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## EDITORIAL

### Tensions in the Holy Land

### George A. Turner\*

The Six Day War between the Israelis and their Arab neighbors in June of 1967 resulted in far-reaching changes geographically, politically and psychologically. No one is in a position fully to understand, assess and interpret the changes or to project the future. No one can treat the subject with complete objectivity. Christians, for example, differ violently on the subject, some ardently supporting the Arab cause, others just as ardently championing the Israelis. Many Christians are genuinely interested in healing the breach and fostering peace; a few are doing something about it. These include the Sisters of Sion, members of a convent in the Old City of Jerusalem, who are holding language classes attended by both Arabs and Jews. Arabs are learning Hebrew, Jews are learning Arabic, and both groups meet occasionally for fellowship.

### MOST OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS ARE FRUSTRATED

In their frustration, the Arabs' inclination is to blame someone else for their plight. Some Palestinians are convinced that King Hussein is a traitor because he would not give the Arab Legion his full support and thus accounted for its quick defeat. Such a view appears to have no foundation in fact. The most prevalent view among Arabs is that the stunning victory of the Israelis over the Arab armies could only be explained on the basis of massive help, direct or indirect, from the United States and Britain.<sup>1</sup> This view explains why Syria to this day will not permit British or American citizens to enter its borders and why American relations with Egypt and Jordan remain strained. Like many Orientals and like the rulers of Nazi Germany, Middle East Arabs have a tendency

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<sup>1. &</sup>quot;Nasser's Views on Peace," Arab News and Views (Feb. 1969), p. 1.

to place much importance in the spoken word. Consequently, the propagandists and those who listen to them place much weight upon a war of words. Truth does not seem to be a major consideration in this propaganda, but attention is given instead to the effect of words, whether true or false. Thus, in 1964, Arabs in Jerusalem were convinced that a Jew had killed President John Kennedy and were surprised when informed that the Jew involved in the events had killed Kennedy's assassin. This example illustrates the effectiveness of certain Arab channels of communication in the mass media.

The tendency of Arabs to believe that words have an inherent power helps to explain the present volume of hate propaganda and the difficulty the typical Middle East Arab has in accepting reality. The Palestinians of the West Bank, namely that portion of Jordan west of the Jordan River but occupied by the Israelis since 1967, have a peculiar sense of frustration. They have always felt themselves to be quite different from the Jordanians east of the Jordan. The latter they have regarded as essentially Bedouins, while they themselves are farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen. They resent the fact that King Hussein's government rests upon the strength of a Bedouin army. Simply to be returned to the jurisdiction of the government in Amman would not be for them an unmixed blessing.

Since many of them are refugees, their main concern is to regain property within the State of Israel. They are thus sympathetic to leaders like Nasser, who exploit their frustrations and keep alive the hope that the Jews can be driven into the sea. The more realistic among them realize that in open conflict with Jews, they would again suffer defeat. So, in their frustration, they would prefer to see a settlement imposed from the outside rather than one worked out between the victor and the vanquished. They would, for example, welcome seeing all of Palestine placed under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, with Arabs and Israelis forced to live side by side, their safety to be guaranteed by the United Nations. For the typical villager, however, life goes on about the same as before under King Hussein or under the British or under the Turks. They have found the Israeli military governors just in their dealings. They are permitted to retain a large degree of local autonomy. The Arab mayors of Arab villages meet regularly with the Israeli officials who, like the ancient Romans, are interested primarily in "law and order." These Palestinians have never been self-governing except in local affairs.

The greatest hostility against the Israelis is found in places like Jenin, Nablus and to some extent Hebron. It is noteworthy that the least hostility to the Jews is found in the Christian communities of Ramallah and Bethlehem and Tayibeh. Most Arabs have found it possible

to live with the Israelis better than they anticipated. Shopkeepers in East Jerusalem and some of the villages often greet strangers with the Jewish greeting, "Shalom." There have been surprisingly few acts of terrorism or sabotage originating in Jewish-occupied Palestine; most have come from across the borders. Both Jordanian and Israeli currency is used on the West Bank, especially in outlying districts like Nablus. Arab farmers are permitted to carry their produce across the Jordan and sell it on the East Bank. Businessmen in East Jerusalem make regular trips to Amman. Money in the banks of Amman is being released to finish buildings on the West Bank which were started prior to the June war. Visitors to Israel today are surprised at the domestic tranquility in contrast to the impressions gained by listening to the newscasts here in the West. Arab refugees in the Gaza strip were second-class citizens under Egypt during the nineteen years of armistice. Many of them are now employed by the Israelis in road building and other public works, while the products of their craftsmen are being marketed throughout Israel-occupied Palestine. Arab communities within the State of Israel, such as Nazareth, are represented in the Jewish Parliament (Knesset) and are treated like other Israeli citizens except for exemption from military service. Last summer 15,304 students and others from neighboring Arab countries went via Jordan to Israel to visit and then returned to their homelands.<sup>2</sup> The Israeli government insisted on stamping their passports, but this act did not deter thousands of them from coming.

### WHAT ABOUT THE ISRAELIS?

There are deep divisions within the Israeli government as to whether most of these occupied lands should be given back to the Arab neighbors, whether the status quo should be kept indefinitely, or whether these occupied lands should be incorporated into a larger Israeli State, peace or no peace. The same difference of opinion is found among the Arabs, who likewise are divided as to what concessions to make to the Israelis, if any. Israelis have been moving cautiously with reference to the occupied lands. It is against their stated policy to permit archaeological expeditions in areas that were once Jordanian. The only exception is given to those who were authorized by the Jordanians prior to the June

<sup>2.</sup> C. A. Wardi, Ed., Christian News From Israel (Dec. 1968), p. 8.

war in order to prevent the jeopardizing of a final peace settlement.

The Jews are severely criticized for planting new colonies in this territory such as those in East Jerusalem, Hebron, and the Golon Heights in Syria. In practice, such settlements are mostly limited to areas where Jews were residents prior to 1948. This is true of Hebron, of the Mount Scopus area of Jerusalem, and of the Syrian Heights east of the Sea of Galilee. To date there has been no large scale occupancy of territory that had never known Jewish occupancy. The southeast corner of the Old City of Jerusalem is now being reoccupied by Israelis, but this area was formerly known as the Jewish quarter before the Jews were expelled in 1948. Defensive steps recently taken include a new road from Qumran to Engedi, west of the Dead Sea, and fortifications along the Jordan River and the Suez Canal. At times the Israelis have been unnecessarily provocative in dealing with their Arab neighbors. One of the most flagrant instances was the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of May, 1960, when armed forces paraded through the streets of East Jerusalem flaunting their military hardware. Other instances are those of Israeli tourists, especially young people in miniskirts and shorts, barreling through Arab villages in a manner more arrogant than courteous.

Shopkeepers have been injured by the restriction of goods from other parts of the world and by the high prices they have to pay for products manufactured in Israel. Tour agencies in East Jerusalem have been especially adversely affected, but gradually their hotels and their guide services are being utilized by Israeli tour agencies. Nearly all welcome the convenience of being able to go from Dan to Beersheba and from Jericho to Jaffa unhindered. But the Palestinians resent the fact that their friends in Arab lands cannot visit them as they did before June 1967, and that tourists cannot come into the Holy Land directly from Amman, Cairo, Damascus or Beirut. Israelis are very conscious of their isolation. The Arab boycott is among the most effective counter measures that Israel has experienced. Israel does enjoy normal relations with Cyprus and Turkey and Greece, but all other avenues, North, South, and East are closed. There has been a noticeable hardening of the attitude of the average Israelis during the last two years. They are becoming less responsive to world opinion and less concerned with the relations with their Arab neighbors. They are more inclined to press on with their own "living room" whether the others like it or not.

The Israelis are particularly frustrated with respect to the Christian community at large. Israeli leaders have expressed deep resentment at the attitude of Christian leaders during and after the June war. They feel that the Christian leadership on the whole deserted them in their hour of extremity and showed a lack of concern when they faced possible annihilation. After noting the criticism they have encountered on the part of Christian spokesmen in Arab lands, they attribute these pro-Arab, anti-Israel attitudes to "vested interests." They believe that these Christians are influenced against Israelis because of their desire to work in Arab lands and that this "interest" has perverted their perspective. This criticism is directed primarily against two types of Christians. The older Christian communities of the Middle East, they feel, are pro-Arab because of their constituents in Arab lands. They feel that Christian groups of the west are pro-Arab because of Israel's success in the war and because of the Arab refugee problem. In other words, these Christian leaders, they believe, are pro-Arab on a humanitarian basis, not on the basis of justice or truth.

On the whole, conservative Christians tend to support the Jewish cause more than Christian "liberals," probably because they are influenced by the Bible prophecies which they interpret as being fulfilled in recent Jewish successes. While the Israelis appreciate this support from Christians, they are tormented by the realization that these same Christians are interested in Israel, not so much on humanitarian and political as upon religious grounds. They realize that these evangelical Christians would like to see all the Jews converted to Christianity, which the Jews believe would mean the extinction of the Jewish State. They would regard such evangelistic efforts as simply a proselytization, and those who became Christians as not only apostates but traitors to the State. Israelis prefer atheists to Christians because the latter are less nationalistic. So the typical Israeli feels extremely isolated, politically, militarily and religiously. He shares with Christians a common heritage in the Old Testament, but many liberal Christians of the world, with the exception of the late Martin Luther King, are more sympathetic to the Arabs because they are the "underdog," while "Bible-believing Christians" cannot be trusted because they are only interested in converting the Jews. For this reason Christian missionaries among the Jews have greater difficulties than even those working among the Moslems. Practically the only effective evangelism on the part of Christian missionaries in the Middle East is upon nominal Christians of the Greek Orthodox and Armenian communities.

"Will the Temple be rebuilt?" is a question often asked. Such an occurrence seems quite out of the question in the foreseeable future. In the first place, modern Judaism does not require temples, since it already has synagogues. In the second place, animal sacrifices would not be tolerated in a civilized country, and third, the Temple Mount is now occupied by the most beautiful structure in the Arab world, The Dome of the Rock, which seems likely to remain there indefinitely.

Are recent Israeli victories a fulfillment of biblical prophecy?

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Many experts in this field confidently affirm that such is the case. Most of those who do so fail to distinguish between prophecies concerning a return from Mesopotamia in the sixth century and a return in modern times.<sup>3</sup> Very few biblical prophecies, if any, specifically refer to the building of the political entity in the twentieth century At the same time, many events concerning both the return itself and recent Israeli victories can hardly be explained apart from divine providence and purpose. However, those who make these conclusions are hard put to explain why the working of divine purpose should be accompanied by so much violence, hatred and misery. Christians are in a unique position to play a conciliating role by seeking to understand the point of view of each of the contestants and to promote a reconciliation of differences. As never before, Christians need to "pray for the peace of Jerusalem" and adjacent areas. The alternatives to peace are fearful to contemplate.

## ARTICLES

# Shechem in the Light of Archaeological Evidence

Siegfried H. Horn\*

Shechem is the first city of Palestine mentioned in the Bible (Gen. 12:6, "Sichem" in the KJV). It was also one of the most important cities of Canaan due to its favorable geographical location. Lying at the eastern entrance of the only east-west mountain pass of central Palestine where it crosses the main south-north road of the inland area, Shechem controlled one of the vital arteries of the country. Mount Ebal towers over it to the north and Mount Gerizim, holy mountain of the Samaritans, rises to the south. It could thus appropriately be called the "navel" of the land (Judg. 9:37).

Although Shechem has been dead for more than two thousand years, the site still attracts tourists because of Jacob's Well in the immediate vicinity. This well was the scene of the memorable discussion between Christ and the Samaritan woman recorded in John 4.

### SHECHEM'S HISTORY FROM LITERARY SOURCES

Shechem is first mentioned in an Egyptian hieroglyphic stone inscription that contains the biography of Khu-Sebek, an official of King Sesostris III (1878-1840 B.C.). The stone describes a military campaign to Palestine in which Khu-Sebek took part. The main objective of that campaign seems to have been the punishment of Shechem (spelled *Skmm*) for some crime that is not recorded. The campaign was successful and Shechem was captured. However, the city was not occupied, and the Egyptian forces returned to Egypt after completing their punitive action.

The other Egyptian texts that mention Shechem were written on crudely fashioned clay figurines representing captured Palestinians with their arms bound on their backs. These figurines were used for magical

 Professor of Archaeology and History of Antiquity in Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan. purposes, to curse the political enemies of the Egyptian king—in this case rulers of foreign countries. The name of each enemy and that of his city was written on the figurines, together with a formula of curses. The figurines were then smashed to the accompaniment of appropriate ceremonies, participants believing that the enemies would be made impotent by this procedure. On one group of such "execration texts" coming from the nineteenth century B.C., the name of Shechem (here spelled *Skmimi*) appears and also the name of its ruler, *Abas-haddu*. The name reveals that he was an Amorite, the second part being the name of the Semitic storm-god, more generally known as Hadad.

At approximately the same time from which these texts come, the patriarch Abraham first came to Canaan. Arriving in the Promised Land, he pitched his tent first at Shechem, where he also erected an altar to the true God (Gen. 12:6, 7). Later, Jacob is said to have purchased a piece of land there from "the children of Hamor, Shechem's father" (Gen. 33:18-20); Genesis 48:22 preserves the tradition of a military conquest of land in that area by Jacob. It is possible that it refers to the massacre of Shechem by Jacob's sons, carried out to avenge the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen. 34).

One story mentions Joseph at Shechem in search of his brothers, who had grazed their flocks there (Gen. 37:12-14), and Joshua 24:32 says that Joseph was buried at Shechem. A Moslem shrine stands today at the traditional site of Joseph's burial.

From the early fourteenth century B.C. come the Amarna Letters written by Syrian, Palestinian and other Asiatic rulers to the Egyptian kings Amenhotep III and IV. These letters mention Labayu as ruler of Shechem, and also state that he had surrendered his land to the *CApiru*, bands of stateless people who menaced various Palestinian city states at that time.

After the Israelites entered Canaan, Shechem seems to have played an important role as a tribal rallying site. First, a ceremony is recorded to have taken place, according to which the twelve tribes of Israel stood on the slopes of the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, and antiphonally pronounced the blessings and curses which would follow their obedience or disobedience to God (Deut. 11:26-29; Josh. 8:30-35). Later the Israelites gathered again at Shechem to listen to Joshua's farewell address and renew their covenant with God (Josh. 24). Many scholars believe that such a renewal of the covenant was regularly and repeatedly carried out at Shechem, and that Joshua 24 describes merely the inauguration of this custom.

Shechem played a role again during the period of the judges as the seat of the short-lived kingdom of Abimelech, Gideon's illegitimate son (Judg. 9). Abimelech, by his mother a citizen of Shechem, aspired to his father's place as leader of the nation. In the execution of his plans he first obtained the support of his fellow citizens, who gave him seventy shekels from the treasury of the temple of Baal-berith, which means "Lord of the covenant." Abimelech then hired a group of outlaws with whose help he slaughtered all his brothers, crowning himself king "by the oak of the pillar at Shechem." His kingdom, founded on murder and lawlessness, did not last long, and the people who supported him in the beginning later rose in rebellion against his tyrannical rule. In the ensuing struggle Shechem was destroyed and many of its citizens killed.

Shechem must have quickly risen from its ruins, for its later history indicates that it had lost little, if any, of its importance. This fact is evident in that after Solomon's death representatives of the whole nation of Israel gathered at Shechem, the most centrally located city of Palestine, to choose a successor to Solomon. It is well known how Rehoboam, Solomon's son, lost more than half of the kingdom by following the foolish advice of young counselors, while refusing to listen to the justified request of the people for a lightening of the public burden. The result of his rash decision was that ten tribes seceded from the House of David and formed their own kingdom under Jeroboam. Jeroboam, having gained his kingdom at Shechem, made this city his first capital. Later he moved the capital, first to Penuel in Transjordania, and then to Tirzah (I Kings 12:25; 14:17). The move to Transjordania may have been occasioned by the invasion of Shishak of Egypt; that he did not return to Shechem after the war was probably due to the fact that Shechem had been completely destroyed, as the excavations have shown.

From that time on Shechem seems to have experienced a period of eclipse, for it is not mentioned in the Bible for centuries. However, the city appears as belonging to the tax area of Samaria, shown in royal receipts of the eighth century B.C. found during the excavations of Samaria—the Samaria ostraca. The city is mentioned incidentally in two more Old Testament passages. The eighth-century prophet Hosea complains that bands of priests, probably idolatrous priests, murdered people on the way to Shechem (Hos. 6:9). Jeremiah, one hundred fifty years later, recorded an incident in which Shechem is mentioned as one of the places from which eighty men came, planning to offer sacrifices in Jerusalem, when they were intercepted at Mizpah and for the most part treacherously killed (Jer. 41:4-5).

Once more, for about two centuries, Shechem played a significant role during the Hellenistic period. When Andromachus, Alexander's governor of Coele-Syria, was assassinated by the people of Samaria, the enraged king had many of Samaria's citizens killed and the rest driven out. They moved to Shechem, which thus received a significant increase in population and again gained in importance. Approximately at this time the Samaritans built a temple on the summit of Mount Gerizim, which thus became their holy mountain. This temple stood for about two hundred years until the Maccabean king John Hyrcanus destroyed it in 128 B.C. A few years later Shechem shared the fate of this temple, and after this destruction never regained its importance.

In the latter part of the first century A.D. a new city, located less than two miles to the west of ancient Shechem, was founded by the emperor Vespasian. He called it Neapolis Flavianus, "New city of the Flavians," Flavian being his family name. This city, now called Nablus, has become the successor of Shechem, and is at present an important city of central Palestine.

### HISTORY OF EXCAVATIONS

This brief sketch of Shechem's checkered history shows that it was an interesting and important city. Hence, archaeologists had reason to expect exciting discoveries and finds here. It could also be expected that its exploration would provide valuable information concerning the history of the country and its people. In this respect the site of ancient Shechem has not been a disappointment. Not only have extremely valuable discoveries been made, but even the history of the excavations themselves has been hectic and exciting.

In June 1903, two German explorers, G. Holscher and H. Thiersch, who camped east of Nablus, first suggested that the popular view of identifying Nablus with ancient Shechem was erroneous. Discovering remains of ancient structures on *Tell Balâtah*, they recognized in the *tell* the unmistakable site of the ancient city. This identification was later fully confirmed by the excavations. About 1910 another interesting discovery was made when native villagers of *Balâtah*, in excavations for the foundation of a house, uncovered a hoard of ancient bronze weapons, among which was a sickle sword, about eighteen inches long and inlaid with gold. It must have belonged to an ancient nobleman, if not to a prince.

Excavations at *Tell Balâțah* began in 1913 under the direction of Ernst Sellin, at that time of Vienna, and were continued in 1914. During these two seasons the Northwest Gate and part of a huge "cyclopean wall" were uncovered. World War I interrupted the work until 1926, when Sellin returned to Shechem. During three seasons, from 1926-1928, he and his associates excavated a large building, considered by Sellin to be the temple cf Baal-berith, and an adjoining "palace" area, also parts of the East Gate and portions of the city walls, plus some residential areas. Denounced by his architect-archaeologist, G. Welter, for incompetence, Sellin was relieved of the direction of the German expedition. However, Welter's work carried out in the following years was even less satisfactory, with the result that Sellin was reinstated. He returned to Shechem in 1934 for one short campaign, but the monetary crisis in Germany and later the outbreak of World War II made it impossible for him to continue his work after 1934. To make matters worse, practically all records of the expeditions were destroyed in a bombing raid on Berlin in 1943, when Sellin's house received a direct hit.

New excavations began in 1956, this time under the direction of G. Ernest Wright, sponsored by Drew University and McCormick Theological Seminary. Seven campaigns have so far been carried out (1956, 1957, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968). By applying modern scientific methods, scholars have been able to date and plausibly identify the structures already excavated by the German expeditions, to establish a chronology of the various occupational strata found at the site, and to reconstruct the ancient history of the city. The Drew-McCormick expedition also discovered the temple of Hadrian on one of the summits of Mount Gerizim, and the remains of an earlier Hellenistic structure underneath, which most probably is the substructure of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, whose whereabouts had so far been unknown.

### SHECHEM'S ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY

The main result of the recent seasons of excavations at Shechem has been a successful reconstruction of the history of this biblical city on the basis of archaeological findings in comparison with the evidence obtained from literary sources, mainly from the Bible. The following pages present a brief sketch of these historical results obtained during the excavations.

The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Periods. The earliest remains found during the excavations at Shechem come from the Chalcolithic period (fourth millennium). Underneath the later temple a pit was found containing charcoal, bones, and some seeds, besides Chalcolithic shards. It was probably a hearth of a camping site. A Chalcolithic stratum was also found in one of the residential quarters of the ancient city (Field IX).

Of the Early Bronze Age, representing the third millennium B.C., only shards in later fills have come to light, indicative of a settlement which must have existed at the site of later Shechem. However, in the area excavated no architectural features of that period have been found, for which reason it is not known whether a city or town existed in the third millennium, or whether only an open camp stood at this site. Shechem in the Middle Bronze Age. The same can be said of the earliest period of the Middle Bronze Age (MB I) which covers approximately one century, from 1950-1850 B.C. So far only some pottery of this period has come to light, and this pottery invariably was found in later fills.

The earliest evidence of buildings comes from the next century (1850-1750), the MB II A period. A massive filling operation to prepare an area (Field VI) for some public use, several unconnected walls and a silo underneath Street 9, the lowest of the MB streets in Field VI, testify to the fact that Shechem was a built-up place at that time. This is the period when the city is mentioned for the first time in Egyptian records, and it also coincides with the earliest period of the biblical patriarchs. No evidence has come to light of any fortifications existing at that time, for which reason it must be concluded that Abraham encountered an unwalled town when he set up camp in the shadow of Shechem.

At the beginning of the MB II B period (1750-1650) Shechem received its first city wall, a brick structure resting on a stone foundation, 2.50 m. wide (Wall D). However, very soon, probably before 1700 B.C., this wall was greatly strengthened by an earthen embankment of 30 m. width thrown against it from the outside. This embankment was held in place at its western end by a battered wall of stone, 5 m. high (Wall C). It has become clear that this strong earthen fortification system was built by the Hyksos, who are known to have enclosed their cities with rampart-like fortifications in many places.

At the same time a wall (Wall 900) was built approximately 20 m. east of Wall D. This wall, constructed of well-laid stones, separated the acropolis with its public buildings from the rest of the residential city. During the century of the MB II period a great deal of building and rebuilding went on in the space between Wall 900 and the western fortification, consisting of Wall D and its embankment, held in place by Wall C. Four building phases can clearly be recognized, which means that a major rebuilding of the area with a new structural layout took place on an average of every twenty-five years during the MB II B period.

In the excavated part there were always two main structures, one in the northern part of the area and the other in the southern part. The southern building is of special interest, because it may have been an openair sanctuary, or courtyard temple. While the plan of the structure changed with every rebuilding, a courtyard always remained at the same spot, and within this larger courtyard there was a smaller one. Since this latter court lay underneath the altar of the later temple, which thus seems to have perpetuated the sacredness of the site, it is quite possible that the structure containing the courtyards was a courtyard temple, which G. E. Wright has compared with the later courtyard temples at Boghazköy and with a temple at Bethshan.

Shechem saw its greatest building activities during the next century, i.e., in the MB II C period (1650-1550 B.C.). It was in the midst of the Hyksos period, circa 1650, that cyclopean Wall A and the Northwest Gate were erected. The 4 m.-thick Wall A was built of large stones to a height of up to 10 m. and had a batter of 1.60 m., which means that its outer face sloped outward toward the base. West of the Northwest Gate a tremendous fill was thrown against the inner face of Wall A, reaching to its top. This fill was pulled from the top of the earthen embankment of the preceding period. Such a system of fortification could easily withstand the force of battering rams and would have made sapping operations difficult or impossible. The Northwest Gate was set almost 6 m. above the foundations of Wall A, and could be reached only over an earthen ramp that led straight up to the gate's threshold, making it difficult for an enemy to approach the city's gate.

In the eastern part of the mound, Wall A has been found deeply buried in the debris against the mound's side. Very soon after its construction, probably not later than 1600, the wall system in the eastern and northern part of the city was strengthened by the building of Wall B on the edge of the mount's summit, about 10-11 m. inside Wall A. This new wall seems to have been constructed of bricks with wooden battlements. It rested on a stone socket 3.25-3.75 m. thick. The spread of the collapsed wall fallen inwardly, as observed in Field III, leads to the conclusion that Wall B originally had a height of circa 10 m. The space between the lower outer Wall A and the higher inner Wall B was then filled with earth and the surface of this sloping fill was plastered. In this way a formidable fortification of some 16 m. thickness was created which formed an impregnable line of defense for the city.

At the time of the construction of Wall B the East Gate was built. This gate was similar to the Northwest Gate except that it had two pairs of towers instead of three, and two entrances, lying one behind the other. The two entrances, wider than the three entrances of the Northwest Gate, formed a court, on both sides of which were guard rooms. The lower parts of the entrance towers were protected by large pairs of monoliths.

The defensive system built by the Hyksos was destroyed after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, when the victorious Egyptian armies marched through Palestine and conquered its cities. Evidence found in the East Gate showed that a battering ram had dislodged and broken one of the large monoliths when the gate was taken in storm and destroyed, while in Field III the remains of Wall B lay fallen inside the city, with the wall's wooden parts burned and charred. A second wave of destruction must have followed within a few years after the first. Wright, discussing the evidence, attributes the two destructions respectively to Ahmose (ca. 1570-1545) and Amenhotep I (ca. 1545-1525).

At the time when Wall A was constructed (ca. 1650 B.C.) the great temple of *El-berith* or *Båal-berith* (Judg. 9:4, 46) was also built. For that purpose the former public buildings, including the courtyard temples standing between the embankment and Wall 900, were covered with layers of dirt to produce a large platform. The temple had an outside size of 26.30 x 21.20 m. Its walls were 5.10 m. thick. The entrance hall at the east side was 7 m. wide and 5 m. deep. In front of the temple was a plastered walkway coming over the fill that had been laid over the courtyard temple. It came from the top of Wall 900 and gave access to the temple from the city. An altar stood in front of the temple, and perhaps also two standing stones (*masseboth*) in front of the two towers, although it is certain only that they were there after the temple was destroyed by the Egyptians circa 1550 B.C., the temple shared the fate of the fortifications and gates.

Not much can be said about remains of the MB levels in the residential areas of the city, because the excavated areas were nowhere large enough to uncover complete houses and thus have not produced coherent house plans. During the excavations of MB levels, stone walls, three superimposed lime kilns, several thick plaster floors, and also floors made of nicely-laid, large square bricks, came to light.

After Shechem, including its fortifications, public buildings, and residential areas, suffered two violent destructions in the space of a few years in the middle of the sixteenth century B.C. (as was mentioned above), the city seems to have lain empty and waste for about a century before it recovered from these catastrophes. No remains of any consequence from circa 1540 to 1450 have been found.

Shechem in the Late Bronze Age. The rebuilding of Shechem began about 1450 B.C. Walls A and B were rebuilt, the former wall with a buttress wall behind it, and the latter in the form of a casemate wall, which means that chambers were created with the help of a parallel thinner wall and a number of cross walls. Also the East Gate was rebuilt, in part on a new plan. The old entrance was used as a sunken passageway, because the city behind the gate, built now on the MB debris, lay on a higher level than the East Gate. These fortifications seem to have existed until the twelfth century, the time of Abimelech.

The temple was also rebuilt, this time like most of the Canaanite temples, with a broad-room cella; the term means that the entrance wall

is longer (ca. 16 m.) than the side walls (ca. 12:50 m.). The walls were narrower than those of the earlier temple, and were orientated 33 degrees south of east, a difference of 5 degrees with the MB temple. This change of orientation cannot be explained. It may have been due to a change in religious concepts. The original towers were rebuilt, and the MB altar was raised by putting a new layer of stones on top of the fill within the former altar. In front of this altar (to the east of it) a huge *massebah* was erected, the largest so far discovered in excavations in Palestine. This monolith, now broken diagonally, has a width of 1.48 m. and a thickness of 42 cm. The height of the surviving fragment is 1.45 m. on one side and 62 cm. on the other. The original height is unknown. It was found by Sellin lying on its socket, a trough-like stone into which the *massebah* fitted nicely. The Drew-McCormick expedition re-erected it on its base and secured it with cement.

This temple, erected about 1450 B.C., must have been standing at the time when the Israelites took the land and performed at Shechem the great covenant ceremonies already mentioned. The temple was then destroyed by Abimelech in the twelfth century together with the LB city, as the excavated evidence indicates.

The residential areas as far as they have been excavated have not contributed much to an understanding of LB Shechem. In Field VII the structures of Stratum XIII show that a relatively prosperous community must have existed there until Abimelech destroyed it. In that stratum the well-preserved bronze statuette of a male deity of the Ba'al or Resheph type was found. During the excavations of Sellin, some cuneiform tablets and other objects came to light in LB strata which also provided evidence that the LB city had been quite prosperous.

Iron Age Shechem. Most of the evidence for the period in which the Israelites were in control of the city comes from the residential areas excavated by the Drew-McCormick expedition. Strata XII and XI in Fields VII and IX probably belong to the periods of Solomon and Jeroboam I, when Shechem was first the administrative center of a district, and then briefly the capital of the Northern Kingdom. An end came to the city through the invasion of Pharaoh Shishak a few years after Solomon's death (I Kings 14:25-28). A thick layer of ashes and charcoal, covering the remains of Stratum XI almost everywhere, testifies to the violence of the destruction of Shechem at that time. The next stratum (Stratum X) consists of poor wall stumps, indicating that only a hasty and poorly organized rebuilding of the city took place after Shishak's campaign.

During the next two centuries (ca. 920-722) the city was rebuilt and destroyed four times (Strata IXB, IXA, VIII, VII). At least three of these destructions were the results of Israel's wars with the Syrians and the Assyrians, although it is possible that the city of Stratum IXB found its end by an earthquake. During the ninth century the temple remains were levelled and covered by a thick layer of cement, into which large rocks were embedded, forming the foundation stones for what seems to have been a storehouse for grain and other commodities. Also the East Gate and the Northwest Gate were rebuilt, and a casemate wall was constructed on top of the old fortifications.

In the eighth century a well-planned and large house with several rooms located around a central courtyard was constructed on the site of Field VII. In its courtyard a large vat and a stone table of a dyeing establishment of an earlier period were covered with stones and then served as the base for a fire pit, perhaps a kiln. This house was destroyed by the Assyrians during their final campaign against Samaria, circa 723/722 B.C. The surviving inhabitants were probably deported to Mesopotamia, because the site of Shechem seems to have been almost deserted after this wholesale destruction.

It took Shechem almost four centuries to recover from its calamity. Yet it was not completely without a population during this period. The excavations have revealed two distinctive strata of occupation from the seventh and sixth centuries. However, few architectural remains have been found representing this period. First, some Assyrian influence is witnessed by locally imitated Assyrian pottery, and second by some Greek pottery and an early Greek coin. By 480 B.C. the *tell* seems to have been abandoned.

Shechem During the Hellenistic Period. The city experienced another great revival during the late fourth century, and again it flourished for about two hundred more years. The excavations in Fields I, II, VII and IX have revealed four distinct building phases during this period. A large number of coins ranging from Alexander the Great to circa 110 B.C. facilitate the dating of the Hellenistic strata and of the pottery. Reconstruction of the old fortification system was undertaken at the beginning of the period, including the rebuilding of the East Gate and the covering of Wall A on the east with a thick glacis. The second of the Hellenistic phases (Stratum III) ended about 190 B.C. when Palestine and Syria changed hands. After having belonged to the Ptolemies for more than a century, the country became part of the Seleucid empire. The fourth and last Hellenistic phase ended shortly before 100 B.C. when John Hyrcanus destroyed Shechem.

Whether the site of Shechem was occupied during the Roman period is not certain, although Sellin reports the discovery of some Roman remains near the village spring of *Balâtah*. It is most probable that a village always existed in close proximity to this spring, one of the finest in the whole area.

The reader will have noticed from this article that the archaeological investigation of ancient Shechem has illuminated the biblical information about this city in a most interesting way, especially with regard to its cult as the center of a covenant god, by shedding light on the story of Abimelech as told in Judges 9, and by providing interesting sidelights to details of other biblical stories in which Shechem played a role.

# The Excavation of et-Tell (Ai) in 1968

### G. Herbert Livingston\*

Representatives of Asbury Theological Seminary returned to Ai during the summer of 1968 through the participation of Professors George A. Turner and the writer in the excavations carried on there under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Callaway of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. The report of the 1966 "dig" was made in this journal in the April 1967 issue. This article will bring that report up-to-date.

Only seven of the staff of 1966 returned. The most significant addition to the work force was a contingent from Canada led by Dr. Norman Wagner of Waterloo Lutheran University, Waterloo, Canada. The various newcomers brought the staff to a total of twenty-five. The headquarters were again located at the Arab village of Deir Dibwan, which boasts a population of five thousand. Almost all the laborers of 125 men were recruited from this village.

The sponsoring institutions for the expedition, which lasted from June 17 to August 9, 1968, were the American Schools of Oriental Research, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Perkins School of Theology, the Harvard Semitic Museum, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and Waterloo Lutheran University. Those having faculty members on the staff were Asbury Theological Seminary, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, Samford University, Cumberland College, and Cincinnati Bible Seminary. The Nicol Museum of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was also involved.

Between the 1966 and the 1968 "digs," the Six Day War of 1967 changed the political context of the region in which Ai is located. In

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1966 it was under the control of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and the expedition was under the watchful eye of its Department of Antiquities. Presumably the Al-Fatah were not far away. At present Ai is in Israel.

Happily, the Department of Antiquities of Israel was very cooperative through its head, Dr. A. Biran. Procedures of digging and hiring of local help continued as under Jordanian laws. A Jordanian, Sayyid Hassan Mamlouk, who was on the staff in 1966, was designated official representative in 1968. Most helpful in many ways were the Israeli military leaders in the area, who shielded the expedition from many of the tensions which accompany military occupation.

The village of Deir Dibwan proved again to be a peaceful, friendly place in which to live and work. The staff and the workers got along well together and several volleyball games between the staff and local young people were the highlights of the summer. Actually, the occasional distant rattle of gunfire and the almost daily roar of jet planes overhead seemed most out of place.

The staff was divided into five field teams and a technical department team. Each of the field teams had designated areas in which to dig: four on et-Tell (the modern Arabic name for Ai), and one at the Christian Byzantine ruins, called Khirbet Khudriya, two miles to the east. The writer was in charge of excavating Sites H and K, assisted by Dr. George Turner and a Canadian student, David Newlands. There were from twenty to thirty Arab workers in each field team.

The daily schedule, five days a week, followed this pattern: rise at 4:00 a.m., breakfast at 4:30, start work at 5:00, eat and rest from 8:30-9:00, rest from 11:45-12:00, terminate dig work at 1:45, lunch at 2:00, rest in dorms 3:00-4:30, sort pottery and other chores, 4:30-6:00, eat dinner at 7:00, attend staff meeting at 8:00, and go to bed by 9:30 p.m.

Prior to 1968, all digging on Ai had been concentrated on the upper west end of the ruins. A map which the French had made during 1933-35 suggested a much larger area, but the area was generally held to be exaggerated. However, when Site G, excavated in 1966 under the direction of the writer, proved that the east wall of the ruins did not extend from south to north on that terrace, a search was begun for evidences of the ancient third millenium walls at the base of more recent terrace walls farther down the slope. These evidences were found on a contour line which corresponded to conjectures made by the French. The result was a decision to dig in this area in 1968, though many archaeologists thought there was little hope for success.

Two field teams continued work on two previous sites, A and B, at the upper west end of the ruins, and two teams were put to work along

the conjectured line of the ancient walls. Site J was opened toward the north end of the terrace contour, and Site H was opened on a terrace in the southeast corner of the area.

Within two weeks the writer and his crew uncovered the six-footthick inner Wall B and the outer Wall A. Nearby olive trees prevented more than a glimpse of the outer face of Wall C.

This was the system of three parallel walls which previous digging had demonstrated to date from 3,000 to about 2,400 B.C. Thus French mapmakers were proved to be correct. The ancient ruins did in fact cover twenty-seven acres—the largest and second oldest wall system of any city yet found in the world. (The oldest are at Jericho.)

While a crew continued to expose a thirty-five-foot length of the outer face of Wall A, Site K was opened nearby. Site K was L-shaped in order to fit between several fig trees and to span the east side and the south side of the corner itself. Part of this area was covered by a rock pile which had to be removed, but soon the same triple-walled system was found and traced out. The work was slow, dusty and hot, for a great deal of rock rubble had to be moved, but the result was highly rewarding. The work of the season will be summarized in the following paragraphs.

#### SITE A

Through the years a great deal of work has been done around the fortifications at the extreme western tip of Ai. As reported in the previous article in this Journal, two sanctuaries had been found, one above the other, next to the inner face of the defense system. This inside wall was strengthened this summer by filling the spaces around the stones with cement. The fortifications were made up, basically, of a great tower and a curving wall which swept around its west side. Between the outer wall and the tower was a center wall of huge stones. Much work was done this summer to remove rubble in order to clarify how these were related to each other. There were also strong hopes that a gateway would be discovered in this area, but none has as yet been brought to light. Pottery found in the debris points to the dates, 3,000-2,400 B.C.

#### SITE B

The three-acre Iron Age I (1,200-1,000 B.C.) village not far from Site A had been dug into by the French, and in 1964 and 1966 by the present expedition. At the end of the 1966 dig an interesting stone pillar was uncarthed and identified with the Iron Age I village, but its purpose was uncertain. However, analysis of pottery taken in 1966 indicated that there had been two distinct villages on the site, one above the other, each having a distinctive type of pottery. The pillar was associated with the older of these two villages. In 1968, five weeks were given to removal of a huge pile of stone. Finally, three more pillars were discovered, all in line with the first one. They were important structural parts of an Iron Age house and were matched on the west side of the building with three columns of large stones. Field stones had been fitted together to form walls between the pillars. Perhaps the house had a second story, for a series of steps led to the upper side of its walls. There is much more work to be done at this site before the full story can be told.

#### SITE H

By the end of the seventh week of the season, the outer face of Wall A had been exposed for a length of thirty-five feet. The outer face was still standing, in a remarkable state of preservation, to a height of about twelve feet. There were indications that it was originally twenty feet high. The stones had been laid without aid of mortar. Without doubt, it is the best specimen of Early Bronze fortification yet found. Wall A can be dated by pottery found next to it, to a period between 2,700 B.C., when it was built, to about 2,400 B.C., when it fell into disuse.

### SITE K

The three parallel walls uncovered in the southeast corner were formed much the same as in Site A, the upper western tip of the ruins. The outer wall swept around in a huge curve, some of which was left unexcavated since a fig tree was growing on the curve of the wall. The six-foot-wide inner Wall B, coming from both the north and the west, spread out against the curving wall in order to strengthen it. The inner Wall C executed an almost square corner. When first uncovered, it measured only fifteen feet wide, instead of the expected eighteen feet.

It developed that the important sector of Site K was "Square" IV, located at the inside corner of Wall C. Less than a foot below the top soil, a firm layer of ash and stone sloped sharply away from the wall. Beneath it was a layer of reddish soil which originally had been a brick wall above the stone wall. Then appeared another layer of firm ash and fallen stone.

August 6 was the day of discovery. Early that morning an older and wider Wall C with a narrow meter-wide gateway came to light. An opening through the wall had not been expected at this point, but no one objected to its appearance, since it is the oldest city gateway in the second oldest city wall yet found in the world. Pottery found in the ashes which covered and filled the gateway dated its construction to about 3,000 B.C. and its destruction about 2,700 B.C. The fifteen-foot-wide stone wall was built on top of it, so the gateway was never used again. Since August 8 was the last day of the "dig," there was only time to locate the threshold of the gateway and clear away a few of the stones in front of it. Pictures were taken, drawings made and the gateway was covered with soil to protect it until further work can be done.

### SITE J

This site was located on the north sector of the east wall. Here a heavier layer of top soil above the wall was found, so the amount of territory uncovered was not extensive, but the results were significant. The east wall was difficult to locate but in due time was laid bare. On August 6, the same morning that the gateway was discovered at Site K, a blocked gateway was noted in the inner wall at Site J. It was much wider than the one in Site K and was only partially excavated. After pictures were taken and drawings made, the gateway was covered with soil for protection. This gateway was not as old as the one in Site K, according to the pottery found next to it, but a well-defined street did lead to it from the outside.

#### SITE F

Khirbet Khudriya, the Byzantine ruins two miles to the east of Ai, carried the label "Site F" and proved to be a most interesting place. Intricately fashioned mosaic floors of a sanctuary had been uncovered in 1966, and in 1968 an industrial complex was excavated. This area was composed mostly of an olive press, a wine press, cisterns and storage caves. These indicate a monastery settlement. Nearby, more caves of the Roman and Byzantine periods were opened and evaluated. The Byzantine Christians lived here in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. and raised crops on the terraces of Ai.

#### PLANS FOR FUTURE EXCAVATIONS

The discovery of the east wall and the gateways of the Early Bronze city of Ai, and the four-pillared house of the Iron Age village, has sparked renewed interest in et-Tell (Ai) and its environs. Five more summer seasons of excavation are now envisioned. In 1969 the gateways will be fully uncovered and the Iron Age village further exposed.

Since Bethel is coupled with Ai in the Old Testament (see Josh. 8:17; Ezra 2:28; Neh. 7:32), and there has been some dissatisfaction about the results of previous digs at Bethel, Dr. Callaway is making plans to excavate a new area in the ancient ruins of that city. This will not be easy because modern Beitin covers much of the ruins, and the place excavated must be in someone's backyard.

Later, excavations will be made at nearby Rimmon, Taiyibeh (Sirhan Sirhan's hometown), and on two mounds close to Muchmas.

### UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS AT AI

Where did the people of the ancient fortified city get their water? The environs of Ai are water poor. There is a trickle of a stream coming from a tiny spring in the Wadi Asas just north of the ruins, but it can scarcely keep a pair of olive trees alive. No cisterns have been found earlier than the Iron Age village, and no clue has yet appeared to solve this problem.

Who built and governed the ancient city? A few artifacts and architectural detail point to the Old Kingdom of Egypt and a few point to Mesopotamia. Desperately needed are inscriptions which definitely tie the city to one or the other, and to identify the original inhabitants. The same is true of the Iron Age village, or better, two villages. Was one Canaanite and the other Israelite, and if this could be determined, what was the beginning date and the destruction date of each village? How was the conquest of Joshua related to these villages? Inscriptions would be of great help in order to answer these questions.

What was the function of a fortified city of such size? Ai is unique in Palestine because it has a combination of sanctuary, citadel and huge walls surrounding an amazing twenty-seven acres. It is the largest fortified city found anywhere in the third millenium B.C., and it was planned, laid out, and built at the very beginning of the Urban Expansion period in the ancient near east. What was the city guarding (crossroads?) and of whom were the inhabitants afraid? Hopefully, further excavation will throw more light on these questions.

# Martin Luther's Contribution to the Cause of Universal Education

Ivan L. Zabilka\*

As an embodiment of the great changes that occurred in human development at the end of the medieval period and the beginning of the modern, Martin Luther was a complex and sometimes contradictory representative of both the forces of change and conservation. The objective of this paper is the investigation of Luther's role in the history of the change from the education of the elite to the education of Everyman.

Any attempt to accomplish this purpose necessitates a discussion of the school systems in Europe prior to the Reformation, especially those in Germany. A second necessary consideration is Luther's own educational experience and the influences that led him to advocate more universal education. A third area for examination is Luther's writings and efforts concerning who should be educated. Two subordinate themes are developed: the role of Humanism in influencing Luther's view, and the role of the religious reformation in the decline of the schools, along with Luther's efforts to save them. Finally, consideration is given to the immediate impact of Luther's writings upon German education, and upon the cause of universal education.

### PRE-REFORMATION VIEWS AND PRACTICES IN EDUCATION

During a large portion of the medieval period, the primary method of obtaining an education was attendance at a monastic school, possibly followed by attendance at one of the universities which developed during the period. With the growth of towns during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, there developed "... a demand for a somewhat broader curriculum, a demand which was met by the cathedral

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schools."<sup>1</sup> These schools were oriented toward the professions, including the ministry, but were not exclusively theological. Another type developing during the middle ages was the chantry school, which resembled the cathedral school in curriculum, but differed in method of financing and size.

Chantry foundations were income-producing property granted by an individual to support a priest in return for prayers and masses for the souls of the grantor and his family. The chantry priest's duties occupied but little of his time, and it became customary to stipulate that he should teach the children of the community.<sup>2</sup>

The last type of school to be developed during the medieval period was the guild school, resembling in some ways the chantry school. Guilds often hired priests to care for the spiritual needs of members at marriages and funerals, and in times of sickness. Like the chantry priest, the guild priest spent his spare time teaching the children of guild members. Some chantry and guild schools evolved into new forms as urban culture developed and municipal governments became more independent of the church. Some schools also came to have lay teachers as a consequence of municipal or secular control.

Economic conditions and the rise of Humanism also influenced the educational situation prior to Luther's time. In Germany, as in other European countries, the age of discovery had greatly increased trade, causing an influx of gold and a consequent rise in the spirit of materialism. This change has been summarized in the following manner:

> If a youth were not destined for the church or for one of the learned professions—theology, law, or medicine why should he waste his time in acquiring an education which had no direct relationship to the world of trade and industry? Let him rather learn a trade at an early age and thus assure his livelihood.<sup>3</sup>

The rise of Humanism also made an impression in Germany and the Low Countries. A lay religious order, the Brethren of the Common Life, had

<sup>1.</sup> Walther I. Brandt (ed.), Luther's Works (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1962), XLV, 341.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., p. 342.

previously founded a large number of schools that offered a curriculum including the Latin classics. In Germany, these evolved into the Trivialschule which nearly every Humanist attended. The humanistic movement was greatly influenced by the emphasis on the trivium, which included Latin grammar, logic and rhetoric.<sup>4</sup> Schwiebert says,

> This training was considered essential for all students who were seeking an advanced education. As was common practice, this school was divided into three Haufen, or groups. First there were the Tabulisten, or beginners, who learned the ABC's of Latin, which was largely a memorization of elementary forms and the contents of the Fibel. or Latin primer . . . The second group, often called the Donatisten, was so named after the Donat, a medieval Latin textbook. The Donat was published with a German interlinear, making possible the study of grammar by the direct method. The study of the Latin language in this division became much more formal . . . . Thus, by about the completion of the sixth grade, the student was quite familiar with most parts of the Catholic church service and had mastered the elementary grammar of the Latin language. . . . The upper division group was known as the Alexandristen, named after a textbook by Alexander de Ville Dieu, in which the student was given more advanced Latin grammar and syntax. It also had a German introduction and made ample use of this native language in the explanations. These students also began to use a Latin-German dictionary. Obviously, the student who had finished good Trivialschule, such as the one at Mansfield [where Luther attended, was ready to attend the University, where all assignments were made and delivered in Latin.<sup>3</sup>

Practice varied, but in some locations there were schools set up to study the quadrivium: music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. These were either intermediate schools, or else were part of the Trivialschule.

The humanistic emphasis combined with the effect of the Reformation, which will be discussed, actually tended to depress education. The educational program of the Humanists, while creating the well-

Ibid. 4.

Ernest George Schwiebert, Luther and His Times (St. Louis: Concordia 5. Publishing House, 1950), pp. 111-112.

educated man, tended to be remote from the interests and materialistic motives of the common man. Thus, just prior to the Reformation there was an alienation of education from the practical pursuits of the masses. A result was the rise of the "vernacular schools," which were devoted to reading and writing German alone for business purposes. Both Luther and the Humanists bitterly opposed these schools. The materialism and the Humanism of the age did not create, then, an especially auspicious situation for the advent of the Lutherans.

### LUTHER'S OWN EDUCATION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HIS PERSPECTIVE

While the exact date when Luther began his formal education is unknown, he was apparently quite young. The normal age was seven, but some scholars suggest that Luther entered in 1488 when he was about four and a half.<sup>6</sup> Luther was apparently unhappy in school, and it may be that the instructors and methods were less than desirable, although opinion varies. Corporal punishment probably played nearly as large a role as Luther described, although he may have been exaggerating later in life to make a point.<sup>7</sup>

Luther seems to have had his own intellectual talents awakened in the school at Eisenach by the outstanding principal, Trebonius. Luther was first exposed to Humanism and its methods while there.<sup>8</sup>

At seventeen Luther entered the University of Erfurt, which was one of the best of his day. As McGiffert points out, "The new humanism, with its devotion to classical learning, was making rapid headway and was disputing for supremacy with the dominant scholasticism of the age."<sup>9</sup> Philosophy, the classics and logic composed the core of the curriculum. This classical Humanism was the dominant influence upon Luther's later educational ideas.

<sup>6.</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>7.</sup> Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Martin Luther; The Man and His Work (New York: The Century Company, 1919), p. 9.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>9.</sup> Ibid.

### LUTHER'S VIEWPOINT CONCERNING WHO SHOULD BE EDUCATED

The Influence of Humanism on Luther's View. The humanistic movement emphasized the value of ancient languages. Luther adopted this high view of languages, especially arguing their importance for the study and exposition of the Bible. He also claimed value for them in the training of good citizens and leaders.

> Every community, and especially a great city, must have in it many kinds of people besides merchants. It must have people who can do more than simply add, subtract and read German. German books are made primarily for the common man to read at home. But for preaching, governing, and administering justice, in both spiritual and worldly estates, all the learning and languages in the world are too little, to say nothing of German alone. This is particularly true in our own day, when we have to do with more than just the neighbor next door.<sup>10</sup>

While Luther advocated the study of the Bible by everyone who was able to obtain a copy, neither of the above statements (concerning the value of language for Bible study and for service in the secular state) forces the conclusion that Luther was advocating universal education, especially in the languages. Advocacy of universal education cannot be founded on these statements alone, or the influence of Humanism alone; rather, a more definite statement must be sought.

While Luther was indebted to the Humanists and their emphasis upon the reform of educational ideals, he actually pressed beyond them. The Humanists advocated reform of teaching methods and occasionally even the reform of morals and religion, <sup>11</sup> points at which they were united with Luther. However, the Humanists and Luther separated over a variety of points, one of which was Luther's desire to add history, literature and Christian training to the curriculum.

The Impact of the Reformation on Education and Luther's Reaction. Luther made some rather contradictory statements over the length of his career. Consequently, he was quoted by both sides of the

<sup>10.</sup> Robert C. Schultz (ed.), Luther's Works (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), XLVI, 215.

<sup>11.</sup> McGiffert, op. cit., p. 262.

educational spectrum in the German school controversy. Following the initial stages of the Reformation, a great variety of sects developed which were inimical to the cause of education. One such group was the Bohemian Brethren (whom Luther called Waldensian), probably influenced by the more radical Taborites.<sup>12</sup> Luther felt constrained to answer their arguments eventually.

The attack upon education did not come only from such peripheral groups, but also from some of Luther's own followers who took their leader too seriously. Some of the Reformers reasoned that if the doctrines and practices of the Church at Rome were erroneous and inimical to salvation, then parents should not send their children to schools which taught these doctrines. Following this same reasoning, at least publicly, some nobles and municipal authorities siezed, in the name of the Reformation, the endowments by which the schools were supported. More likely they were motivated by greed. Such aberrations were not surprising, for while Luther consistently advocated the right kind of schools, he also attacked the existing schools heavily in the period from 1520 to 1523.

He referred to the monastic and cathedral schools as "devil's training centers," and stigmatized their textbooks as "asses' dung." He went so far as to say that rather than send a boy to such a school he would prefer that he received no schooling at all.<sup>13</sup>

Even the doctrine that every man was his own priest, and was thus able to communicate with God directly, led to difficulties. Some reformers assumed that this meant no formal education was necessary for the priesthood. Since God through the Holy Spirit could speak to a man directly, the "inner word" was independent of formal education. Andrew Karlstadt and Thomas Münzer opposed all learning as sinful.

> Small wonder that schools and education declined sharply in the areas where these ideas penetrated. At Wittenberg, where Karlstadt dominated the scene during Luther's enforced exile at Wartburg, attendance at the University fell off markedly, to be restored later through the combined efforts of Luther and Bugenhagen. Matters

<sup>12.</sup> Brandt, op. cit., p. 365 n.

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid., p. 342.

were still worse at Erfurt, where the activities of a small group of the Karlstadt-Münzer persuasion were instrumental in reducing the university enrollment to less than fifty students.<sup>14</sup>

All the activity undermining education caused Luther much concern, and did not coincide with his own respect for learning. He felt compelled by 1523 to begin speaking more strongly for a new educational system. He wrote, accordingly, to Eoban Hess the Humanist,

> Do not be troubled by the notion that letters will be overthrown by our theology and we Germans become more barbarous than ever. Some people fear where there is no fear. Without the knowledge of letters, pure theology, I am persuaded, will in the future be unable to flourish, as in the past it has most miserably fallen and lain in ruins whenever literature has declined. Never, I can see, has there been a signal revelation of the word of God unless, as by a John the Baptist, the way was prepared for it by a revival of languages and letters. No youthful crime would I decry more than the failure to study poetry and rhetoric. It is my earnest desire that there be as many poets and rhetoricians as possible, for by these studies, I perceive, as by no other means men are made apt for undertaking and skilfully pursuing sacred employments.<sup>15</sup>

In February of 1524 Luther expressed his concern over the effects of materialism in the pamphlet To the Councilmen of All German Cities, as Schwiebert states:

In this document the Reformer sought to shake the indifferent German parents from their lethargy toward higher learning. Since monastic education no longer offered an easy retreat for the youth and the lucrative church positions were not a part of the new Lutheran system, Luther feared that the phlegmatic German might conclude that there was no longer a need for higher education.<sup>16</sup>

In this same leaflet he advocated the erection of public schools and public libraries. Although his primary interest was religious reformation, he argued the advantages of education to the state in the following terms:

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., p. 343.

<sup>15.</sup> McGiffert, op. cit., pp. 268-269.

<sup>16.</sup> Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 110.

Even if we had no souls, and schools and languages were not needed for God's sake and the Bible's, there would still be ground enough for establishing the best possible schools for both boys and girls, for the world needs fine and capable men and women to conduct its affairs, that men may rule land and people wisely and the women keep house and train their children and servants as they should.<sup>17</sup>

Luther continued his campaign in 1525 in the "First Preface" to Walther's Hymn Book, saying,

I do not hold the opinion that all the arts are to be completely discarded through the Gospel, as some superspiritual people would have it; but I would like to see all arts, especially music, placed in the service of Him who has given and created them.<sup>18</sup>

In that year he also advocated an educational survey which was carried out in 1527 in Saxony and several other states, pointing out the tragic need for schools. Again in 1529 in the preface to Justus Menius' Book on Christian Housekeeping Luther says,

And nowadays no one wants to educate children in any other way but for cleverness and ways of making a living; they simply have no other thought but that they are free and that it rests with them to train children as they please; just as though there were no God who had commanded them differently, but they themselves are God and lords over their children. But if there were a strong wellordered government in the world, and such pernicious, wicked people were found as would refuse to change for the better and to educate their children differently, then the government ought to punish such people altogether in body and goods, or chase them out of the world. For such people are the most poisonous and harmful people on earth.<sup>19</sup>

In this passage we see some of the bitter invective for which Luther was famous. Also noticeable is the beginning of the attitude that

<sup>17.</sup> McGiffert, op. cit., pp. 269-270.

<sup>18.</sup> P. E. Kretzmann, Luther on Education in the Christian Home and School (Burlington, Iowa: The Lutheran Literary Board, 1940), p. 85.

<sup>19.</sup> Ibid., pp. 28-29.

Luther later developed more extensively, namely that the government would have to intervene where private individuals would not assume their responsibilities in education. By 1530 he had developed the view that it was

... the duty of the temporal authority to compel its subjects to keep their children in school .... If the government can compel such of its subjects as are fit for military service to carry pike and musket, man the ramparts, and do other kinds of work in time of war, how much more can it and should it compel its subjects to keep their children in school. $^{20}$ 

Thus, in these passages may be seen the eventually complete development of Luther's thought about education, and his justification for it. According to his developed views there are two reasons men ought to be educated: to serve God and the Church as worthy Christians, and to serve the state as worthy citizens. The developing realization may also be seen that parents were not going to do as Luther wished, and thus municipal authorities would have to intervene and found public schools.

In this period Luther began to move from a more restricted view toward universal male education, as becomes more apparent in the Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School. In that volume he advocated the study of Latin even for the boy who intended to learn a trade, for from the church's point of view "... you will have him in reserve, to labor as a pastor in case of need; and such knowledge will not interfere with his gaining a livelihood and will enable him to govern his house all the better."<sup>21</sup> This last point might be questioned, and yet it contributed to the support of more universal education. In the same sermon Luther advocated education for all on the basis that so many more books were available that it would be a waste and a "shameful thing" if they were not used.<sup>22</sup> That Luther was intending to move toward universal education is evidenced by the fact that he thought provision ought to be made for both the poor and the slow learning children. He said in the same sermon,

> Such promising children should be instructed, especially the children of the poor; for this purpose the revenues of endowments and monasteries were provided. But also the

<sup>20.</sup> Schultz, op. cit., p. 257.

<sup>21.</sup> Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>22.</sup> Ibid.

boys that are less promising should learn at least to understand, read and write Latin. For we need not only learned doctors and masters in the Scriptures, but also ordinary pastors, who may teach the Gospel and the Catechism to the young and ignorant, baptize, administer the Lord's supper, etc. If they are not capable of contending with heretics, it does not matter. For in a good building we need both large and small timber; and in like manner we must have sextons and others to aid the minister and further the Word of God.<sup>23</sup>

By 1530 there existed yet another extension of Luther's position of true universal education: He included girls. In that year he published a pamphlet entitled *That Children Should Be Kept in School*, in which he included a statement in support of compulsory education. With this new emphasis he restated the obligation of the wealthy to provide scholarships for the support of indigent students of promise.<sup>24</sup>

Considering the writings of these seven years as a whole, one may see that Luther resorted to every weapon he could find in a war to support education for the people. He argued that "old people" live only to "care for, teach, and bring up the young."<sup>25</sup> He spoke of the advantages of travel and trade in foreign lands, company with scholars, and the joy of study. He warned of the possibility of incompetents assisting at court. He emphasized the sinfulness of neglect:

> It is indeed a sin and a shame that we must be aroused and incited to the duty of educating our children and of considering their highest interests, whereas nature itself should move us thereto, and the example of the heathen affords us varied instruction.<sup>26</sup>

This statement was certainly not calculated to offend the Humanist. Luther did seek a slightly more practical education, pressing for history, mathematics and music, and less of the philosophy of the past.<sup>27</sup> While most of the discussion was directed at the elementary level of education, Luther did not neglect the role of the university. However, he

- 25. Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 16.
- 26. Ibid.
- 27. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 270.

<sup>23.</sup> Ibid., pp. 72-73.

<sup>24.</sup> McGiffert, op. cit., p. 271.

regarded the university as a place for advanced study and advanced students, and thus of small concern in the struggle for universal education.

Perhaps the best brief summary of Luther's completed position, civil and religious, appears in the *Large Catechism* on the "Fourth Commandment":

For if we wish to have excellent and apt persons both for civil and ecclesiastical government, we must spare no diligence, time or cost in teaching and educating our children, that they may serve God and the world, and we must not think only of how we may amass money and possessions for them. For God can indeed without us support and make them rich, as He daily does. But for this purpose He has given us children, and issued this command that we should train and govern them according to His will, else He would have no need of father and mother. Let everyone know therefore, that it is his duty, on peril of losing divine favor, to bring up his children above all things in the fear and knowledge of God, and if they be talented, have them learn and study something, that they may be employed for whatever need there is to have them instructed and trained in a liberal education, that man may be able to have their aid in government and in whatever is necessary.<sup>28</sup>

### THE IMMEDIATE AND CONTINUING IMPACT OF LUTHER'S IDEOLOGY

Luther was well read in the Roman works on education, especially in Cicero, Quintilian and Verro. He was aware of the importance of understanding in true learning. He was aware of the economics of education in his day. It must be concluded that his grasp of the breadth of educational ideas prior to his day (especially Roman) and in his day (especially humanistic) led to the wide influence that his ideas enjoyed. McGiffert concludes that,

> In much of this he was laying foundations upon which our modern educational systems are built in no small part. In spite of his break with humanism and his primary

interest in religious reform, he rendered incalculable services to the cause of popular and secular education.<sup>29</sup>

Changes came in Germany immediately. Following the publication of *To the Councilmen of All the German Cities* in 1524, Magdeburg (under Nicholas Amsdorf), Nordhausen, Halberstadt, and Gotha took steps to establish public schools. Eisleben (under Melancthon) and Nürnburg followed in 1525 and 1526.<sup>30</sup> Bugenhagen helped establish over forty schools in Brunswick, Luebeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Pomerania, Denmark and Norway.<sup>31</sup> Steps were also taken in "territorial church orders" to assure the existence of schools in the involved territories. Many small towns founded schools at the insistence of the citizens when the councils hesitated.<sup>32</sup> From 1525 to 1560 there was a continuous growth in number and quality of schools through the efforts of Luther, Bugenhagen and Melancthon. After 1560 there was a decline in leadership and quality.<sup>33</sup> There were also adult lecture courses established in a few cities.<sup>34</sup> The German "Gymnasium" and "Folkschool" were both rooted in the schools developed in Luther's day.

It must be realized, of course, that several centuries passed before the ideals of universal education and common availability of library facilities were realized.

#### CONCLUSION

Martin Luther served as a catalytic element in a system ready for change. Prior to his time, a variety of types of schools had evolved, including the monastic, cathedral, chantry, guild and vernacular schools. Luther attended the *Trivialschule* which had greatly influenced the humanistic movement, which in turn influenced Luther. He borrowed the Humanist's emphasis on languages and the need for reform of teaching methods. In reaction to the ideas and effected results of the radical reformers, Luther began a seven-year writing program that culminated in the revival of the

29. McGiffert, op. cit., pp. 271-272.

31. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 678.

<sup>30.</sup> Schultz, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>32.</sup> Schultz, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>33.</sup> Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 677.

<sup>34.</sup> Ibid., p. 681.

schools. At the same time he developed the concept of universal education. It has been said that "It is to Luther that Germany owes its splendid educational system in its roots and in its inception. For he was the first to plead for a universal education—for an education for the whole people, without regard to class or special life work."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35.</sup> Frederick Eby, *Early Protestant Educators* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931), p. 15.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

Interpreting the Gospels, by R. C. Briggs. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969. 188 pages. \$4.50.

This volume should be a welcomed addition for many students and pastors. Seeking to give an introduction to the historical-critical methodology being utilized in contemporary biblical studies, Dr. Briggs, Professor of New Testament Interpretation at Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, Georgia, provides a useful tool for the novice. He presents "a brief, analytical description of the basic tools... necessary for meaningful interpretation of the New Testament," specifically with reference to the Synoptics, and indicates "some implications of the use of these tools..."

After the problems in biblical interpretation are pointed out in chapter one, the remaining eight chapters deal with these biblical problems. Though presented in a summary fashion, they are well-defined, and the reader is introduced to the thoughts of individual scholars; in addition he is given an overall view. The conclusions in most of the chapters provide a good review as the student tries to outline the problem in his own mind.

A brief bibliography is also given in each chapter which should be helpful, though it is generally inadequate for the conservative, who would like some evidence of consideration. (But since the author writes off the relevancy of modern conservatism in biblical studies, one should not expect representative books among the suggestions for additional reading.)

A simple listing of the eight problems considered demonstrates the possible utility of the book:

1. The problem of the text: textual criticism

2. The problem of the sources: source criticism

- 3. The problem of oral tradition: form criticism
- 4. The problem of authorship: redaction criticism
- 5. The problem of the canon: the Bible
- 6. The problem of history: Jesus of history or Christ of faith

7. The problem of interpretation: the function of biblical language

8. The problems of unity and authority: the Scriptures.

Dr. Briggs's work should be appreciated by the nonspecialist for whom he writes. But it should be understood that it is only an introduction and that it is written from a perspective that is quite unacceptable to conservative scholarship. Some categorical statements are disturbing because they gloss over the fact that they are not "assured results" of investigation, nor are they completely agreed upon by scholarship in general (e.g., "Insofar as can be determined, no book in the New Testament can be attributed to one of the original disciples"). However, these observations do not negate the positive contribution made to the discerning reader.

William B. Coker

Liberal Protestantism, edited and introduced by Bernard M. G. Reardon. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968. 244 pages. \$6.75.

This volume is one in a series edited by Henry Chadwick and entitled "A Library of Modern Religious Thought," a new series of reprinted writings of particular theological and historical importance. These writings are selected from works published in the past three centuries which are no longer readily accessible but which are related to issues of current interest.

The author, lecturer in divinity at the University of New Castleupon-Tyne, presents in this volume a wide range of extracts from nineteenth and early twentieth century theologians. He opens with a long introduction in which he sets forth his understanding of the main characteristics of Liberal Protestantism; as well, he indicates certain views of liberalism's representatives.

He notes in his introduction that, whereas Liberal Protestantism is by no means a closed system of doctrine and whereas it has never formulated a confession, it can best be determined by a study of its historical emergence and progress. He notes particularly the influence of Kant, Schleiermacher, Ritschl (and the Ritschlian school represented by Herrmann, Kaftan, and Harnack) and also treats Liberal Protestantism in France, Britain and America. The introduction (sixty-five pages) is then followed by source readings from representative Liberal Protestant authors.

The worth of the volume is increased by the incisive comment regarding the weaknesses of "liberal" theology (many of which are the burden of the complaints leveled at Liberalism by its wayward child, Neo-orthodoxy). The fundamental case against Liberalism has been the tendency to remove the necessary "offense" of the Gospel. (As H. Richard Niebuhr put it: "A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgement through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross.") In short, Liberalism is criticized for its *reduction* of Christianity to a set of moral principles, presented in a way both academic and bourgeois. Liberalism, in its desire to remove the wall between the "sacred" and the "secular," too often identified the secular with the sacred.

It is curious that no selections from such men as Ernest Troeltsch, Hastings Rashdall, A. C. McGiffert, Walter Rauschenbusch or Harry Emerson Fosdick appear. Yet, the selection of readings which does appear contains a helpful cross section of liberal authors, and is an aid in understanding the best in this influential theological tradition.

Kenneth Cain Kinghorn

Nobody Wanted War, by Ralph K. White. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968. 340 pages. \$5.95.

This volume by the Professor of Psychology at George Washington University is an outgrowth of an article published in the *Journal of Social Issues*, 1966, and also of a two-month study tour in Vietnam during the summer of 1967. It is a relatively objective and scientific approach to the problem of the current struggle in Vietnam, with special reference to the motivation behind the United States' involvement in the struggle. Among the most effective features of the book is the author's ability to project himself into the thinking of the other person and to analyze with considerable objectivity the reasons for the other's perspective. The author endeavors throughout the volume to see the issues, not as black and white oversimplifications, but as involved and complex.

As a result of his two-month stay in Vietnam, his conclusion is that there are three groups among the South Vietnamese—the small minority who are definitely and ardently pro-Communist, the small minority who are just as definitely anti-Communist, and the large majority between who prefer peace and are less concerned about the political ideologies and the type of government under which they live. Professor White also analyzes the conflict from the standpoint of "militant Americans," "non-militant Americans," and the "onlookers."

While drawing upon his background for psychological behavior patterns, the author reasons that in both animals and men, success is an important factor in subsequent behavior patterns. Thus, an aggressor who encounters easy success is encouraged to seek more of the same. Conversely, an aggressor who is defeated learns to change his behavior pattern and cease aggression. The author applies this principle both to Communists and Americans. His conclusion is that the stalemate which now exists in Vietnam is good in that it will discourage Communists from the hope of easy victories through aggression, and keep Americans from easily thinking that intervention pays off. In this analysis the author seeks to be nonpartisan, although his sympathies show through on nearly every page.

In an appendix he moves from diagnosis to prescription and recommends the adoption by the United States and the Allies of the policy of a large-scale holding operation, the withdrawing of scattered forces to areas in South Vietnam which are dominantly anti-Communist, and the need of remaining there indefinitely to discourage further Communist takeover. This is a policy advocated by General Gavin, Walter Lippmann, George Kennan and others who do not envision military victory and yet are unwilling to settle for unconditional surrender. In spite of the author's attempt to be objective and factual, this bias is frequently seen, not so much in an unwillingness to see more than one side, but after admitting facts on both sides, in a slight distortion of the evidence in line with his bias. This is a danger to which everyone is subject and from which this author in spite of his attempt at scientific objectivity is far from free. George A. Turner

All the Holy Days and Holidays, or Sermons on all National and Religious Memorial Days, by Herbert Lockyer. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1968. 283 pages. \$4.95.

Herbert Lockyer is famous for his "All" series (All the Prayers of the Bible, All the Miracles of the Bible, et. al.). This volume may be added to the minister's collection of special-day volumes. There are sermons for thirty-eight days, along with poetry, prayers, and information about festival origins. He even has materials on April Fool's Day, vacation days, and the opening of an evangelistic crusade. Sermons are replete with scriptural materials.

Donald E. Demaray

The Deeds of Christ, by Harold A. Bosley. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1969. 176 pages. \$3.50.

Since 1962 Harold A. Bosley has served as senior minister of Christ United Methodist Church, New York City. Prior to this he was in turn minister at First Methodist Church, Evanston, Illinois, Dean of the Divinity School at Duke University, and pastor of Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Baltimore.

This is the last of a series of three volumes which present an indepth study of Jesus Christ. The first in the series was entitled *The Mind* of Christ. The second was *The Character of Christ*.

In this work the author deals with Christ as a pragmatist, a philosopher of action. Each chapter begins with a specific deed of Christ listed in the gospels and then proceeds to examine the motive, intention, and spirit of the deed. The chapter titles are actually a biography of Jesus in general outline. The purpose of the book is to see Jesus Christ in areas of significant action, to catch something of the incarnate purpose of His life, to sense the vigor, the determination, and the unfailing compassion of that life. The author calls upon Christians to share in and to manifest the love of God as revealed through the actions of Jesus Christ.

The book is filled with illuminating and challenging spiritual insights. For the most part even the social action emphasis of the author is not offensive to the more conservative reader. However, to this reviewer there are at least two unfortunate references in areas of theological significance. The author too easily rejects the healing miracles of Jesus (pp. 66, 67). Then there is the patronizing remark that only the grace of God can keep a person from ending up as a conservative (p. 96).

Frank Bateman Stanger

A Short Life of Christ, by Everett F. Harrison. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968. 288 pages. \$5.95.

Today's scholars seem reluctant to write a full-length life of Christ comparable, for example, to Edersheim's classic *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah.* The reason for this is in part the vast accumulation of materials made available by recent research. The present volume is a treatment of Christ's life that concerns itself mainly with chief events as they appear in a commonly accepted sequence. A few chapter titles are included independent of chronological considerations, such as those on the teaching, the miracles, and the character of Christ.

It is the author's conviction that the Christ encountered today by believing individuals is identical with the Christ who confronted man in history. Dr. Harrison is realistic in facing problems related to the text, and he is especially sensitive to problems raised by modern thought. The refreshing feature of these short studies is a richness of spiritual insight in the context of a scholarly approach. The volume will yield substantial support in preparing a series of sermons on events in the life of Christ such as His birth, baptism, temptation, transfiguration, crucifixion, and resurrection. Here is provocative and helpful reading for preacher and layman alike.

James D. Robertson

The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments, by F. Gavin. Reprint. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1969. 120 pages. \$6.95.

A great debt is due to Ktav Publishing House for making available through its scholarly reprint program many of the old classics which have long been out of print. This particular work by F. Gavin, past professor of Ecclesiastical History at The General Theological Seminary in New York, is his Chapman Lectures (London) of 1927.

In these lectures, which are excellently documented with Talmudic and Mishnaic texts, Gavin contends for Jewish antecedents of the Christian sacraments on the basis of precedents discoverable in Rabbinic Judaism. In the first lecture he deals with Judaism and Sacramentalism. Recognizing that many scholars argue as does Bousset, that "the Jewish Church as a whole knew nothing of sacraments, if by Sacrament we mean a sacred transaction in which the believer comes to share in a supernatural gift of grace through material channels," Gavin insists that the argument is fallacious. It is true that explicit theological definitions and formulations are not found in Judaism, but this is characteristic of the "creedlessness" of Judaism. The failure of anyone to successfully write a historical theology of Judaism ought to be significant to the perceptive student. Moreover, the question is not whether the Christian definition of sacrament is Jewish, but whether the essential factors in the definition are in Judaism. Gavin concedes that the former is un-Jewish, but demonstrates the latter in Jewish practices and usages, concluding that "There is nothing inherently improbable in assuming that Judaism furnished the materials for Christian sacramentalism."

The second lecture deals with the Jewish proselyte and the Christian convert, with emphasis on the sacrament of baptism. To most Christians, Jewish proselytism would be closely associated with the baptism in Judaism, relating to the immersion-bath for purification. A late first century debate questioned whether baptism or circumcision is the essential rite of initiation into Judaism. Gavin demonstrates that there is no need to look farther than contemporary Rabbinic Judaism "for the interpretation of early Christian belief and practice in regard to Baptism."

The third lecture compares the Jewish "Berakha" (thanksgivingblessing) and the Christian Eucharist and observes many parallels between the two. The Christian sacrament, more related to the Jewish custom of the Common Meal of Fellowship on the Sabbath eve than to the Passover, was determined by Jewish precedents, usages and ideas. However, this is not to say that the Christian Eucharist is fully explained by Judaism. Its form is Jewish, but its theological content is Christian, determined by the Christology of the Early Church.

Gavin concludes that "two factors explain sacramentalism— Judaism and Jesus." Borrowing heavily from its Judaic heritage, the Church developed the sacraments in the light of her Lord. When we recognize this truth, we will more perceptively understand "the unique evaluation of the Person, Place and Office of our Lord."

Examination of this volume will convince the reader that it was worthy of being reprinted. Gavin reminds us of the wealth of Rabbinic materials overlooked by a host of Christian students who seek to explain the Christian Church and its sacraments without reference to contemporary Judaism from which it sprang. "Again and again emerge the sure tokens of an indebetedness to Judaism, immeasurably transmuted in meaning by His Power who was Jesus the Jew."

William B. Coker

The Macmillan Bible Atlas, by Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-yonah. New York and London: Macmillan, 1968. 183 pages, plus appendices. \$14.95. The New Israel Atlas, by Zev Vilnay. Jerusalem, Israel: University's Press, December, 1969 or January, 1970. \$130.00.

A major publishing venture in Jerusalem, on the twentieth anniversary of Israel's becoming a state, is the appearance of these two definitive atlases. *The Macmillan Atlas* is the more comprehensive. One of Israel's leading archaeologists, Professor Aharoni, of the Hebrew University, prepared the section dealing with the Old Testament. His colleague, Professor Avi-yonah, was responsible for the remainder of the volume (maps 172-264). The Macmillan volume was published earlier (1964) in Jerusalem but the material of the current volume is all new. *The Macmillan Atlas* features monochromatic maps with accompanying terse explanations and the citation of major prime sources. The maps are relatively uncluttered and yet sufficiently detailed to be of use for close study. The maps embrace a multitude of subjects including an introductory section on the geography and archaeology of Palestine from the Ancient to the Roman periods. Then, in greater detail the Canaanite period is covered, with maps which feature battle campaigns. This section is followed by texts and maps dealing with Israel's conquest and settlement, the monarchy, the Post-Exilic period up to the Bar Kokaba Revolt, and the reign of Hadrian.

Accompanying the text is a judicious selection of pictures illustrating archaeology, such as ancient pictures, inscriptions and artifacts. Scripture references accompany each map. The *Atlas* is helpful in tying together the historical sequence in the Scriptures and is especially helpful in the inter-Testament period, including the Hasmonian Kingdom. Several pages and maps are devoted to the career of Jesus, the life of Paul, and the spread of the Church in the second century. The material is presented objectively and concisely and offers a valuable supplement to more detailed studies in history and geography.

The New Israel Atlas was written by Israel's best known author of guidebooks of the Holy Land. The Vilnay volume serves as a complement to the other volume rather than a competitor. Nearly half of the Israel Atlas is devoted to a description of modern Israel in terms of such things as geology, soils, forests, cities, religious complexion, industrial development and modern settlements. The section dealing with history takes the reader from the conquest of Canaan to the time of the British Mandate. The "struggle for independence" includes the struggles of the emerging state of Israel, culminating in the 1967 War. Also included are documents that are important in the history of the State's formation. The colored maps are effectively drawn and the accompanying text is clear and concise. In both volumes the maps are more numerous than in most atlases and the historical text is correspondingly reduced. But the proximity of map explanation embellished with appropriate pictures and diagrams ties the complicated history and geography together in an effective manner. The Vilnay volume is especially helpful in relation to recent Palestinian struggles between Israel and the Arabs from the Mandate Period to 1967. The author's prime interest is in the State of Israel rather than Palestine history and geography as such. One sentence only is devoted to the career of Jesus and none to the early Christian movement. Although not adequate in the areas of Palestine history and geography in post-biblical times, the *Atlas* is useful in graphically highlighting the most important crises.

George A. Turner

# God Reigns, Expository Studies in the Prophecy of Isaiah, by James Leo Green. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1968. 178 pages. \$4.50.

This book of 178 pages is written by a graduate of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (Ph.D.) and Professor of Old Testament at Southeastern Seminary. It was written for adult study classes in Baptist Churches and as a text for an extension course in Isaiah. Written primarily for laymen, its language is non-technical; its documentation is not extensive, although it is adequate for the purpose. The author writes from an evangelical perspective and is essentially conservative in tone. Although inclined to agree with his teacher, J. R. Sampey, that the chapters 40-66 are written by someone other than the eighth century prophet, he believes the entire book is Isaiah's in spirit. In the sixteen chapters of his book, the author lifts from the entire Book of Isaiah most of the crucial portions and focuses attention upon the essential ideas. The exposition reflects a wide knowledge of contemporary scholarship and considerable familiarity with relevant literature and conditions in Bible lands. Stress is given to the person and work of the "suffering servant," whom the author identifies, as did Philip the evangelist, with Jesus of the Gospels. A bibliography widely representative of titles adds considerably to the value of this exposition. Although the book was intended for laymen, scholars also will find here some helpful insights, judicious handling of secondary sources, and useful biographical hints, together with a positive evangelistic thrust.

George A. Turner

Post-Christianity in Africa, by G. C. Oosthuizen. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968. 272 pages. \$7.95.

G. C. Oosthuizen is an internationally acknowledged authority on African indigenous religion. For the past decade he has served as Professor of Missiology and Ecclesiastical History at Fort Hare University College, South Africa.

In this book Professor Oosthuizen makes a careful and detailed examination of the approximately six thousand religious movements that have grown initially out of the Church and are to be found in many of the independent states on the African continent. He classifies these separatist movements under three main headings: 1) *churches*, in which the Word, Sacraments, Person of Christ, and church discipline are given their rightful place; 2) *Christian sects*, in which the emphasis is upon some peripheral doctrine such as adult baptism or the Sabbath; 3) *nativistic movements*, which have incorporated into their doctrine and practice many elements from animism.

The author sees in these religious movements a reaction against the "white man's church" with its paternalistic attitude and deep suspicion of indigenous religious expression. He sees the phenomenal growth of these groups as an indictment against the "established churches" for their detachment from the African existential situation, and for their resulting irrelevance in the African context. Independentism, he also feels, is a retreat to the safety of traditional religion and culture in face of the socially disruptive forces of modern industrial civilization.

In addition to providing extensive information concerning the various beliefs and practices of the movements, Oosthuizen subjects these beliefs and practices to careful theological analysis. Among the subjects examined are the relation between the Holy Spirit and the ancestor spirit, baptism and purification rites, how the Old Testament is interpreted in the movements, moral guilt versus social guilt, the use of holy water, and the practice of healing.

The last two chapters of the book are especially helpful, for here the author discusses ways in which the African Church can try to remedy what appears to be a confused and tragic situation. The publication will be of value not only to those who are serving in the African context, but to all engaged in mission in many lands where the "foreignness" of the Church is being called into question and the indigenity of the younger churches is seen to be of prime importance.

John T. Seamands



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