $12.95.

Provided in this publication are profiles and selections from the writings of five important medieval women mystics: Hildegard of Bingen, Mechthild of Magdeburg, Beatrice of Nazareth, Hadewijch of Antwerp, and Marguerite Porete.

Carden, Allen. *Puritan Christianity in America: Religion and Life in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 256 pp. Paperback, $16.95.

The wide-ranging influence and legacy of the Puritan colonists of the seventeenth century, perhaps most particularly as evidenced in later Evangelicalism are beyond dispute, and in recent years various correctives have been emerging to views set forth by Perry Miller and other first-rate historians of Religion in America. Although not given primarily as such a corrective, Carden's *Puritan Christianity in America* updates earlier research, while also presenting one of the most comprehensive treatments of the Puritan vision, theological thought, praxis, preaching,

social ethics, etc. of concerns. Twenty-five photographs and a chronological outline enhance the volume.

Clark, David K., and Norman L. Geisler. *Apologetics in the New Age: A Christian Critique of Pantheism.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 256 pp. Paperback, $15.95.

Clark and Geisler provide a serious evangelical attempt to respond to pantheism in general and the New Age movement in particular. A description of three Eastern forms of pantheism (the "Permeational" of Suzuki, "Absolute" of Shankara, and "Multi-level" of Radhakrishnan) and two Western forms ("Emanational" of Plotinus, and "Modal" of Spinoza) set the background for the critique proper, which examines common New Age themes and facets of the pantheistic outlook, such as mystical consciousness and the problem of good and evil.

Coleman, Robert E. *"Nothing to Do but to Save Souls": John Wesley's Charge to His Preachers.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 112 pp. $9.95/$5.95.

Building on John Wesley's passion for souls and the evangelistic thrust of Wesley's earliest Methodism, Coleman traces the phenomenal nineteenth-century growth of this church and endeavors to ascertain the causes for that growth. Coleman's book becomes in a sense "a summons to all Christians" as it focuses upon experiential religion and heartfelt convictions that "engender and sustain dynamic evangelism."

Crim, Keith, general ed. *The Perennial Dictionary of World Religions.* San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1989. 848 pp. Paperback, $22.95.

More than 1,600 concise, authoritative, and cross-referenced entries appear in this dictionary. All major religious traditions are highlighted, with information concerning their doctrines, creeds, practices, important personalities, writings and the like. Some 161 scholars participated in producing this comprehensive volume.

Davis, Dale Ralph. *Such a Great Salvation: Expositions of the Book of Judges*. Expositor's Guide to the Historical Books, vol. 2. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 224 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

The present publication is a companion volume to Davis's earlier *No Falling Words: Expositions of the Book of Joshua*. This new volume, like its companion one, presents model sermons wherein exegesis and historical study are intertwined and followed up with homiletical and practical application. The evident purpose of the series is to provide "unusual help for budding preachers."

Easum, William M. *Church Growth Handbook*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1990. 160 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

Easum, the senior pastor of the Colonial Hills United Methodist Church in San Antonio, Texas, led his congregation from the threat of foreclosure to a 600% growth rate. In this book he outlines biblically based holistic growth strategies and methods.

Gaustad, Edwin S. *A Religious History of America: New Revised Edition*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. 320 pp. Paperback, $19.95.

This volume is a thoroughly updated edition of a standard history of religion in America.

Grant, Robert M. *Augustus to Constantine*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990. 240 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

In his *Augustus to Constantine* Robert M. Grant has provided a history of the Christian church during its first three crucial centuries of existence and expansion. Through reference to a considerable amount of historical and archaeological information, he enriches our knowledge of the Roman world in which Christianity emerged.

Gunter, W. Stephen. *The Limits of "Love Divine": John Wesley's Response to Antinomianism and Enthusiasm*. Kingswood Books. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 366 pp. Paperback, $15.95.

Gunter in this publication proposes a corrective to traditional views regarding developments in earliest Methodism, doing so in relationship particularly to John Wesley's opposition to antinomianism and struggles with enthusiasm among his followers.

Hadden, Jeffrey, and Anson Schupe, eds. *Secularization and Fundamentalism Reconsidered*. Religion and Political Order, vol. 3. New York, NY: Paragon House Publishers, 1989. 320 pp. $24.95/$12.95.

The essays in this volume have been contributed by distinguished sociologists of religion and probe into recent trends of fundamentalism in both the Christian and Moslem contexts, especially as these trends and secularization impinge and interact.

Hauerwas, Stanley, and William Willimon. *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 176 pp. Paperback, $9.95.

The authors of this volume treat present-day Christianity under the concept of

our "alien" status in today's world and attempt to point directions for the revitalization of the Christian church into its role of both nourishing souls and confronting "the illusions, pretensions, and eroding values" manifest in contemporary society. The volume envisages the church as "a colony, a holy nation, a people, a family standing for sharply focused values in a devalued world."

Hutchison, William R., ed. *Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960.* Studies in Religion and American Public Life. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. 320 pp. $39.50.

Twelve historians survey the aims, institutions, and initiatives of American Protestantism (such as the social gospel movement and the Federal Council of Churches) both as expressed from within and as viewed externally by Catholics, Jews, social minorities, etc.

Kiehl, Erich H. *The Passion of Our Lord.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 240 pp. Paperback, $14.95.

Kiehl's objective in this volume is to take seriously the Gospel narratives regarding Christ's passion week, but to do so in an exposition that is enriched by abundant background material from historical and archaeological data. Maps, diagrams, and illustrations support and amplify the discussion.

MacGregor, Geddes. *Dictionary of Religion and Philosophy.* New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1989. 704 pp. $35.00.

In compact desk-reference format, this comprehensive dictionary provides more than 3,000 entries, covering personali-

ties, schools of thought, practices, etc. in the fields of religion and philosophy. The volume is extensively cross-referenced and also contains selected bibliographies under twenty-four subject headings.

McKnight, Scot, ed. *Introducing New Testament Interpretation.* Guides to New Testament Exegesis, vol. 1. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 208 pp. Paperback, $11.95.

The essays in this publication, the first in a series on NT exegesis, treats broadly the aspects of exegesis that are applicable to all genres of the NT literature. Thus, attention is given by the various authors to such matters as word studies, grammatical analysis, the NT backgrounds, theological aspects, textual criticism, etc.

Maas, Robin. *Crucified Love: The Practice of Christian Perfection.* Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 144 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

Crucified Love is an exposition of John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection. The author explores that doctrine in its relationship to prayer life, to one's neighbor, and to the meaning of sin.

Messer, Donald E. *Contemporary Images of Christian Ministry.* Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 192 pp. Paperback, $12.95.

Five contemporary images of Christian ministry form the focus of this volume: "Wounded Healer," "Servant Leader," "Political Mystic," "Practical Theologian," and "Enslaved Liberator." These are intended not as replacements for, but rather as supplements to, the more

traditional images of priest, prophet, shepherd, etc.

Nelson, Rudolph. *The Making and Unmaking of an Evangelical Mind: The Case of Edward Carnell.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. 320 pp. $34.50.

Edward J. Carnell (1919-1967) was recognized as a leading apostle and apologist of evangelicalism during the mid-twentieth century. Nelson's volume is divided into two parts, the first presenting biographical information on Carnell's career and the second treating topically those philosophical and theological issues that were of central concern to him and his variety of evangelism.

Neusner, Jacob. *Invitation to Midrash: A Teaching Book.* San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1989. 256 pp. $25.95.

An introduction to the study of ancient Hebrew *Midrashim,* this volume provides examples from the OT, the Gospels, the Targums, the Torah, and Qumran. Introduction to *Midrash* may be considered a complementary volume to Neusner's *Invitation to Talmud: A Teaching Book.*

Oden, Thomas C. *After Modernity . . . What?: Agenda for Theology.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1990. 224 pp. $14.95.

After Modernity . . . What? is a thorough rewrite of the author's previously published title *Agenda for Theology: Recovering Christian Roots* (1979). Indeed, the recovering of Christian roots—a summons to get back to the classical, traditional, orthodox norms and forms—is what this new book, like its predecessor, is about. The author's basic views

are the same as set forth earlier but are expressed in terms more appropriate for dialogue with the situation at the beginning of the 1990s. Also, four completely new chapters have been added.

Pershbacher, Wesley I., ed. *The New Analytical Greek Lexicon.* Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1989. 512 pp. $29.95.

This lexicon represents an up-to-date thorough-going revision of George Wigram's *Analytical Greek Lexicon.* Also, the material has been reset in a clearer typeface.

Piper, John. *The Supremacy of God in Preaching.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1990. 96 pp. Paperback, $5.95.

Based on Piper's Harold Ockenga Lectures on Preaching at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary and his Billy Graham Lecture on Preaching at Wheaton College, this volume is not basically a handbook on the craft of preaching but rather focuses on a dimension of preaching less frequently approached in publications—namely, the preacher's personal piety and proper relationship with God, with God's word, and with the people addressed. Illustrations of powerful preaching in this respect are drawn from powerful preachers with considerable attention given to Jonathan Edwards.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The Crusades.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987, 1990. 306 pp. $30.00/$14.95.

The original hardbound edition of a recent (1987) comprehensive treatment of the Crusades has appeared in paperback in 1990. The volume covers the period from 1074 to 1798.

Thompson, Alden. *Who's Afraid of the Old Testament God?* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989. 176 pp. Paperback, $8.95.

In eight chapters, Thompson gives sensitive treatment to a variety of questions raised by lay persons seeking to understand the OT. The chapter titles (as well as text) are rather provocative and are set forth in popularized style such as "Don't Let Your New Testament Get in the Way of Your Old Testament" and "What Kind of Prayers Would You Publish If You Were God?"

Tiemann, William Harold, and John C. Bush. *The Right to Silence: Privileged Clergy Communication and the Law.* 3d ed. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 256 pp. Paperback, $15.95.

A completely revised and expanded edition of a classic reference volume. The authors have updated the basic information on court testimony and malpractice with attention to significant recent developments in American law at both the federal and state levels. Included is a treatment of specialized areas such as child abuse.

Tuttle, Robert G., Jr. *Mysticism in the Wesleyan Tradition.* Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1989. 192 pp. $14.95.

Although John Wesley wrote to his brother Charles in 1736, a year and a half before his Aldersgate evangelical conversion, that the writings of the mystics were the rock on which he came closest to making "shipwreck of the faith," he subsequently recommended and even abridged mystical writings. Tuttle's volume seeks to place this paradox into perspective, noting that even when Wesley firmly accepted the evangelical doctrine of justification by faith he also found impetus from

mysticism for promoting his Evangelical Revival.

Tzaferis, Vassilios, ed. *Excavations at Capernaum, Volume 1: 1978-1982.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. xx + 236 pp. + plates and foldout plans. $48.00.

This specialized volume is the first of the final reports covering excavations at Capernaum coordinated by Israel's Department of Antiquities and Museums, the Greek Orthodox Church (whose Patriarchate of Jerusalem owns the excavation site), Averett College, Notre Dame University, and the Southwest Missouri State University. Covered are the first five seasons, which have supplied extensive ceramic and numismatic finds from the early seventh to early eleventh centuries A.D. Fourteen foldout plans and eight full-color plates enhance the value of the publication.

Van Groningen, Gerard. *Messianic Revelation in the Old Testament.* Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 1120 pp. $39.95.

This massive tome goes into a deep and penetrating analysis of the messianic concept revealed in the OT. It covers a broad spectrum of material in six parts, the first of which details basic aspects of the Messianic concept, and the rest of which cover the OT data in Genesis, Exodus through Deuteronomy, the Former Prophets, the Poetic Books, and the Latter Prophets, respectively.

Vardaman, Jerry, and Edwin M. Yamauchi, eds. *Chronos, Kairos, Christos: Nativity and Chronological Studies Presented to Jack Finegan.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. xxiv + 240 pp. $25.00.

Thirteen essays contributed by a group of Biblical-Studies specialists have been

brought together in this *Festschrift* to honor Jack Finegan on his eightieth birthday. For its type of publication, the volume is extraordinarily well unified, focusing as it does on chronological questions pertaining to the birth and crucifixion of Jesus and related NT chronological concerns. A bibliography of the works of Finegan is included.

Wagley, Lawrence A. *Preaching with the Small Congregation*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1989. 144 pp. Paperback, $10.95.

Wagley, Professor of Preaching and Worship at St. Paul's School of Theology in Kansas City, Missouri, has set forth guidelines on how to prepare sermons and organize worship services that may be advantageous for small congregations in which interaction with the preacher is more possible, appropriate, and effective than in the case of large congregations. A variety of ideas and models are incorporated.

Waldman, Nahum M. *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of Literature with Selected Bibliography*. Bibliographica Judaica, vol. 10. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989. (Co-published with Hebrew Union College.) xxii + 464 pp. $35.00.

Some 1,300 authors and upward of 3,500 publications on the Hebrew language since the 1930s constitute the core of this basic bibliographical tool. The contributions are first arranged into an annotated series, subdivided into five periods chronologically from Biblical Hebrew to Modern and Contemporary Hebrew; and then they are set forth in a bibliographical listing. There is also a comprehensive index of the authors cited.

Walker, William O., Jr., ed. *Harper's Bible Pronunciation Guide*. San Fran-

cisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1989. 192 pp. $15.95.

This guide provides the preferred American pronunciation of more than 7,000 words that appear in the Bible itself or that are used in major discussions of the Bible. Included are Hebrew and Greek terms commonly translated into English and a number of relevant non-biblical expressions used in conjunction with the study of Scripture.

Whiting, Robert. *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation*. Cambridge, Eng., and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1989. 320 pp. $54.50.

What Whiting attempts is a task far more difficult than the usual treatments of the Reformation in England which focus on the crown, clerics, and gentry. He attempts, albeit with somewhat controversial results, to ascertain the reaction of the general populace of England to the changes that were being brought about at the official level by virtue of the rise of Protestant ideas and practices.

Yamauchi, Edwin M. *Persia and the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1989. 528 pp. $34.95.

Yamauchi's *Persia and the Bible* is the first comprehensive treatment of Persian history of the OT period that has appeared in many decades. Thus, it has the advantage of being able to incorporate up-to-date archaeological information from Iran. The text is carefully documented, and the volume includes more than 100 photographs. The discussion is further enriched by a number of maps and diagrams of archaeological sites, and there is an index that helps the reader locate readily the author's treatment of data relevant to specific passages from the OT.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC

CONSONANTS

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

MASORETIC VOWEL POINTINGS

ֲ = a	׃, ֽ (vocal shewa) = $ᵉ$	ֹ = $ō$
ָ = $ā$	ֳ, ֱ = $ê$	ֳ = o
ֲ = $ᵃ$	ִ = i	וֹ = $ô$
ֶ = e	׃ = $î$	ֻ = u
ֵ = $ē$	ָ = o	וּ = $û$

(Dāḡēš Forte is indicated by doubling the consonant.)

Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR	Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.
JAC	Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum
JAOS	Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JB	Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.
JEOL	Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JMeH	Journal of Medieval History
JMES	Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
JMH	Journal of Modern History
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRAS	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society
JRE	Journal of Religious Ethics
JRelS	Journal of Religious Studies
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JRT	Journal of Religious Thought
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	Journal for the Study of OT
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JSSR	Journ., Scient. Study of Religion
JTC	Journal for Theol. and Church
JTS	Journal of Theol. Studies
KJV	King James Version
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly
LTK	Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche
LW	Lutheran World
McCQ	McCormick Quarterly
MLB	Modern Language Bible
MQR	Mennonite Quarterly Review
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
Neot	Neotestamentica
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary, NT
NICOT	New International Commentary, OT
NIV	New International Version
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
NovT	Novum Testamentum
NPNF	Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers
NRT	Nouvelle revue théologique
NTA	New Testament Abstracts
NTS	New Testament Studies
NTTS	NT Tools and Studies
ODCC	Oxford Dict. of Christian Church
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PEFQS	Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PG	Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.
PJ	Palästina-Jahrbuch
PL	Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.
QDAP	Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéal.
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.
RArch	Revue archéologique
RB	Revue biblique
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RechSR	Recherches de science religieuse
REg	Revue d'égyptologie
RelS	Religious Studies
RelSoc	Religion and Society
RelSRev	Religious Studies Review

RenQ	Renaissance Quarterly
RevExp	Review and Expositor
RevQ	Revue de Qumrân
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses
RevSém	Revue sémitique
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHPR	Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RL	Religion in Life
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RPTK	Realencykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche
RR	Review of Religion
RRR	Review of Religious Research
RS	Religious Studies
RSPT	Revue des sc. phil. et théol.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RTP	Revue de théol. et de phil.
SB	Sources bibliques
SBLDS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.
SBLMS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.
SBLSBS	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study
SBLTT	Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
SCR	Studies in Comparative Religion
Sem	Semitica
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SMRT	Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought
SOr	Studia Orientalia
SPB	Studia Postbiblica
SSS	Semitic Studies Series
ST	Studia Theologica
TAPS	Transactions of Am. Philos. Society
TD	Theology Digest
TDNT	Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.
TDOT	Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.
TEH	Theologische Existenz Heute
TGl	Theologie und Glaube
THAT	Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TP	Theologie und Philosophie
TQ	Theologische Quartalschrift
Trad	Traditio
TRev	Theologische Revue
TRu	Theologische Rundschau
TS	Theological Studies
TT	Teologisk Tidsskrift
TToday	Theology Today
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
UBSGNT	United Bible Societies Greek NT
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
USQR	Union Seminary Quarterly Review
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
VTSup	VT, Supplements
WA	Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WTJ	Westminster Theol. Journal
WZKM	Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS	Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache
ZAW	Zeitsch. für die alttes. Wiss.
ZDMG	Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.
ZEE	Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik
ZHT	Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZKT	Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie
ZMR	Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft
ZNW	Zeitsch. für die neutes. Wiss.
ZRGG	Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.
ZST	Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie
ZTK	Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche
ZWT	Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie