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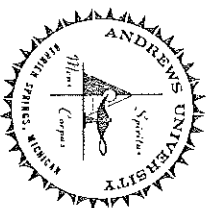
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God is not only infinitely greater and more excellent than all other beings, but he is the head of the universal system of existence; the fountain of all being and all beauty; from whom all is perfectly derived, and on whom all is most absolutely and perfectly dependent. . . .²²

For Edwards, the dependence of creatures on God was absolute; God wove their lives, individually and collectively, into a pattern which was directly and completely controlled by him. Virtue (and indeed all human activity) was part of that system of which God was the head, and to which both the being and act of all the members of the system was directed. Just as Edwards found God's sovereignty and glory absolute in the realm of metaphysics (*Dissertation on the End for Which God Created the World*), so they were also absolute in the realm of human ethical action.

6. Conclusion

By erasing distinctions that his forebearers had made, Edwards eliminated the careful construction whereby the Puritans had reserved a space for some kind of human autonomy in man's dealings with God. For Edwards there was no such autonomy, either in relation to the course of individual salvation or to that of human history. Both were aspects of the divine activity in which human beings, individually and as a group were recipients of God's saving guidance which immediately directed all dimensions of human life to God's purpose. Human beings were reflections of divine intention, passive receivers of the divine energy which harmoniously moved them. Thus for Edwards the triumph of grace and divine purpose was not simply an individual experience, but an all-encompassing event in universal history.

²² *Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue*, ed. William K. Frankena (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), p. 15. Written in 1755, at the same time as the *Dissertation Concerning the End*, this work is the counterpart of the other dissertation, which deals with metaphysical issues. Together they form an outline of Edwards's systematic thought, and are bound together as one system by their fundamental notion that God is the immediate controlling influence directing all levels of existence as one harmonious whole.

BRIEF NOTE

OSTRACON II FROM HESHBON

WILLIAM H. SHEA
Andrews University

The second ostrakon from Heshbon written in Aramaic script was recovered during the excavations there in the summer of 1971.¹ It was recovered from a late Iron II context (7th-6th century) in Area B, and it has been dated palaeographically to ca. 525 B.C. Only three lines of text are legible on the sherd, and F. M. Cross who published the text reconstructed and translated these lines as follows:

כַּדְּיָיִן הַבַּיִת 2. plough[?] tip[s]
לְיַחֲזֵק 3. Tamak'el
יִשְׂרָאֵל 4. men of Gubla²

For his translation of line 2 as "plough tips" Cross cited *sekkat paddānā*, an idiom with such a significance in some Aramaic dialects. The personal name Tamak'el in line 3 is attested by several Ammonite seals. Cross connected the men of Gubla³ in line 4 with a Gubal in southern Transjordan on the basis of Ps 83:8, and he thus found this text to provide the earliest extra-biblical reference to that site. As far as the overall significance of this text is concerned, too little of it has survived to permit precise conclusions about its contents, but Cross suggested that "the ostrakon may be a docket recording the distribution of tools, or a letter giving instructions to agricultural workers."⁴

G. Garbini has also discussed this ostrakon in his treatment of Ammonite inscriptions.⁴ The first point he raised about it was to propose that its language was Ammonite, not Aramaic as Cross originally suggested. In Garbini's favor on this point is the fact that the only distinctively Aramaic linguistic feature that Cross found in this text, the occurrence of *paddānā* in the emphatic state, rested upon a reconstruction. Script should be distinguished

¹ F. M. Cross, "Heshbon Ostrakon II," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 126-131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁴ G. Garbini, "Ammonite Inscriptions," *JSS* 19 (1974): 163-164.

from language in this case. The script of this text is Aramaic, as Cross observed, but its language probably is Ammonite, as Garbini has proposed. With more examples of Ammonite available now, Cross seems to agree that the language of Ostrakon II may be Ammonite.⁵ If the language of this text is Ammonite and not Aramaic then it becomes less likely that *skt pdl*] of the second line should be translated "plough tips," since such a parallel belongs to a more remote linguistic horizon.

Instead of restoring *n* at the end of the second line after *pd* as Cross did, Garbini has taken it as *pd(y)*, relating it to South Arabic *fdy* and Hebrew *pādān*, "to redeem, free," and he has extended that meaning to "pay."⁶ He interpreted *skt* in this text as related to *skt* in South Arabic where it has to do with working in the fields. On the basis of these suggestions Garbini has translated this text, "*tmkl* paid the *bny gbl* for (their) work in the fields." The syntax is rather awkward for this translation, however, and such an interpretation also provides an uninterupted translation for a text which obviously has been interrupted at several places.

Since some problems with the interpretation of this brief text remain, a new translation and interpretation of it is proposed here. I would suggest that there is a simpler solution to the problem posed by the first word of this text than either "tip" or "payment," and that is to take it as the place name Succoth. *Sk* in this text corresponds directly to the spelling of that place name in the Hebrew Bible with the exception of the absence of the *wāw* as a vowel letter, but an orthographic expression of that vowel is not expected here.⁸

Succoth was located east of the Jordan River near its con-

⁵ By 525 B.C. at latest, Ammonite came to be written in the cursive Aramaic of the Persian chancellery, to judge from Ostrakon I and II from Heshbon." F. M. Cross, "Heshbon Ostrakon XI," *AJUSS* 14 (1970): 148.

⁶ Garbini, "Ammonite Inscriptions," p. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁸ Etymologically the place name of Succoth originated from the plural of the feminine noun for "booth." The Ammonite inscription on the bronze bottle from Tell Siran which has been dated palaeographically as about a century older than Heshbon Ostrakon II contains five feminine plural words, but the vowel letter of the feminine plural ending was not written with any of them. See H. Thompson and F. Zayadine, "The Tell Siran Inscription,"

fluence with the Zergá/Jabbok, approximately midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.⁹ In this location, Succoth lay near the northwestern corner of the territory of Ammon at the time this text was written.¹⁰ The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir 'Allā is still debated,¹¹ but it is of interest to note in this connection that a lengthy Aramaic text discovered there, dated to the middle of the eighth century, indicates that that site was a prominent religious center of some kind or other in the latter half of Iron II.¹² The building in which the inscription was found was destroyed by an earthquake, but the site continued in

BAJOR 212 (1973): 9; F. M. Cross, "Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Siran," *BAJOR* 212 (1973): 14.

⁹ For the biblical references to Succoth and a discussion of the location of that site that can be inferred from those references, see N. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine IV*, *BAJOR* 25:28 (New Haven, Conn., 1945-1949), pp. 347-350.

¹⁰ This is the general viewpoint of the historical geographies of Palestine that have commented on or mapped this point. For examples see L. H. Grolenborg, *Atlas of the Bible*, ed. H. H. Rowley, trans. J. M. H. Reel (London, 1956), p. 96; J. H. Negeman, *New Atlas of the Bible*, ed. H. H. Rowley, trans. H. Hoskins and R. Beckley (Garden City, N.Y., 1969), p. 94; and *The Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible*, rev. ed., ed. G. E. Wright and F. V. Filson (Philadelphia, 1956), p. 51.

¹¹ The identification of Succoth with Tell Deir 'Allā received N. Glueck's tentative endorsement in his topographical survey cited above in n. 9, and in several other studies. The excavator of Tell Deir 'Allā has rejected its identification with Succoth. H. J. Franken, *Excavations at Tell Deir 'Allā I*, *Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui*, vol. 16, ed. W. F. Albright and J. Vanders (Leiden, 1969), pp. 4-8. Other sites suggested for Succoth include Tell el-Ekhas, Tell Qa'adan, and Tell Umm Hamad, 2½ km. west-southwest, ½ km. northeast, and 7 km. south-southwest of Tell Deir 'Allā, respectively. On the basis of 1 Sam 11:15 Franken suggests that Tell Deir 'Allā may be Transjordanian Gilgal. This interpretation appears to rest upon a misunderstanding of the text. When the Transjordanian tribes came to crown Saul at Gilgal, they crossed the Jordan River to do so. T. L. Thompson has reacted against Franken's rejection of the identification of Succoth with Tell Deir 'Allā in *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, *BZAW*, vol. 133 (Berlin, 1974), p. 183, n. 65. Franken has subsequently responded to those who have accepted the equation of Succoth with Tell Deir 'Allā in his study, "The Problem of Identification in Biblical Archaeology," *PEQ*, 1976, pp. 8-9.

¹² The discovery of these texts was announced by H. J. Franken, "Texts from the Persian Period from Tell Deir 'Allā," *VT* 17 (1967): 480-481. Their date was subsequently raised to the middle of the eighth century on the basis of their palaeography by J. Naveh, "The Date of the Deir 'Allā Inscriptions in Aramaic Script," *IEJ* 17 (1967): 256-258. Franken has recently provided a sum-

use into the Persian period, according to the excavator.¹³

If this *skt* was Succoth on the Ammonite side of the Jordan Valley, what is the meaning of *pdī*] which follows it? Although Cross restored a *nin* after the *dalef* in this word for a different reason than the one proposed here, that restoration still makes good sense in this new context. That restoration yields *padan*, which is connected with Aram a dozen times in the patriarchal narratives of the Bible as the name for a region around the Upper Euphrates.¹⁴ Although Padan serves as part of a compound place name there, it appears to originate from Akkadian *padānu*, "way, route."¹⁵ Thus it has been proposed that Padan Aram might be translated "the route of Aram," and some support for this suggestion has been found in the fact that the name of Haran in the same area had a similar meaning in Akkadian.¹⁶

When Jacob returned from Padan Aram he encamped for a time at Succoth (Gen 33:15). Thus one could say that Jacob's *padānu* or "route" led to Succoth when he returned from the north. From this discussion of these parallels it is suggested here that "Succoth of the route" would fit well with *skt pdī/n]* found in the second line of Heshbon Ostrakon II. For the next line the evidence from the seals cited by Cross certainly indicates that Tamakēl is best taken as an Ammonite personal name.

That brings us to the question of where the *gbl* was located many of the contents of these texts. They have to do with a night vision or dream in which an unnamed goddess came to Balaam the son of Beor (cf. Num 22:5) and threatened to destroy something by fire. Upon arising in the morning Balaam started crying and the priests sent to ask him what had happened. In response Balaam related his experience in the form of a prophecy to which he added a call to repentance to the populace. There follows a description of a meeting of the gods who attempted to persuade the goddess to abandon her plans. "The Problem of Identification," p. 9. The *editio princeps* of these texts is J. Hoffizer and G. van der Kooyi, *Aramaic Texts from Deir e'llāz* (Leiden, 1976). Hoffizer's preliminary announcement of the contents of this text appeared in "The Prophet Balaam in a 6th Century Aramaic Inscription," *BA* 39 (1976): 11-17.

¹³ Frankel, "Texts from the Persian Period," pp. 480-481. Id., *The Excavations at Tell Deir e'llāz I*, p. 22.

¹⁴ All of these references occur in Genesis: 25:20; 28:2, 5, 6, 7; 31:18; 33:18; 35:9, 26; and 46:13. Padan occurs once in Gen 48:7, without Aram.

¹⁵ For the references to *padānu* in Akkadian, see W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1972): 807-808.

¹⁶ R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* (Rome, 1948), p. 96.

from which the men (literally, "sons") mentioned in this text came. I doubt that they came from a Gebal in southern Transjordan, as has been proposed on the basis of Ps 83:8. If *skt* in the second line is Succoth in the central Jordan Valley, then we probably should look for their place of origin in a more northerly direction. As far as the Gebal of Ps 83:8 is concerned, I concur with M. Dahood's interpretation of that verse as referring to the better known *gbl* of Byblos in Phoenicia.

Customarily conjectured to be an Arab tribe residing in the environs of Petra, the MT hapax legomenon *g'be'el* should rather be identified with the famous Phoenician city. With *skt*, Tyre, another Phoenician city, it forms the rhetorical figure known as inclusion. In this verse, the poet moves from north to south, and then back from south to north. In Ezek xxvii 8-9, Tyre and Byblos occur in parallelism.¹⁷

If one looks for the *gbl* of this ostrakon north of Succoth, rather than south, then there is no better candidate for it than the same Byblos of Phoenicia. Perhaps because of its northern location, or because of the similarity of its name with the word for "border," there has been some reluctance to identify *gbl* in the Bible with Byblos. Aside from Dahood's citations of *gbl* as Byblos in Ps 83:8 and Ezek 27:9, *gbl*/Byblos also appears in Josh 13:5 as a location on the northern border of the Promised Land and in 1 Ki 5:18 as a place from whence men came to work on Solomon's temple along with Hiram's workmen from Tyre. While it is consonantly correct to translate all four of these references as Gebal, as the RSV does, geographically this site was what is more commonly referred to historically as Byblos. It appears to me that the same reticence to translate *gbl* as Byblos has occurred in the case of this ostrakon when that site is more likely the one in question if the search for it starts from Succoth. Putting these suggestions together, the revised translation of Heshbon Ostrakon II proposed here is:

]179 n30 2. Succoth of the route
]782bn 3. Tamakēl
]721 722 4. the man of Byblos¹⁸

¹⁷ M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, The Anchor Bible, 17 (Garden City, 1968): 274.

¹⁸ Cross has restored an *aleph* after the *lamed* in *gbl*. "Heshbon Ostrakon II," p. 126. Only a small portion of this letter remains, however, so that it is uncertain as to which letter was originally written there. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVII, A.

According to this translation, there are three basic elements in the portion of this text that has survived: men from Byblos in Phoenicia, Succoth in the central Jordan Valley, and the Ammonite personal name of Tamak'el. There probably are several ways these bits of information from this text could be put together. The one I would tentatively suggest is as follows: A mission from Byblos had arrived in the territory of Ammon by travelling the route down the Jordan Valley as far as Succoth. At Succoth they encountered Tamak'el, probably the ranking Ammonite official in residence there, and he reported their arrival to Heshbon by way of this text.

While a political mission would not have been impossible in this case, a contact of a commercial nature would seem to have been more likely. In the latter case, Tamak'el may have reported the arrival of some goods. Or in the former case, he may have sought authorization to permit the Byblites to pass on further into Ammon.

It is suggested here, therefore, that this ostrakon represents the remnants of a report or letter originally written by a scribe in the service of Tamak'el at Succoth and that by it he relayed the information to Heshbon that an embassy of some type or another from Byblos had arrived there.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ball, Bryan W. *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660*. Studies in the History of Christian Thought, vol. 12. Leiden: Brill, 1975. xiv + 281 pp. Gld. 62.

This publication represents a revision of material that was originally presented in the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of London in 1970. During the intervening years Ball has been doing extensive research in broader areas of theological thought of the late 16th and early 17th centuries in the British Isles and has thus enriched his background knowledge for the particular line of theological concern which is the focus of the present book.

In six main chapters, the work here under review treats the following major areas or aspects of eschatological thought of 17th-century England up to 1660: (1) "The Word of God and the Second Coming of Christ" (pp. 15-54; incidentally, "World" in the table of contents on p. vii); (2) "Apocalyptic Interpretation and the End of the Age" (pp. 55-88); (3) "Signs of the Times and the Time of the End" (pp. 89-125); (4) "The Kingdoms of the World and the Kingdom of God" (pp. 126-156); (5) "Last Events and the Millennial Rule of Jesus" (pp. 157-192); and (6) "The End of Faith and the Godly Life" (pp. 193-227). Ball's discussion provides a truly comprehensive survey of important writers treating eschatology during that period in the British Isles, and among his significant and perhaps somewhat astounding conclusions are that eschatological hope was indeed widespread and that a surprisingly large amount of common ground existed regarding the basic doctrine of Christ's imminent second advent (even though there was more divergence with respect to millenarianism).

In his "Conclusion" (pp. 228-238) Ball observes that the breadth of eschatological involvement was evident in various ways: (1) ecclesiastically, with representatives from among Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists; (2) socially, with representation by "works of scores of clergy from virtually every rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy . . . complemented by the writings of laymen from a wide cross-section of public and private life" (p. 231); and (3) geographically, with London and southern counties figuring prominently, but with various other areas in England and with Scotland well represented too. Ball's "corollary" conclusion that "eschatological expectation belonged more to orthodoxy than it did to heterodoxy" (p. 233) in *Godly Rule* that the book of Revelation has too frequently been identified only with fanatical groups such as the Fifth Monarhists.

Concerning the nature of *A Great Expectation*, Ball himself considers this book to be more in the line of historical theology than theological history; and in a preface, the eminent British historian Geoffrey F. Nuttall has observed in this regard, "Whichever it is, he [Ball] is insatiably inquisitive and asks many questions of both history and theology. He has read widely